

WAR *For Anarchism* COMMENTARY

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MID-MARCH, 1944

TWOPENCE

Strikes Everywhere

"It is sheer Anarchy", Will Lawther attacking the miners' strike in the Sunday Express of March 12, 1944.

SERVILE ADVOCATES OF the "war effort" would have us believe that strikes in war time are limited to Britain. Even the lying capitalist press is forced to admit the reverse, for through the fine mesh of press censorship filters news of class struggle the world over.

Most heavily censored has been news of the General Strike in Paraguay, South America. Yet from the few brief flashes from that country we learned last week that tens of thousands of workers were daily joining the strike; that transport and

other workers were vigorously defending themselves against the police in the capital Asuncion and that railwaymen were tearing up the tracks to prevent the military using the railways.

In Australia the Labour politicians pass new repressive laws to prevent mining and other strikes and threaten the miners with military conscription if they dare to exercise the most elementary, the most fundamental right of Labour—the right to withdraw one's labour power.

In the U.S.A., workers, particularly miners, auto and aircraft workers, use the strike weapon to force up wages and render impotent the anti-labour legislation of the Roosevelt régime.



In Anglo-U.S. occupied Southern Italy a spontaneous strike movement is developing. It is a movement against the rising cost of living and the pegging down of wages; against the suppression of the right of assembly and the continuance of the old régime of Fascist officials under the new trade name of Amgot. It is not, as opportunist Italian politicians would seek to exploit it as, a miserable "ten minute strike" to press the claims of a bunch of job-seeking Communist-Liberal-Socialist politicians. It is an expression of a deep-rooted and developing discontent at the worsened conditions of Labour since the coming of Amgot.

In the case of German-occupied Northern Italy the British press censorship is more generous and from there we learn that the workers have staged a widespread general strike. Factories occupied, sabotage, workers armed defence against Fascist militia and Gestapo, food stocks seized! Such news flashes inform us that the old spirit of Italian Syndicalism is not dead.

Throughout the British Isles the strike movement simmers and breaks through. In Northern Ireland the engineering workers of Harland and Wolff's are out and their fellow workers of all Belfast threaten to spread the strike. Deep discontent throughout the Six Counties is breaking surface. In Scotland the Lanark and Ayrshire miners renew the struggle by striking against the Porter award, while sympathetic eyes watch from the Clydeside factories and shipyards.

But it is in South Wales and Northern England that the most powerful strikes have developed. In the two most important coalfields of South Wales and Durham, employing between them about a quarter of a million miners, the miners have expressed the anger of two decades of injustice and oppression in a strike against the Porter award. The miners strike not only against "Porter", but against the accumulation of police batoning, starvation and coal-owner magistrates since the coal lock-out of 1921. Says Trevor Evans, reporting the South Wales strike:

"Generally, those villages which suffered worst in the depression of 12 years ago are most ready to continue the strike now." *Daily Express* 13/3/44.

In Durham the miners of the Seaham group of pits returned to work from their Porter strike a few weeks ago only to stage a stay-in strike on the old Syndicalist principle of "a shillingsworth of wages—a shillingsworth of work" and at Easington output dropped from 15,000 tons a week to 6,500 a week. This form of strike, probably because of its promise, has caused greater anger among the employing class and its trade union footmen than any previous form of strike action. The reply of the employing class was in the usual savage manner known to Durham folk. To the truncheon, the pri-

son cell and the empty cupboard is to be added deportation, the breaking up of the home life so strong in North Country sentiment. The British employing class having taught Hitler now learn from their one-time pupil.

In South Wales by the end of the first week of the strike the capitalist press admitted that 96 per cent. of the coalfield was out and put the number of strikers at 96,000. In truth, the number is greater, for South Wales employs more than 100,000 miners.

The world-wide strike wave and the conflicting social forces it reveals justify the stand made by War Commentary and the Anarchist movement of Britain at the beginning of the present war and since. Then and now the trade unions, Labour Party, "Socialists" of the *Tribune* type and Communists (with a brief desertion) claimed that national groupings of workers and capitalists had over-ridden and obliterated the class grouping of workers against employers; that the progressive fight was state against state and not class against class.

War Commentary and the Anarchist movement stood for the workers against the employing class and have during four and a half years of war spoken against the false idea of "national unity" of workers and capitalists.

The present world strike movement justifies us as does the now open attitude of the capitalist class and its state. Churchill, who three and a half years ago learned the strange language of anti-fascism, now speaks with a mixture of contempt and threats to the poor, miserable Lefts who do not approve his full-blooded Toryism. The engineering, as other, employers are everywhere attacking the few remaining advantages left to the workers after the "sacrifices" of trade union officials and Communists. Even many Stalinist conveners and shop stewards who have served their masters well are now being sacked as irritating windbags and won't-works.

But nothing can shake the belly crawling, lick spittle loyalty of trade union bureaucrats and Stalinist shop stewards to their ungrateful masters. The miners' bureaucrat, Communist leader, Arthur Horner tours South Wales coalfield to break the strike. The *Daily Worker* (should we not say *Daily Blackleg*?) goes into action against the miners.

"Britain's war effort is being threatened by dangerous disputes in the coalfields which only the prompt intervention of the Government can bring to an end.

We deplore these strikes. They undermine the war effort and do great harm to the cause of the miners." *Daily Worker*, 8/3/44.

While on page 2 of the same issue Jack Owen pleads the loyalty of the Communists to the engineering employers.

"A large number of the conveners of factories are members of the Communist Party, and the rest are in sympathy with the policy. I am sure the general public do not realise that the smooth working

in the factories, the absence of strikes, the drive to increase production, can be traced largely to the efforts of the Communist Party." *Daily Worker*, 8/3/44.

Of what use will such pleading be? Neither side trusts a traitor.

The trade unions, too, take sides against the miners. Will Lawther, President of the Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain, uses the most reactionary capitalist press to attack the miners, that capitalist press which, without exception of case, time or occasion has always been the most bitter, powerful and lying enemy of pitmen. Writing in the highly paid *Sunday Express* of March 12, 1944, he is featured alongside an editorial entitled *Guilty Men*, the guilty men being, of course, the miners whose bobs put Lawther into office.

The trade unions approve of and assist the most repressive measures of the employers against the state, even the Stalin, Hitler technique of deportation. Says Lawther:

"In the Durham coalfield within the last few days, Mr. Thomas Hornsby, with the full support of the Durham Miners' Association, took such action . . ." *Sunday Express*, 12/3/44.

In Paraguay, in Italy, in Durham the workers are using Syndicalist methods. They must develop Syndicalist organisations too. We Anarchists and Syndicalists take our stand with them against the common enemy across all frontiers. We are for the Preamble of the I.W.W.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class enjoy all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

SOLDIER'S PAY THE House of Commons debate on the subject of increases in soldiers' pay on March 2nd was extremely interesting. Speaker after speaker from both the Right, Left, and Centre got up to declare that the present Forces' pay was wholly inadequate, while Dependant's Allowances were little short of a scandal. Dr. Haden Guest, speaking of soldiers' wives, said that "There are thousands of cases in this country of malnutrition of children because wives do not get enough money." Sir James Grigg, however, airily dismissed all this on the grounds that to increase soldiers' pay and allowances would immediately produce inflation. He declared that the Government "cannot possibly consider increases of the very vast order that have been put forward", but added that they were "ready to discuss any suggestions for the relief of particular hardships and grievances."

The War Minister's attitude produced such a bad impression (though it is probable that Grigg represented the Government attitude fairly truthfully!) that Anthony Eden, being an older Parliamentary hand, found it necessary to pluck his erstwhile Civil Service colleague's coat tails and prevent him from putting his foot in it further. But Eden fared hardly better. Though pressed on several occasions, and by several speakers, to say whether the Government admitted the inadequacy of service pay, he refused to give a straight answer. Nevertheless, it was clear enough that the Government attitude is that soldiers and their wives do quite well enough, and any increase would be quite unnecessary.

It seems likely that pressure of indignation among the Forces will make them modify this view; but the fact remains that any concession they may later make will have been forced from them against their expressed will.

Two other small points emerged. First, that only 103 of the six-hundred-odd M.P.s thought it worth while to vote on this issue; and second, that although not a single speaker disagreed that Service pay was quite inadequate, and in spite of the completely floundering speeches of Grigg and Eden for the Government, only 40 of those present voted against the Government, the remaining 63 voting in its favour. Just one more example (how many more will be needed?) of Parliamentary futility.

CARTOONISTS ON STRIKES

THE cartoonists of the yellow press have excelled themselves during the recent strikes in slandering the workers who are on strike, and the workers in uniform. Almost without exception, the action of the Welsh miners has been represented as a stab in the back of "our boys out there". Illingworth of the *Daily Mail*, for example drew an imbecile with an idiotic grin, wearing a miner's helmet, throwing a piece of coal at a soldier. The *Daily Mirror* worked a similar theme. Perhaps the most repulsive of all came from Vicky of the *News Chronicle*, a paper which usually strives to eschew the grosser vulgarities of the Tory press. He represented a group of underground workers in Italy hunted by the Gestapo, listening to an illegal wireless set. The caption read: "So the comrades in Wales are letting us down". Let us pass over the distaste which the free use of the word "comrade" by the exponents of capitalist individualism gives rise to. What is so nauseating about these cartoons is the insinuating manner in which they launch their attack. They appeal to the finer emotions, such as those of solidarity, in order to discredit those who are struggling for human rights. For all these hacks of the master class are careful to exclude from their scrawls anything which might remind the reader of the actual issues at stake. The justice of the miners' case is a matter of indifference to them; their only concern is to discredit the strikers' motives and so alienate from them the sympathies of the workers in other trades—particularly the sympathies of the soldiers. The theme that runs through all this mud slinging is that to continue the struggle for wages and living standards is to hinder the soldier, even to jeopardize and squander their lives.

Fortunately, the campaign of slander is not a great success. The *News Chronicle's* own correspondent in Italy, S. L. Solon, writes very interestingly on "What our Soldiers Think" in the issue of February 9th. "The soldier," he says, "has learned to look gift horses well in the teeth when it comes to arguments that appear to advance his interests. Take the question of labour difficulties. How easy it is to say 'While our boys are dying these rascals worry about increased wages'. The older soldier

who knows that he will return to his trade, his mine, his factory is not impressed. He knows that it is in his interests to keep working conditions decent, wages high. He knows that Joe and Harry who are working in the old shop are not scoundrels, and if they have grievances it is because they have his interests in mind as well. He knows they are not trying to take advantage of the situation. That was the way they regarded the issues raised by "Bevin's boys". That is the way they look at many of the problems that arise at home. 'We worked with these men. We know them. Don't pretend to protect our interests by blackening them because they raise objections to lowered working conditions.'

This is an admission that the press lords know the realities of the situation. How revolting therefore is their continued attempt to play on people's feelings, to exploit ignorance, in order to divide the working class! How repulsive is their absolute indifference to the injustice under which the strikers rebel!

FINNISH TANGLE

THE recent peace discussions between Finland and Russia have demonstrated in no uncertain terms the subordinate role that the smaller countries play in world affairs. Whatever may be the desires of the Finnish government in the matter they are forced by their geographical position and economic dependence on Germany to take part in the present war, and their continuance in the war is determined not by their own desires, but by the course the war takes for Germany. While the Russians were being pushed back on the central and southern fronts the Finns stood to make certain gains; they could, presumably, hope for at least a return of what they lost in 1940. But now that the Russians have driven the Germans back over the Polish border, and seem on the whole to be achieving military victory, the prospects for Finnish gains are becoming remote. However, there still remains a considerable German force in Finland, and there is a German offer of a further ten divisions and 300 planes (*Daily Express*, 7/3/44) to keep Finland in the war. So long as there is a prospect of a delaying action being fought in Finland the Nazis will see to it that no peace is concluded. Finland's position is parallel to that of France in 1940 and Italy in 1943. If the situation deteriorates sufficiently then a Pétain or Badoglio will be produced who can do the "betraying" act if the present government does not fill the role.

What is certainly clear from the present situation is that the day of small independent nations has long passed, and the choice that now confronts us is either the domination of the world by a few large states operating in their respective "spheres of interest", or the destruction of all national barriers by the workers' revolution.

THIEVES FALL OUT

THE trial of Pucheu in Algiers is another phase in the barely concealed struggle for power that has been going on among the French reactionaries in North Africa ever since the Allies established themselves in Algeria.

We do not deny the charges levelled against Pucheu. We know that he was the enemy of the French workers, and assisted the Nazis in their rule over France, but, on the other hand, we do not believe his accusers are any more anxious for the welfare of the workers, nor do we believe the charges levelled publicly against him represent the real reason for the trial.

Ever since the Allies landed in North Africa there has been a struggle between two sections of the French military and political leaders, one of which, the original 'Free French' expatriate reactionaries under de Gaulle, were supported by the British Government, and the other, the Fascist leaders who had decided Vichy was a poor gamble, supported by the American Government.

In the beginning the ex-Vichyites, such as Darlan, Giraud, Peyrouton, controlled Algiers, supported by the American Government. A bitter struggle ensued. Darlan was assassinated, Peyrouton forced into retirement, and Giraud, after a brief skirmish, accepted a subordinate position in the de Gaulle camp.

In studying the tactics of the struggle for world power it is not unreasonable to see behind this struggle between the French generals a struggle between America and the British Empire for control of the Mediterranean. In this political battle for Europe the first round goes to Churchill. It is significant that Pucheu in his defence urges his association with the American authorities before his departure from occupied France, and that the prosecutor, General Weiss, makes a violently pro-British speech.

One fact is certain—not in this kind of struggle will the French people gain freedom.

STALIN'S MEN —TURN

YET another dent has been made in the party line by the announcement of the exchange of ambassadors between Russia and Italy. Stalin's is the first of the "United" governments to recognise officially the Badoglio régime, and the reason undoubtedly is that Russia is anxious to gain as much weight as possible in the forthcoming struggle for power in Europe. This fact seems to be well recognised by the *Manchester Guardian* (14/3/44) which also points out "It would cause consternation among the parties of the extreme Left, who have hitherto looked to Russia for inspiration and support . . ." Thus Stalin has once more dished his party, which up to now has been calling "Badoglio and the King must go", both in this country and in Italy. The *Daily Worker* (14/3/44) gives only the facts and makes no sort of comment upon them; when their orders come through from above we shall hear them calling for a United Italy behind the "late" Fascists in their patriotic war of liberation.

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What is Commonwealth?

by Bill Brown

THE RECENT BYE-ELECTIONS at Skipton, West Derbyshire and Bury St. Edmunds has caused the political spotlight to be turned onto a newcomer to the "Parliamentary battlefields". The new political organisation is the Common Wealth Party which has achieved quite a large following since the war started. It has a vigorous method of campaigning, reminiscent of the methods used by commercial travellers who use high-pressure sales talk to persuade you to buy a vacuum-cleaner that you don't really want. Some of the daily newspapers like the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Telegraph* have referred the campaigning outfit as the "Common Wealth Circus". The various spokesmen of the Party has described Common Wealth in quite different terms. Tom Wintringham in his bye-election at Midlothian said, "Our principles have most in common with the principles of the Socialist Party." Warrant Officer Loverseed at Eddisbury said, "I usually define Common Wealth as Twentieth Century Liberalism or the ideals of Liberalism brought up to date." Sir Richard Acland himself said at Ilford: "In the broad principles and the ultimate aim, there is little difference, but there is a difference, in present policy, between Common Wealth and Communism." In view of these rather hazy descriptions, some examination and analysis of C.W. programme will not come amiss.

C.W. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR

Its attitude to the war is quite clearly defined. In the "Common Wealth Manifesto", it is stated on p. 3 "War is either a crime or a crusade" and then on p. 2 "this war must be fought and won", thus showing that the Party believes the war to be a crusade. Its attitude towards Germany smacks of a retributory kind; it emphasises *German* militarism as the cause of the European troubles: "No new atmosphere is possible in Europe which does not feel itself guaranteed against a recrudescence of German militarism" p. 14. No mention is made of *British* militarism which conquered a quarter of the globe in the last century and which now is striving desperately to defend the loot; there is no reference to the new imperialism of the U.S.A. which is threatening to dominate the whole world! On the contrary, Common Wealth wants "to create the beginning of an international armed force", p. 15. Against whom will this armed force be used? Will it be used to dominate Germany and her allies? Will it be used against workers in revolt, to restore "law and order"? Common Wealth does not make itself clear on this issue.

COMMON OWNERSHIP

The phrase "Common Ownership" appears to be the main plank in the programme and it is left so indefinite that it can appeal to all manner of people. Even the "Big Boys" of the Party do not seem to agree as to the precise meaning. In leaflet No. 10, they say it is "an economic system such as they have in Russia." On the front page of leaflet No. 8, it is defined as "All the substantial factories, the mines, banks, railways, land, etc., will belong to the community as a whole". Then to add to the confusion, an entire publication is devoted to explaining what is "common ownership". Publication No. 3 blandly tells us that there are "numerous forms of common ownership"! "Subject to supervision by the National Planning Authority, public ownership may be municipal (e.g. a city bus service), regional (e.g. water

supply services), or national (e.g. coal mines). In some cases it may be international (e.g., shipping services between different countries). Many enterprises may be owned and conducted by voluntary co-operative societies, both for production (e.g., bakeries) and for other purposes (e.g., housing schemes, restaurants, etc.) *Publicly owned resources may be entirely entrusted to individuals* subject to a minimum of supervision by public planning agencies (e.g., farming) or to groups (e.g. fisheries)"! (Our italics).

MONEY AND WAGES

In the Manifesto we read "We intend that there shall be transferred to common ownership . . . all credit and investment institutions (banks, insurance companies, building societies)" p. 8. This statement indicates that the party intend to maintain the present financial system, complete with nationalised landlords, since the banks are the biggest landlords in the country! That part of the financial system that most interests the workers under capitalism—wages—is also to be retained. On p. 6 "Higher wages and salaries will be paid to men who do skilled and responsible jobs". "We must have the rate for the job" p. 10. Common Wealth envisages a general committee in each factory, one of whose jobs will be "working out with the management the detailed interpretation of the national and regional agreements made in relation to wages and general conditions of work". (Pamphlet 202 "Trade Unions and Common Ownership.") But is not all this done by Trade Unions and Production Committees under the present capitalist system?

COMPENSATION

On the question of compensation for dispossessed capitalists C.W. puts forward the suggestion that "reasonable compensation on a sliding scale will be paid to the existing owners, starting with 100% compensation to the smallest owners and falling to some quite small percentage in the case of the largest" (p. 8 Manifesto). But since the land, which is the ultimate source of *all* wealth, was stolen from the common people by the passing of thousands of Enclosure Acts, why should the descendants of

(continued on p. 6)

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these thieves and robbers be compensated by anything at all? If a burglar steals a watch and the loot passes to his son on his death, is it reasonable to expect the original owner to compensate the burglar's son on recovering the stolen watch? Yet this is what C.W. is proposing to do with capitalists and landlords who have acquired their wealth in exactly the same way as the burglar's son!

But not all capitalists will be dispossessed, however. From "Notes on Common Ownership", we learn that C.W. does not "intend to take over and run 'on the national account' any of the thousands and thousands of small-scale enterprises, one-man and family businesses." This part of the C.W. programme is designed to appeal to the middle-class business man and the petit-bourgeois upon which the Party chiefly depends for its support. The fur coats and white collars outnumber the cloth caps and reach-me-downs! C.W. is quite definitely a Party of the middle-class and its speedy rise to prominence during the war is due to the impact of the war on that class. War measures such as heavy taxes, have tended to depress the middle-class standard of living down towards the lower standards, under which the broad mass of the people have to exist, and it is upon the resultant discontent that the C.W. has come into the limelight.

THE TRUE AIM OF COMMON WEALTH

What then is the true aim of the C.W. Party? Do they really believe in common ownership? The answer is revealed in "Notes on Common Ownership" "We believe that the only body which is competent to decide on the general economic plan of the whole community is the Cabinet, subject to the democratic will of Parliament. The Cabinet will inevitably require the assistance of an Economic General Staff . . . They (the Economic General Staff) will give the general large-scale orders"! Such an economic set-up can only be called the *Corporate State* on the lines that Mussolini introduced into Italy.

And who will comprise the Economic General Staff? "The ultimate control of the detailed management of any factory must rest in the last resort in the hands of quite a small team—an executive committee—of technically qualified 'men and women.'" In pamphlet 202, "Trade Unions and Common Ownership", p. 13, C.W. states "they (the management) will be drawn from the most able and experienced administrators and technicians who have, in addition, a sound general knowledge of the purposes and principles of the community as a whole." It is here that the true aim is revealed because on the previous page (12), C.W. proudly announce "amongst our membership we probably have a higher proportion of technicians than has any other political organisation," in other words, *Common Ownership is really going to be control by Common Wealth!*

Thus, this brief analysis shows that this "new" Party is no different in ultimate aim to any other political organisations, which spring up from time to time, to represent the interests of a particular class in capitalist society. Workers should pay no heed to these parties which are "all things to all men" when votes are to be netted, but who only prove to be a new clique of rulers in a new disguise. Workers should get down to the job of organising *themselves* in preparation for the time when they are strong enough on the industrial field to take over the factories, mills, mines, workshops and fields, and run them in the interest of all, and not just a privileged few, be they capitalists or Common Welshers.

**Don't forget to buy your
SOLIDARITY TICKET
with this issue**

THERE IS HOPE

The Council of the Durham Miners' Association held its first meeting of the year; for this Association's two thousand delegates represent nearly a hundred thousand miners in the County of Durham.

The Council's proceedings are private, and no press report is taken. The delegates vote by show of hands, but in an individual capacity. The recommendations of the Council are referred back to the lodges, who have the final say, and who nearly always, but not invariably, confirm the decisions of their delegates. This procedure may take longer, but acts as a double democratic check.

The meeting is lively and the delegates speak their minds frankly and freely. Miners are the most direct people in the community, and they have no time for compromise or vague talk. Coming every day in contact with nature at its harshest, they are inevitably robust. Within living memory, the miners threw the Dean of Durham into the river, and they can still be very tough. The rank and file criticise the leaders freely, and the leaders are equally outspoken in their denunciation of wartime strikes as sabotage and treachery.

Picture Post, 12/2/44.

When will some miners' "leaders" follow the Dean's fate?

PRESS FUND

See appeal on page 14.

FEBRUARY

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Cirencester: J.R.A.	4	0		London: E.M.	1	0	
Westmoreland: V.McC.	1	0		Bradford: Anon	4	0	
London: T.H.R.	1	6		London: Park			
Gillingham: M.C.	4	0		Sympathisers	6	11	
Ilford: C.W.	2	6		Ware: E.B.	4	0	
Wigan: H.A.	2	0		Newark: Comrades			
Hadleigh: T.McC.	1	0		per O.M. \$132.74	32	15	0
Birmingham: W.P.F.	7	6		Kingston: K.R.I.	10	6	
London: R.A.	1	0	0	Kingston: Group	1	0	0
Heston: B.W.	4	0		Kingston: T.W.B.	1	0	0
Slough: B.A.M.	4	0					
York: H.A.A.	8	6		Total for Feb.	£62	8	2
Paignton: W.A.D.K.	15	0					
Plymouth: per J.V.	10	0		Previously			
Coventry: J.McG.	3	0	0	acknowledged	£29	2	11
Glasgow: J.W.	4	0		TOTAL TO DATE	£91	11	1
Argyll: K.W.B.	2	0					

THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

By a "Free" Frenchman

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION Committee in Algiers has not only to deal with financial difficulties and the problems created by the North African natives; its attention is constantly kept awake by the struggle which the civil population in France is carrying on against the German army of occupation and the sinister Pétain Government.

This civil war is modestly covered with the general term of "Resistance" which conceals its real social and revolutionary character. Though praising highly the heroes of the resistance movement the National Liberation Committee never fails to warn them that the movement must preserve its national character and must only become an insurrection when the Allied Forces land in France and are able to maintain order on French soil.

Those people have a great fear lest a "premature" military collapse of Germany liberates the revolutionary potential accumulated in France and throughout Europe. The skirmishes which take place almost everywhere between the inhabitants of the cities and the countryside acting independently and the various war régimes which oppress the continent have a class character completely different from the military activities of the Capitalist States where man is the blind instrument of the High Command's military mathematics.

The workers fight with the arms which their position in the apparatus of production has put at their disposal. They act through strikes, propaganda, sometimes sabotage. Their objectives are bread and liberty. They have learned the political lesson of the defeat and they will not agree to go back to a past in which their destinies were in the hands of a cowardly and corrupt bourgeoisie.

The fighters of the Resistance Movement escape all exterior control. They fight on their own account with increasing confidence and new militants are born who carry in themselves profound revolutionary convictions. The soldier under the discipline of his regiment is a blind policeman who hits only when his chiefs order him to do so; the worker who risks his life to distribute a duplicated sheet preserves his social personality, he acts according to his conscience and his political convictions.

The military catastrophe of May 1940 has broken every link between the masses and the ruling class. The defeat, by exposing for all to see the decrepitude of the bureaucracy, the duplicity and decomposition of the politicians and the small bourgeoisie, destroyed all national discipline and threw the people on the road of independent struggle for

the destruction of militarism and the régime which gives birth to it.

With more heroism and clear-sightedness than during the strikes of June 1936 the French workers carry on a struggle which involves the whole of Europe. All the debates which are taking place at Algiers, discussions which take place in publications such as *La France Libre*, published in London, reflect the official Free French Movement's fear of finding itself confronted with a revolutionary movement in France before the operations of the Second Front will be able to control the "liberated" territory. All the oratorical battles in Algiers on the subject of the 4th Republic and of the form which the new Constitution will take, the measures taken to control the Press show that the French politicians do not feel comfortable. They know that it is the end of the old parliamentary system when the class struggle takes a sharp and dramatic character. This is why the executive power is trying to acquire more authority. De Gaulle wants to be able to take decisions without the brake of a representative assembly. The democracy is preparing the apparatus of open dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie knows perfectly well that it has lost its influence. Its last hope resides in the Communist Party because its popularity is still great. Generals feel full of affection for the Stalinists whose task is "to suppress the divorce between the working class and the bourgeoisie which has been caused by the Third International after the last war".

In reality the Communist Party does not control the Resistance Movement. The name has lost its meaning. Its cadres are broken. They would be incapable of keeping back the masses on the road of bourgeois democracy and National reconciliation. The few adventurers who represent the Communist Party will soon be identified as the defenders of the capitalist class.

We would give a false impression of the situation in France if we declared that the civil struggle is solely carried out by workers with socialist and revolutionary ideas. At the same time or mixed with them, students, professional men, officers are engaged in the struggle with great courage but with patriotic and reactionary views. They disapprove of the methods used by the proletarian movement. The workers' arms consist primarily of propaganda, they try to establish a contact with the German soldier, they help him with their propaganda sheets to draw a lesson from the military defeats of the Reich, they try to awaken his proletarian conscience and to

(continued on p. 12)

STILL HELPING FRANCO

United States newspapers showed concern yesterday about two aspects of oil policy.

Criticising the plan to lay a pipe-line from Saudi Arabia to the Eastern Mediterranean coast, the *New York Times* said: "If the Administration is bent on foreign enterprises danger lies ahead. It must be prepared to intervene in the internal political and economic affairs of other countries."

The *Philadelphia Record* said that, despite the ban, 250,000 gallons of high-grade lubricating oil had been loaded at an East Coast port for transfer to Spain. A State Department spokesman was quoted as saying the embargo "does not, and never has, applied to 'cracked oil'."

Observer, 5/3/44.

TRIBUTE TO THE KING

Native councillors, constables, and people from several villages near Port Moresby recently assembled to hear a message from Major General Morris, the commander of the Australian administrative unit in New Guinea.

The natives were told that just as Port Moresby had been bombed by the Japanese the King's house in London had been bombed by the Germans. The native interpreter paused during his reading of the message and exclaimed: "This man, him come along King's village of London. When King man's house bombed, did he sway? No, him no run away."

Manchester Guardian, 4/3/44.

London natives having heard of the King man's shelter are not so appreciative.

WE DIDN'T SAY IT!

As the zero hour approaches for the U.S. to assume this epic responsibility, honest patriots may well feel dismayed. For while the U.S. armed forces have by now developed a big potential striking power, the American common man, whether soldier or civilian, seems ill-equipped to grapple with the invisibles and intangibles that are at stake. The bewilderment of the boys in the armed forces concerning the meaning of the war is noted by almost everyone who goes out to the front. Yet the boys at the front are held together by an *esprit de corps* which urges them on towards a common purpose—to lick the enemy and get back home. The home front, on the other hand, which is not much better educated in the meaning of the war than the soldiers, lacks even an *esprit de corps*. The home front, speaking generally, seems to have no comprehension of the historic role that it is being called upon to play. Hence instead of pulling together it is breaking apart.

Life (U.S.A.), 10/1/44.

And to think of the millions spent to inform civilians and soldiers, in newspapers, on films and the radio of the wonderful cause the democracies are fighting for!

WHAT A WASTE!

World War II is a big war. It is big geographically, embracing all the oceans and continents of the world. It is big numerically, involving 41 nations and more than 15,000,000 combat troops. Above all, it is big in war production and war transportation. In one year the U.S. alone is producing for the Allied armies 85,000 planes, 60,000 artillery weapons, 34,000 tanks and almost 7,000,000 small arms.

Life (U.S.A.), 10/1/44.

WANTED—MORE CHILDREN

Complaining of the difficulty of obtaining medical benefit for women workers in the later stages of pregnancy, Dr. Summerskill quoted from a circular which, she said, had been issued by the Ministry of Health stating that pregnancy did not necessarily give rise to incapacity for work and that benefits could only be paid if there is incapacity for work.

"This devilish document," she added, "is the death warrant for thousands of infants in this country. These women have to go on until they cannot stand or work any longer."

Evening Standard, 8/3/44.

Through

"YELLOW RATS" IN RUSSIA

About 500 deputies attended the session of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics, which has just ended.

In the diplomatic box was Mr. Averill Harriman. The British Ambassador, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, sat three rows back, with the Chinese Ambassador. Behind them was the Japanese Ambassador with his aides.

Evening Standard, 7/3/44.

In Russia Germans are hanged for atrocities committed while Japanese, also responsible for atrocities according to Government propaganda, sit in diplomatic boxes.

BADOGGIO THANKS CHURCHILL

Marshal Badoglio expressed his warm appreciation of Mr. Churchill's references to Italy after a Cabinet meeting at which the text of the Prime Minister's speech was examined. Marshal Badoglio told me: "Mr. Churchill's speech has completely clarified the situation. It remains now for the Government to continue its labours and the Opposition to desist from chattering."

He did not disguise his gratification at the Prime Minister's words. A spirit of elation was also evident among all the Cabinet Ministers with whom I had an opportunity of speaking.

Manchester Guardian, 26/2/44.

Churchill praised Mussolini when he was in power, why shouldn't he praise Badoglio now? It was silly of the Italians to want to go on strike as a protest against the Prime Minister's speech.

INVESTORS' NIGHTMARE

The desolate Namaqualand coast is so rich in diamonds that known deposits have been concreted in, and all working confined to the state diggings at Alexander Bay so that the world diamond market should not be broken.

Evening Standard, 29/2/44.

There is no safety for investors: Nature plays dirty tricks on them and produces more gold and diamonds than they require. It is a sad state of affairs to discover diamonds only to concrete them in and have them guarded by special policemen.

TUBERCULOSIS UP IN GLASGOW

A large increase in the number of tuberculosis cases in Glasgow last year has been reported by Sir Alexander Macgregor, medical officer of health. In the last three months of 1943 14,308 patients attended the dispensary, compared with 10,580 for the same period in the previous year.

Manchester Guardian, 17/2/44.

Tuberculosis is mostly due to malnutrition and yet Government spokesmen assure us we have never been better fed.

the Press

GRATEFUL COUNTRY

An ex-soldier who had been employed on munitions in Leicestershire told Mr. Justice Wrottesley at Leeds Assizes yesterday that when he was unable to find accommodation for his wife and five young children in the area where he worked he sought shelter for them in a public institution and offered to pay for it. The outcome was that he had to give up his job and the whole family became paupers.

Manchester Guardian, 7/3/44.

If this happens while the war is still on what will it be like afterwards?

SLUMS FOR WORKERS

Slums legally condemned as unfit for habitation are being re-occupied in some areas says the Health Ministry. Because of the acute housing shortage some local authorities are being advised to suspend existing regulations and issue re-occupation licences.

There are more than 100,000 families in Britain living in houses legally condemned said a Ministry official and it is estimated that 300,000 houses are unfit for habitation though not legally condemned, which but for the war would have been demolished.

Before the war slums were being removed at the rate of 60,000 a year but now clearance operations will have to wait for the Government's long term housing programme.

Manchester's Medical Officer of Health says there are 70,000 unfit houses in the city and urges the demolition of 10,000 a year.

Evening Standard, 3/3/44.

Never mind, Mr. Ernest Brown *did* build one cottage.

POST-WAR UNEMPLOYMENT

At the present time, some 53½ million people are employed in the United States. Since the outbreak of war unemployment has dropped from over 8½ to barely one million. Some 4 million men still required for the army and war industry must be replaced up to about ⅔ out of the less important occupations or by women's work. According to all probabilities, this favourable state of the labour market may be reversed with the end of hostilities. Already in the autumn of last year, the Statistical Bureau of the Department of Labour uttered a grave warning of this possibility. It estimated that 6 months after the end of the war, some 12 million persons would be unemployed.

Bulletin of the International Federation of T.U. 1/2/44.

U.S. WAR AIM

For the uninitiated, it may be explained that "cheesecake" is a division of photographic art which consists in revealing the beauties of the female form in a way that will be appreciated by all citizens of artistic impulses.

Cheesecake has now become such a part of our national mores that a man with a secondhand locomotive for sale would not think of advertising it without including a picture of a luscious female admiring his pile of junk. He may even allow the suggestion to linger that the lady will be thrown in for the purpose of making a quick deal. Whether public taste is being vulgarized, or frankness is on the increase, the fact remains that even in selling War Bonds the message is put across in neat melodies of calves, knees and thighs.

The U.S. Army adopted cheesecake, named its proponents "pin-up girls" and gave a living example of the womanhood we are fighting for. There is no secret about our war aims; there are no secrets about the pin-up girls.

Collier's (U.S.A.), 22/1/44.

PUZZLED CORPORAL

A corporal who has had years of training in this country has written a long and critical letter to the military correspondent of the *New York Times*, and it is published here to-day.

The corporal says that one of the United States Army's weaknesses is a lack of conviction about what it is fighting for.

Of all enlisted men he has met, he says, "I could practically count on my fingers and toes the men who have any basic conviction of what the war is about."

News Chronicle, 3/3/44.

We refer the disgruntled corporal to the above cutting. What's wrong with fighting for "cheesecake" and pin-up girls?

WAR ARITHMETIC

Sheaves of figures are published, not with the intention of illuminating the reader, but instead to impress him in favour of one side or the other.

For instance, some time back I read in a morning paper that, according to a "reliable report," 200,000 Germans have been killed on a comparatively small sector of the Russian front. If so, then the total casualties in killed and wounded must have been in the neighbourhood of 860,000, and as in a modern battle a 20 per cent. loss may be taken as a maximum (it is seldom approached), then there must have been no fewer than 4,300,000 German combatants.

Further, as under present-day conditions, administrative troops outnumber combatant—in the last war the ratio was 40 per cent. to 60 per cent.—at least another 4,300,000 must be added. Thus, on and in rear of this comparatively small sector we obtain a grand total of 8,600,000 Germans—a fantastic figure!

Maj.-Gen. J. F. C. Fuller,
Evening Standard, 6/3/44.

We are very sorry if this article cooled the enthusiasm of journalists and broadcasters who announce with such relish that "so many millions of the enemy have been killed".

"DAILY WORKER" PLEASE NOTE

The United States *Army and Navy Journal* says: "Stalin has shown he is satisfied with the plans which have been communicated to him about the invasion of the Western Front."—*Reuter*.

Sunday Dispatch, 5/3/44.

C.P. and the DOCKERS

THE WEAKNESS within the serried ranks of the C.P. is finding expression in such concrete forms as the recent publication written jointly by Bert Aylward (N.A.S.D.) and Pat Coleman (T. & G.W.U.) on the problems of the London Docks. One can only assume that their disgusting behaviour on the occasion of the recent London Dock strike, as in all other strikes, is sending them scurrying in search of a conscience. Faced with the futility of such a search the traditional red herring is served up as a palliative to the workers.

While containing many useful revelations the pamphlet resolves itself into a series of traps for the unwary docker, although for most people its transparency will reflect the spider-like activity of the C.P. It is blatantly fallacious, and written in that glib manner in which members of the C.P. delight to rouse or stupify what they consider to be the rabble of the dockside; an observation strengthened by their failure to recognise the ever present initiative of the docker and their insistence on leading him along the multitudinous paths of officialdom—always blind alleys. To this end the anti-fascist outlook of the docker is represented in the mushy sentiments of tradition and the "Jolly George."

A fairly lucid and comprehensive exposition of dock conditions seems to

be a sort of dress rehearsal before the dockers are invited to be bought by the acceptance of Beveridge schemes, National Health Services and the new Education Bill. A notable feature is that it implies a differentiation in the grievances that exist under the Port of London Authority from those existing in other Ports and under other Authorities and thus segregates the docker from his fellow workers. The incidence of the disparity in wages exists in every other port, factory and mine throughout the country.

While agreeing that a dock worker fighting alone against the tremendous forces of the bosses is comparable to "Don Quixote tilting at windmills," nevertheless, the dockers would do well to smash the machinery embodied in the Dock Labour Scheme which merely gives scope for power-hungry Communists and Trade Union officials. The Dock Labour Scheme incorporates the original industrial negotiating machinery for the dock industry and is apparently hailed as infallible by virtue of the equal representation of workers and employers. As is usual with such national schemes there is a complexity of so-called organisation which baffles the comprehension of most men, e.g., for the London Docks apart from the ordinary Union machinery the controlling committees are as follows:—

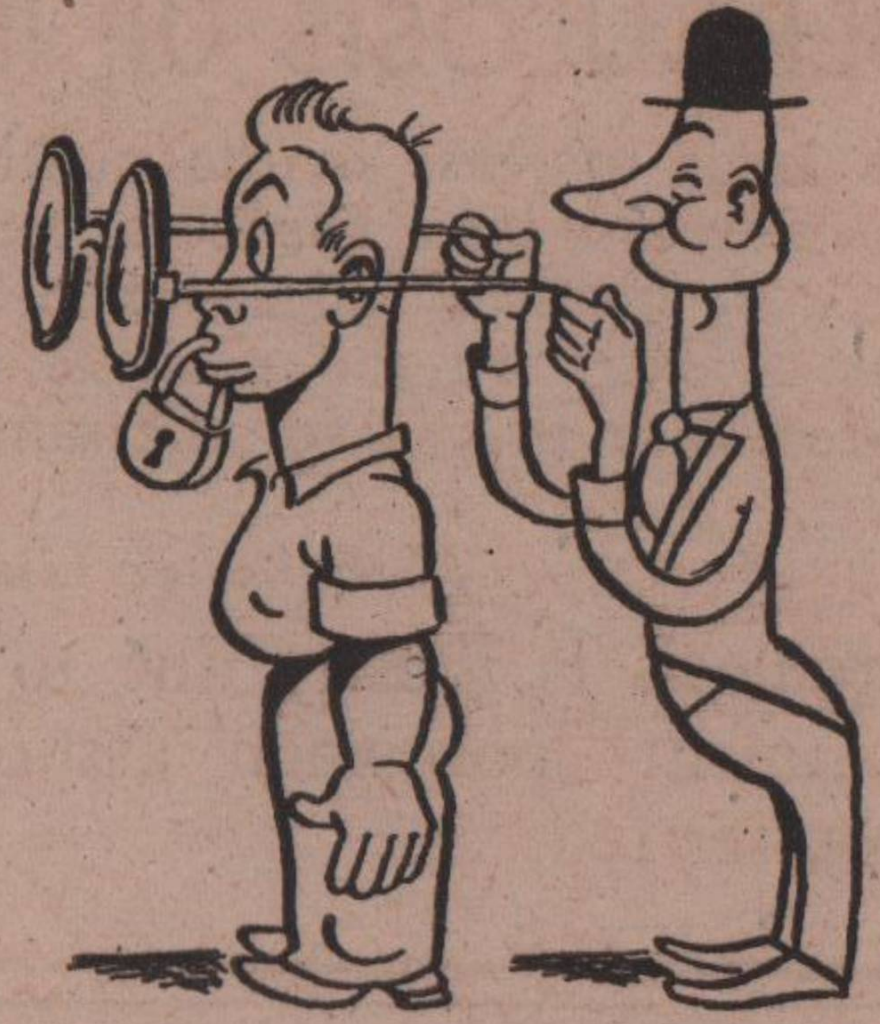
National Joint Council
Local Joint Committee
5 Group Joint Committees

Corporation Board
Local Board
5 Zone Committees

General Manager
Port Manager
Sub-Manager
9 Sectors.

Even the most cursory examination of the primary function of each committee indicates that it is wholly of a disciplinary nature and operates entirely in the interests of the employers, never against them. It is significant that the chairman of the Corporation Board is R. T. Garrett, a member of the P.L.A. Board and a Director of the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company, and even the C.P. do not fail to recognise the tremendous power of the P.L.A. when they say—"This powerful body has a borrowed capital of £42,037,957. Among the companies which the P.L.A. has directly acquired or incorporated are the London and India Docks Company, Millwall Dock Company, Surrey Commercial Dock, Millwall Dock Equipment Company, and the London Grain Elevator Company. On its Board of 27 members

each new committee is set up, and the only indubitable conclusion to be drawn is that the C.P. is not really concerned with the problems of the dockers, but rather with the setting up of their own bureaucracy of paid officials. Elected representatives sound superior in character to nominated representatives, but in each case power is delegated out of the hands of the workers. Power must always be retained by the workers and decisions enforced by direct action. To do this the workers must retain the power of the executive body and any elected representative must be merely the microphone through which the executive voices an opinion. The first concern of the worker on any given job is the conditions for himself and his fellow workers. Contented workers do not need discipline, or the peculiar antics of the C.P.



are twenty directors who, between them, hold directorships in 155 other companies, covering shipping, coal, Empire trading, electricity, cement, flour, railways, insurance, iron ore, rubber, tea, paint, wharfage, etc."

As a solution to the discontent amongst the dockers who condemn the present disciplinary system, the C.P. visualise the setting up of a Port Disciplinary Committee which would consist of Union and lay representatives of the men, employers' representatives, and an impartial public figure as chairman, and of course with the inevitable accoutrement of an Output Committee. To the layman unaccustomed to the machinations of the C.P., it must seem incredible that so much stress is given to the continued cooperation with the employers when



LISBON HOTEL

"By the way, aren't we at war with one another?"

The Tyranny of the Clock

By George Woodcock

IN NO CHARACTERISTIC is existing society in the West so sharply distinguished from the earlier societies, whether of Europe or the East, than in its conception of time. To the ancient Chinese or Greek, to the Arab herdsman or Mexican peon of to-day, time is represented in the cyclic processes of nature, the alternation of day and night, the passage from season to season. The nomads and farmers measured and still measure their day from sunrise to sunset, and their year in terms of seedtime and harvest, of the falling leaf and the ice thawing on the lakes and rivers. The farmer worked according to the elements, the craftsman for so long as he felt it necessary to perfect his product. Time was seen in a process of natural change, and men were not concerned in its exact measurement. For this reason civilisations highly developed in other respects had the most primitive means of measuring time, the hour glass with its trickling sand or dripping water, the sun dial, useless on a dull day, and the candle or lamp whose unburnt remnant of oil or wax indicated the hours. All these devices were approximate and inexact, and were often rendered unreliable by the weather or the personal laziness of the tender. Nowhere in the ancient or mediaeval world were more than a tiny minority of men concerned with time in the terms of mathematical exactitude.

Modern, Western man, however, lives in a world which runs according to the mechanical and mathematical symbols of clock time. The clock dictates his movements and inhibits his actions. The clock turns time from a process of nature into a commodity that can be measured and bought and sold like soap or sultanas. And because, without some means of exact time keeping, industrial capitalism could never have developed and could not continue to exploit the workers, the clock represents an element of mechanical tyranny in the lives of modern men more potent than any individual exploiter or than any other machine. It is valuable to trace the historical process by which the clock influenced the social development of modern European civilisation.

It is a frequent circumstance of history that a culture or civilisation develops the device that will later be used for its destruction. The ancient Chinese, for example, invented gunpowder, which was developed by the military experts of the West and eventually led to the Chinese civilisation itself being destroyed by the high explosives of modern warfare. Similarly, the supreme achievement of the ingenuity of the craftsmen in the mediaeval cities of Europe was the invention of the mechanical clock, which, with its revolutionary alteration of the concept of time, materially assisted the growth of exploiting capitalism and the destruction of the mediaeval culture.

There is a tradition that the clock appeared in the eleventh century, as a device for ringing bells at regular intervals in the monasteries which, with the regimented life they imposed on their inmates, were the closest social approximation in the middle ages to the factory of to-day. The first authenticated clock, however, appeared in the thirteenth century, and it was not until the fourteenth century that clocks became common as ornaments of the public buildings in the German cities.

These early clocks, operated by weights, were not particularly accurate, and it was not until the sixteenth century that any great reliability was attained. In

England, for instance, the clock at Hampton Court, made in 1540, is said to have been the first accurate clock in the country. And even the accuracy of the sixteenth century clocks are relative, for they were equipped only with hour hands. The idea of measuring time in minutes and seconds had been thought out by the early mathematicians as far back as the fourteenth century, but it was not until the invention of the pendulum in 1657 that sufficient accuracy was attained to permit the addition of a minute hand, and the second hand did not appear until the eighteenth century. These two centuries, it should be observed, were those in which capitalism grew to such an extent that it was able to take advantage of the industrial revolution in technique in order to establish its domination over society.

The clock, as Lewis Mumford has pointed out, represents the key machine of the machine age, both for its influence on technics and for its influence on the habits of men. Technically, the clock was the first really automatic machine that attained any importance in the life of men. Previous to its invention, the common machines were of such a nature that their operation depended on some external and unreliable force, such as human or animal muscles, water or wind. It is true that the Greeks had invented a number of primitive automatic machines, but these were used, like Hero's steam engine, either for obtaining 'supernatural' effects in the temples or for amusing the tyrants of Levantine cities. But the clock was the first automatic machine that attained a public importance and a social function. Clock-making became the industry from which men learnt the elements of machine making and gained the technical skill that was to produce the complicated machinery of the industrial revolution.

Socially the clock had a more radical influence than any other machine, in that it was the means by which the regularisation and regimentation of life necessary for an exploiting system of industry could best be attained. The clock provided a means by which time—a category so elusive that no philosophy has yet determined its nature—could be measured concretely in the more tangible terms of space provided by the circumference of a clock dial. Time as duration became disregarded, and men began to talk and think always of 'lengths' of time, just as if they were talking of lengths of calico. And time, being now measurable in mathematical symbols, became regarded as a commodity that could be bought and sold in the same way as any other commodity.

The new capitalists, in particular, became rabidly time-conscious. Time, here symbolising the labour of the workers, was regarded by them almost as if it were the chief raw material of industry. 'Time is money' became one of the key slogans of capitalist ideology, and the timekeeper was the most significant of the new types of official introduced by the capitalist dispensation.

In the early factories the employers went so far as to manipulate their clocks or sound their factory whistles at the wrong times in order to defraud the workers of a little of this valuable new commodity. Later such practices became less frequent, but the influence of the clock imposed a regularity on the lives of the majority of men which had previously been known only in the monastery. Men actually became like clocks, acting with a repetitive regularity which had no resemblance to the rhythmic life

of a natural being. They became, as the Victorian phrase put it, 'as regular as clockwork'. Only in the country districts where the natural lives of animals and plants and the elements still dominated life, did any large proportion of the population fail to succumb to the deadly tick of monotony.

At first this new attitude to time, this new regularity of life, was imposed by the clock-owning masters on the unwilling poor. The factory slave reacted in his spare time by living with a chaotic irregularity which characterised the gin-sodden slums of early nineteenth century industrialism. Men fled to the timeless worlds of drink or Methodist inspiration. But gradually the idea of regularity spread downward among the workers. Nineteenth century religion and morality played their part by proclaiming the sin of 'wasting time'. The introduction of mass-produced watches and clocks in the 1850's spread time-consciousness among those who had previously merely reacted to the stimulus of the knocker-up or the factory whistle. In the church and the school, in the office and the workshop, punctuality was held up as the greatest of the virtues.

Out of this slavish dependence on mechanical time which spread insidiously into every class in the nineteenth century there grew up the demoralising regimentation of life which characterises factory work to-day. The man who fails to conform faces social disapproval and economic ruin. If he is late at the factory the worker will lose his job or even, at the present day, find himself in prison. Hurried meals, the regular morning and evening scramble for trains or buses, the strain of having to work to time schedules, all contribute, by digestive and nervous disturbance, to ruin health and shorten life.

Nor does the fanatical imposition of regularity tend, in the long run, to greater efficiency. Indeed, the quality of the product is usually much poorer, because the employer, regarding time as a commodity which he has to pay for, forces the operative to maintain such a speed that his work must necessarily be skimmed. Quantity rather than quality becoming the criterion, the enjoyment is taken out of the work itself, and the worker in his turn becomes a 'clock-watcher', concerned only with when he will be able to escape to the scanty and monotonous leisure of industrial society, in which he 'kills time' by cramming in as much time-scheduled and mechanised enjoyment of cinema, radio and newspaper as his wage packet and his tiredness will allow. Only if he is willing to accept the hazards of living by his faith or his wits can the man without money avoid living as a slave to the clock.

The problem of the clock is, in general, similar to that of the machine. Mechanical time is valuable as a means of co-ordination of activities in a highly developed society, just as the machine is valuable as a means of reducing unnecessary labour to a minimum. Both are valuable for the contribution they make to the smooth running of society, and should be used insofar as they assist men to co-operate efficiently and to eliminate monotonous toil and social confusion. But neither should be allowed to dominate men's lives as they do to-day.

Now the movement of the clock sets the tempo of men's lives—they become the servant of the concept of time which they themselves have made, and are held in fear, like Frankenstein by his own monster. In a sane and free society such an arbitrary domination of man's functions by either clock or machine would obviously be out of the question. The domination of man by the creation of man is even more ridiculous than the domination of man by man. Mechanical time would be relegated to its true function of a means of reference and co-ordination, and men would return again to a balanced view of life no longer dominated by time-regulation and the worship of the clock. Complete liberty implies freedom from the tyranny of abstractions as well as from the rule of men.

The Resistance Movement

(continued from p. 7)

make of him a defeatist who will fight against Hitler's dictatorship.

The bourgeois elements use by preference terroristic and guerilla methods. They keep in touch with the Allied High Command and receive the imprimatur from the Alger's government. These patriotic groups are essentially reactionary; they will form the basis for the Gaullist militia which will have the task of preserving social order. The differences existing between the methods and the aims of the two movements are discussed in the illegal press and some issues of *La France Libre* have dedicated a few articles to this.

This double aspect of the National struggle exists all over occupied Europe. The High Commands of the Allies fear a revolution which would embrace vital countries; it is this more than military considerations which determines their strategy. The Allies do not want to be the agents of a proletarian revolution, as has been amply demonstrated in Italy. This explains the wait-and-see attitude of the military leaders. This fear of revolution is the common denominator of the Axis and the Democracies. Goebbels rings the alarm and warns the English and American capitalists.

All governments, in spite of competition amongst themselves, are carrying on a class war. Each soldier is used by them as a white guard, each airman either belonging to the R.A.F. or the Luftwaffe has for his task to spread terror and to prevent by accumulating ruins every possibility of revolutionary action. This is the task imposed on the soldier who has lost all contact with reality, with his class and his internationalist feelings.

Every soldier must understand that the military leaders will neither liberate France nor Europe and allow her to decide her destiny. The world is already divided amongst rapacious governments who have their puppet parliament, army, police and journalists ready to take their place on the back of the European workers.

LIVERPOOL F.F.P.
— INAUGURAL MEETING —
THE WORK OF FREEDOM PRESS
Speaker: JOHN HEWETSON
SUNDAY, MARCH 26th
3 p.m.
HANOVER HOTEL, HANOVER STREET

ANARCHISTS on PROPERTY

WE HAVE BEEN asked (see letters to the Editors) to clarify the attitude of the anarchists towards property. Anarchist theoreticians have often dealt with this subject which is closely connected with the question of law and of State. Before dealing with it ourselves we are giving extracts on property by some of the foremost Anarchist theoreticians.

William Godwin's views on property have been given in the pamphlet of *Selections from Political Justice* recently published by Freedom Press. We shall therefore start with P. J. Proudhon, author of the book *What is Property?* where he gave the famous answer "Property is theft".



Definition Of Property

"According to its definition, property is the right of using and abusing; this is to say, it is the absolute, irresponsible domain of man over his person and his goods. If property ceased to be the right to abuse, it would cease to be property. Has not the proprietor the right to give his goods to whomever he will, to let his neighbour burn without crying fire, to oppose the public good, to squander his patrimony, to exploit the labourer and hold him to ransom, to produce bad goods and sell them badly? Can he be judicially constrained to use his property well? Can he be disturbed in the abuse of it? What am I saying? Is not property, precisely because it is full of abuse, the most sacred thing in the world for the legislator?" Proudhon, *Contradictions*.

"In theft such as the law forbids, force and fraud are employed alone and openly; in authorised theft they are disguised under a produced utility, which they use as a device for plundering their victim. The direct use of violence and force was early and unanimously rejected; no nation has yet reached the point of delivering itself from theft when united with talent, labour, and possession". In this sense property is "theft", "the exploitation of the weak by the strong." Proudhon, *What is Property?*

Bakunin on Property and Government

"Private Property is at once the consequence and the basis of the State" (*Statuts*).

"Every government is necessarily based on exploitation on the one hand, and on the other hand has exploitation for its goal and bestows upon exploitation protection and legality . . . Exploiting and governing mean the same; the one completes the other, and serves as its means and its end." (*Oeuvres*).

"On the privileged representatives of brain-work (who at present are called to be the representatives of society, not because they have more sense, but only because they were born in the privileged class) such property bestows all the blessings and also all the debasement of our civilization: wealth, luxury, profuse expenditure, comfort, the pleasures of family life, the exclusive enjoyment of political



liberty, and hence the possibility of exploiting millions of labourers and governing them at discretion in one's own interest. What is there left for the representatives of hand-work, these numberless millions of proletarians or of small farmers? Hopeless misery, not even the joys of the family (for the family soon becomes a burden to the poor man), ignorance, barbarism, an almost bestial existence, and this for consolation with it all, that they are serving as pedestal for the culture, liberty, and depravity of a minority." Bakunin, *Oeuvres*.

Immoral Influence of Property

"Year by year thousands of children grow up in the physical and moral filth of our great cities, among a population corrupted by the struggle for daily bread, and at the same time they daily see the immorality, idleness, prodigality, and ostentation of which these same cities are full . . . Thus society is incessantly bringing forth beings who are incapable of an honourable and industrious life, and who are full of anti-social feelings. It does homage to them when success crowns their crimes, and sends them to the penitentiary when they are unlucky." Kropotkin, *Prisons*.

Private Property is Unjust

"The labour of all has produced the entire accumulated mass of wealth, that of the present generation as well as that of all that went before. The house in which we happen to be together has value only by its being in Paris, this glorious city in which the labour of twenty generations is piled layer upon layer. If it were to be removed to the snow-fields of Siberia, it would be worth substantially nothing. This machine, invented and patented by you, has in it the labour of five or six generations; it has a value only as a part of the vast whole that we call nineteenth-century industry. Take your lace-making machine to the Papuans in New Guinea, and it is valueless." Kropotkin, *Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution*.

"Science and industry; theory and practice; the invention and the putting the invention in operation, which leads to new inventions again; head work and hand work—all this is connected. Every discovery, every progress, every increase in our wealth, has its

origin in the total bodily and mental activity of the past and present. Then by what right can any one appropriate to himself the smallest fraction of this vast total and say 'this belongs to me and not to you'?" Kropotkin, *Conquest of Bread*.

Private Property Will Disappear

"In our century the Communist tendency is continually reasserting itself. The penny bridge disappears before the public bridge; and the turnpike road before the free road. The same spirit pervades thousands of other institutions. Museums, free libraries, and free schools; parks and pleasure grounds; paved and lighted streets, free for everybody's use; water supplied to private dwellings, with a growing tendency to disregarding the exact amount of it used by the individual; tramways and railways which have already begun to introduce the season ticket or the uniform tax, and will surely go much further on the line when they are no longer private property: all these are tokens showing in what direction further progress is to be expected". Kropotkin, *Anarchist Communism*.

"The first act of the commune will consist in laying hands on the entire capital accumulated in its

Why you should help

WE THANK THOSE readers who have contributed to our Funds this month. In particular those groups of American comrades who whilst giving all their support to our American contemporaries nevertheless feel that *Freedom Press* is also deserving of their solidarity. Their solidarity for our work will, we hope, act as an example to all those of our comrades who it would appear must think that *Freedom Press* can carry on with secret funds or on air! We do neither! If we are to produce *War Commentary* and publish new books and pamphlets we must have your financial support and so far this year we have not received the necessary contributions to assure the £1000 during 1944.

A comrade recently wrote to us suggesting that if we told readers why we require £1000 there would be more support forthcoming. The simplest answer is that we estimate that we shall need £1000 this year to balance our income and expenditure. Why doesn't our income from sales of literature balance our expenditure then? There are a number of reasons of which the following are but a few. (1) *War Commentary* is sold at a loss. We cannot remedy this state of affairs without increasing the price or greatly increasing the circulation. The latter cannot be done with our restricted paper quota. (2) We sell a considerable amount of literature to bookshops. Besides allowing the usual trade discounts we also have to allow credit, whereas our paper bills and printing bills as well as our postage bills, have to be paid on the nail! Since we have no capital to play with the effect of allowing credit but not receiving it has serious repercussions on our finances. On top of that we have to build up a stock of literature which will be sold, say, over a period of two years. That means that we have to lay out the money to produce these pamphlets but will not recover the same for perhaps two years, during which time other pamphlets must be produced.

bosom . . . on the materials for consumption as well as to those for production . . . People have tried to make a distinction between the capital that serves for the production of the goods and that which satisfies the wants of life, and have said that machines, factories, raw materials, the means of transportation, and the land are destined to become the property of the community; while dwellings, finished products, clothing, and provisions will remain private property. This distinction is erroneous and impracticable. The house that shelters us, the coal and gas that we burn, the nutriment that our body burns up, the clothing that covers us, and the book from which we draw instruction, are all essential to our existence and are just as necessary for successful production and for the further development of mankind as are machines, factories, raw materials, and other factors of production. With private property in the former goods, there would still remain inequality, oppression and exploitation; a half-way abolition of private property would have its effectiveness crippled in advance." Kropotkin *Paroles d'un Révolté*.

The above quotations are taken from the interesting work of Dr. Paul Eltzbacher: *Anarchism*.

From the foregoing, comrades will readily appreciate that what *Freedom Press* suffers from is a lack of reserves with which to finance our new publications.

Now during the coming months a number of new publications will appear. One of these is George Woodcock's book *ANARCHY—OR CHAOS* (124 pages crown 8vo.) When this book appears—in about a month's time—we shall have already paid for the paper, printing, and binding of the whole edition. But we shall not recover the money spent on the production of this book for perhaps a year. The same procedure and conditions will apply to Marcus Graham's pamphlet *The Issues in the Present War*, our new Russian pamphlet and John Hewetson's pamphlet on Health which are appearing in the near future.

That briefly—without troubling you comrades, without a detailed description of the headaches which such a situation produces for the editors—is the position. We therefore ask you to give all your support to the *Friends of Freedom Press* Solidarity Tickets initiative which, if successful, will be a small windfall for our funds, and to let us have your regular contributions to the Press Fund. Without your support *Freedom Press* cannot survive. With it, we feel confident that we can produce a working class and revolutionary literature which will play its part in shaping the new society.

BRISTOL F.F.P. MEETINGS

Lectures and discussions on anarchism and the problems of the land, docks, factories and mines are held every Monday evening at 7 p.m. Tea provided.

For details write to: Tom Carlisle, Elm Cottage, Clifton Vale, Bristol, 8.



MINERS' STRIKE

Since our comrades in the mining industry came out on strike, there has been a deliberate attempt made by the capitalist press to create antagonism between them and the men in the forces. They are trying to tell us that the miners are stabbing the soldiers in the back.

Do they think we are illiterate imbeciles? We envy our comrades in the mines and only wish we could strike for higher rates of pay ourselves. It is because we cannot strike that the government is able to impose such low rates on us. The miners are able to strike and the last thing we do is feel antagonistic towards them, in fact we salute them. The Soldier salutes the Miner.

Tpr. B. L., *Newmarket.*

I.W.W. WRITES

The *Industrial Worker* is increasing its circulation at a faster rate than for many years previous. Unfortunately, our ideological strength is on the west coast rather than in the more industrialized east—tho even here we are making good progress.

Armistice will bring an intensification and overdramatization of the class conflict; with the employing class having at its disposal the same moronic group who—having had their blood lust aroused and staled by years in training camps—will be willing tools against militant labour. The CIO, to-day almost openly the labour front of capitalism, will lose its in-

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flated membership with the abolition of the check-off (deduction of union dues by the employer) and its smelly record and control by the comrats during the war period will split the movement wide open. Whether this split will cause a devotion to real unionism is something we are unable at the moment to predict.

PATRICK P. READ,
Editor *Industrial Worker.*

ON PROPERTY

I have not clearly understood your views on property, so I am writing to give my own views, which seem to be compatible with Anarchist principles, but demand a different expression of them.

You claim property to be a means of exploitation, but there are two distinct kinds of property. The first and original kind has no wide social implications, because the owner is also the user, e.g. a hammer or bicycle. The essential feature of the second is the dis-association of the ownership and use, and it is that which leads to exploitation.

I do not suppose you intend to abolish both kind of property, as goods which have been distributed seem to come in the first category, and you advocate "common ownership" of the means of production.

I suggest that this distinction is embodied in the principle that property should be conditional on the owner making full and effective use of it. This excludes the possibility of exploitation, as property is limited to the extent that the owner is prepared to use himself, and it also ensures the best possible use being made of everything.

A recognition of this principle would give workers a sense of their right to the factories and machines they use, and this feeling must precede the act of dispossessing the present owners.

The usual expressions "Appropriation of the means of production" and "Abolition of property" are open to interpretation as "robbery", and have led some socialists to advocate compensation for the present owners.

The above principle is also clearly opposed to "state ownership", as it assumes the possibility of alternative ownership.

Even if you don't find this principle acceptable, it would be as well to give the subject of property a more detailed treatment.

C. J. G., *Hebburn on Tyne.*
[We are publishing in this issue the first of a series of articles and quotations on the questions of property which, we agree with our reader, is of of primary importance.—EDITORS.]

BOOKS ON SPAIN

In one of your recent issues you quoted a few books in which anarchism was mentioned. It may interest you to know the following books:

Behind the Spanish Barricades,
by Langdon Davies.

Catalonia Infelix and Spanish Tragedy, by Allison Peers.

War in Spain, by Ramon Sender.

Homage to Catalonia,
by George Orwell.

Spain, by Madariaga.

Spanish Cockpit, by F. Borkenau.

A Key to Victory Spain, by C. Duff.
It is but a short list and many more could be found. Most, I think of the books are hostile to Anarchism and I think a great service to Anarchism would be served by a history of Spanish Anarchism, either in general, or its part in the civil war.

N. H. I., *Epping.*

KINGSTON SUNDAY LECTURES

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at 7 p.m. sharp.

March 12th. P.P.U.

THE POLITICS OF PEACE

March 19th. Philip Samson

ATROCITIES IN PEACE AND WAR

March 26th.

C.P. POLICY, PRESENT AND FUTURE

A Red and Black Notebook

THE MINERS' FIGHT



IT SEEMS THERE is nothing too low for a trade union official. Will Lawther of the M.F.G.B. and the Durham Miners' Association is, with other officials of the latter organization, seeking to turn soldiers of the British Army against the miners on the worst model of Lloyd George's government during 1916-18.

"Mr. Will Lawther, president of the Mineworkers' Federation, disclosed in Durham last night that he has received many messages from men in the Fifth and Eighth Armies fighting in Italy, accusing Britain's miners of stabbing them in the back. To-day Durham Miners' Association agents will go to all parts of the Durham coalfield to pass on the fighting men's messages." *Daily Express, 27/2/44.*

So far Mr. Lawther has not made public the alleged letters. The business is just a dirty trick, like that used by another celebrated patriot, Horatio Bottomly, to cause hatred and division between workers in civvies and workers in uniform.

In reality, thousands of men of the Eighth Army must look with keen sympathy on the struggle of their brothers in the mines. The Eighth Army includes the Northumberland Fusiliers and the Durham Light Infantry, two regiments about half composed of miners who will never forget their years of suffering at the hands of the mineowners and the State.

How far from the truth is this patriots' trick may be learned by seeking the opinion of soldiers themselves on the subject of wages. The recent discussions on Soldiers' pay in the House of Commons have been largely the result of agitation on the part of soldiers themselves. All M.P.s do not feel as safe as the Tory majority and have expressed the discontent of the men in the Armed Forces.

But it is not looking to the House and its futile debates that soldiers will succeed in their wage demands, but by uniting with their fellow workers in industry in a common wages front.

Birds of a Feather Flock Together

Miners of the Seaham and Dawdon area of Durham are well aware of the Londonderry family against whom they have waged struggle for several generations. The heir of Lord Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh is becoming famous as a spokesman of Bolshevism having since mid-1941 been a speaker for the Communist Party outfit, the Russia To-day Society.

Castlereagh is the heir of one of the largest coal-owners and landowners of England and Northern Ireland. As Conservative M.P. for County Down, he is among those chiefly responsible for the division of Ireland. His private address is the largest mansion in Mayfair—Londonderry House, Park Lane.

Viscount Castlereagh, without giving up any of this privilege, finds time to team up with leading Bolsheviks as he did in February 29th, at Paddington, where he spoke with Reg Bishop, foundation member of the C.P., on the Red Army. Castlereagh there related his experiences of Nazi Germany just before the war.

"During one of his visits to Germany he met in six days nearly all the Nazi leaders—Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler and Hess. Hitler gave him a signed photograph of himself."

His concluding words were "Long live Anglo-Soviet Friendship". Well, well, the miners of Durham will know what to think of such alliances of Tories and Bolsheviks. Readers will recall the words of Shelley in the *Mask of Anarchy* in that passage relating to the unbroken struggle of the workers against the Castlereaghs and Londonderrys.

*"I met Murder on the way—
He had a mask like Castlereagh—
Very smooth he looked and grim,
Seven bloodhounds followed him."*

"Get the Coal Yourself!"

A few comfortable looking middle class persons in London are beginning to denounce the coal strike. An obvious retort is to invite them to volunteer for the mines. They will go down themselves if they really believe the miners are unjustified.

The Communist Party is publishing in the *Daily Worker* alleged messages from the workers in Aircraft and other factories telling the miners to go back to work. These messages are not coming from workers' meetings but from a few Communists acting, as usual, without consulting the workers. An aircraft worker whose work is lighter and less dangerous than that of a pitman would certainly be impudent to order a miner down the shaft at half his own wage.

Labour in Power

Mr. John Curtin, Labour Prime Minister of Australia, speaking in the House of Representatives, warned striking miners of Australia, saying: "the miners believed they had an advantage with Labour in office. I warn them not to place overmuch reliance on that belief."

Considering the record of the Labour Party in Australia, Britain or elsewhere, the alleged belief of the Australian miners is without any foundation.

SYNDICALIST.

WAR COMMENTARY

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