

WAR *For Anarchism* COMMENTARY

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TWOPENCE

INVASION—for WHAT?

THE INVASION OF EUROPE, long and loudly advertised, has begun. A complete war machine has been launched against the coast of France. Aerial bombardment, parachute troops, seaborne forces, tanks, machine guns, artillery; all the most up-to-date refinements in killing have been mobilised for this effort. And more important than the mechanical weapons, thousands of men, from America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and these islands are expected to be killed or maimed in this new imperialist adventure. Four years ago British troops were in Northern France; at that time they were being driven into the sea, and the German propaganda was triumphant and gloating, while British journalism maintained a heroic air. The position is entirely reversed, Germany retreats on all fronts, the invasion seems to be established. And now the British propaganda gloats triumphantly, while the Nazis remain surly.

Yet, although apparently such a great change has come about, we are entitled to ask if any of the real issues at stake in the present war are altered. And we find that the immediate effect of the news of the invasion is that European bonds rose in price. French railways have been blasted from the air, yet their bonds leaped in price on "D Day". Not only French bonds were affected but also German and Japanese bonds became dearer. The filthy hand of the financier is soon at work, and it is well to recall that at the time of the fall of Malaya and Singapore the shareholders in the tin and rubber companies immediately set up a clamour for the Government to guarantee payment of their dividends, which had been as high as forty per cent. We would be foolish to expect these peoples' patriotism to be given free; they are used only to buying and selling for the highest profit they can make.

Continually we have been told that the mission of the Allied forces is to liberate France and Europe, and we have been assured that all help will be given to those struggling against the Nazis. But so far the French workers have received no encouragement to strike at the Nazi war machine. The reason is obvious

if we examine the actions of the Allies in Italy during last summer when the R.A.F. had the job of bombing the industrial towns of the north—Turin, Milan, Genoa—not to persuade the Germans but to crush the revolutionary movement amongst the workers who had caused the downfall of Mussolini by their strike action. And the Allies' greatest fear is of facing a *revolutionary* France. They desire the change in authority from Vichy and the Nazis to Amgot and de Gaulle to be carried out as smoothly as possible. We have already seen that the British kept troops in Singapore right up to the last minute, not to fight a rearguard action against the Japanese but to maintain order amongst the population and to prevent damage to private property by looters. The same tactics, in reverse, will be used in France. Only when it is obvious that the Allies can quickly take over the reins of power will they encourage decisive action on the part of the French workers.

Fascism is not something which can be defeated by an army in the field, and indeed it is not only the Germans who are blessed with this form of government. Since the outbreak of the war all the hard-won rights of the British workers have been stolen away or sold by the Trade Union bureaucrats. Fascism does not mean a government of brown shirts, or black shirts, it means the silencing of the independent voice of the workers, it means that the government takes over the workers' organisations and runs them for its own purposes. In Germany this was done violently by smashing the old movements and by creating a new Labour Front, but in this country it has been possible for the Government to do the job peacefully; Bevin and Morrison accepted jobs in the Cabinet. Fascism is a new form of capitalism, it is capitalism brought up to date. And like capitalism it can be defeated only by a revolution which will completely change the structure of society and which for once and all will put an end to the exploitation of the workers by a ruling class. Allied spokesmen have made it quite clear what sort of Europe they want after the war. Major William Yale said, at the beginning of 1942: "Americans very generally are convinced that the people of Europe want political

democracy and capitalism . . . ” He went on to explain that Russia would have different ideas and pointed out the necessity for Allied expeditionary forces in Europe to enforce their conception of “civilization”.

The Allies have been willing to collaborate with all the worst elements, Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel in Italy, Franco in Spain, and we shall see that in France the necessity from their point of view for keeping the people in order will lead them to embrace the most reactionary elements in French politics. The liberation will mean little change in the position of the workers of France.

Already the beaches of Normandy are littered with dead bodies, already the crops are trampled and the fields torn up, and already the wounded and prisoners are arriving in England. It is impossible to imagine the extent of the slaughter and destruction which is to come or to account for the privation and misery which

FUEHRER WORSHIP

THOSE with exceptionally long memories may recall that a few years ago the British Press used to attack the Fuehrer worship of the German people. It was quite safe to do so when we had the insipid Chamberlain as Premier. The alteration in the course of events has led to the direct emulation of Fuehrer worship in this country. We now note in certain London papers on June 5th, the Red Cross and St. John, issuing an appeal for the London Flag Day on June 6th, showing a picture of Mr. Churchill buying a flag, and the caption “FOLLOW OUR LEADER”. “Our Leader” ought at least to hand over some copyright fees to Sir Oswald Mosley.

On June 8th, the *Daily Herald* published an editorial which shocked and appalled to my knowledge at least dozens of its supporters, working-women with sons and husbands in the Forces:

“Mr. Churchill was persuaded only with the greatest difficulty from accompanying the invasion force to the hostile coast”.

That revelation is attributed to Admiral Ramsay, the Allied Naval Commander-in-Chief, by a war correspondent in H.M.S. *Hilary*, which the Admiral visited on the eve of D-Day.

Mr. Churchill, it appears, finally agreed to forgo his project after it had been pointed out to him that “the extra work involved in safeguarding him would be very great.”

We are glad that Mr. Churchill agreed, and for three reasons.

will be caused to the people who are supposed to be liberated. But we can say with certainty that those who are suffering and dying are those who always suffer and die in capitalist wars, the workers who give all they have and receive nothing in return. We know the politicians and financiers are not there, particularly that great hero Harry Pollitt who fights with a paper sword, and we know that they will not fear the Means Test and unemployment when the war is over. We have to say to the soldiers at the invasion that the Nazis are not your last enemies, and that after you have defeated them for your masters you will find many enemies to fight at home. Your freedom and security can be ensured only by your independent actions for a new society in collaboration with the struggle of your French, German, Italian class brothers. Our fight is against the system which breeds war and poverty.

The first is that his life is far too precious to be needlessly risked. The second is that his presence in one of the invasion convoys would have increased the already tremendous burden of responsibility borne by the officers.

The third is that the doctrine of “every man to his job” must apply even to the Prime Minister—and Mr. Churchill’s place is at the heart of war direction, not in the vanguard of assault.

Maybe their sons’ and husbands’ lives are not so precious or so important in the eyes of the Labour Party organ as that of the elderly gentleman who has the honour of leading the Conservative Party and the United Nations, but this is hardly the time to point that out.

RED IMPERIALISM

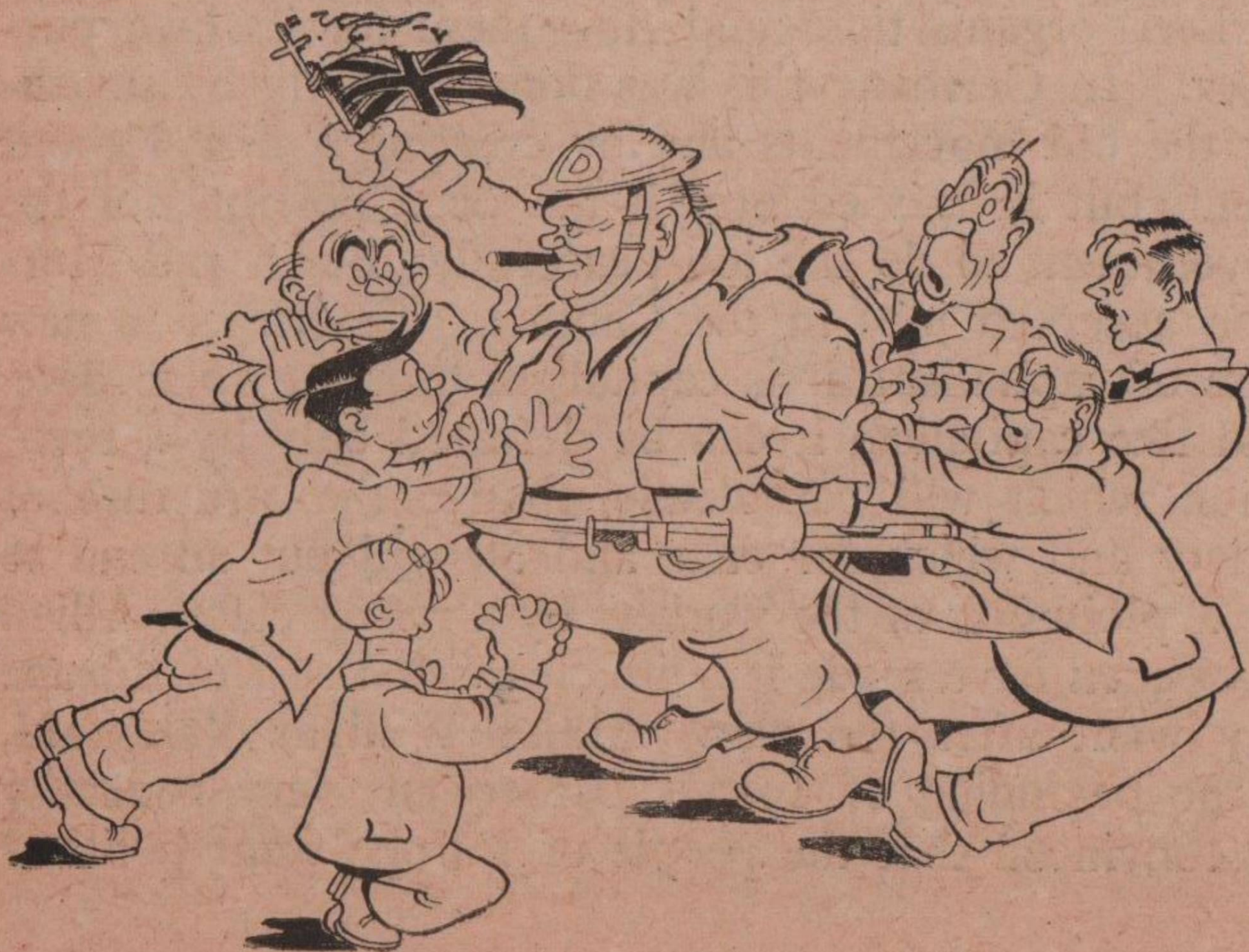
Quite a mistaken impression exists that the various sects of the opposition in the Communist movement are necessarily more progressive than the Stalinist. In reality it is only the fact that they are in opposition that makes them adopt a veneer of that nature—in power they would be as bad as Stalin. Witness Lenin and Trotsky in power.

And, as this extract from a “Leninist” publication (*The Fighting Worker*, Feb. 1944, U.S., organ of the “Revolutionary Workers’ League”, a left split from the Trotskyites) shows, in some respects they are more imperialistic.

Now that the Soviet Union has formally annexed Eastern Poland, we can anticipate the usual cries from the ultra-lefts, syndicalists, and others of “Red Imperialism.”

For the Marxists the matter is only an incident in the whole war. The Soviet Union to-day, as yesterday, must prepare buffer states to defend itself from invasion by its supposed Allies. The strategy of taking parts of Finland, Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States, proved itself most wise when Hitler turned on his erstwhile “ally.” The same will be true of the present annexations, when the “Allies” turn upon Russia.

We condemn wholeheartedly the methods of Stalinism, its refusal to arouse the masses in Poland and elsewhere to proletarian revolution, its espousal of the cause of bourgeois “democracy” in the rest of Poland, and its warping of the revolutionary steps within the territory it conquers. We condemn also the fact that the Soviet Union under Stalinism has shamefully agreed to GIVE BACK territory liberated from the reactionary meshes of European capitalism, and to maintain the STATUS-QUO.



ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

EXIT BADOGLIO

WITH the fall of Rome into the hands of the Allies the King of Italy had to resign as promised and hand over his powers to his son Umberto. The abdication of Emmanuel has been regarded by some people, the Communists in particular, as a great victory for the Left. In fact, the victory belongs to the House of Savoy which maintains itself in power despite its policy of collaboration with Fascism.

Badoglio did not get off so lightly. With the abdication of the King his Government resigned; he was then asked by Umberto to form a new Government but he was unable to do so. The Democratic parties in Rome refused to enter a Government headed by the Duke of Addis Ababa. Rather paradoxically, Badoglio, who received the blessing of the American and British Governments and of Comrade Stalin himself, failed to secure the support of Italian democrats!

The task of forming a new Government has been given to Ivanoe Bonomi. Though not having a record as soiled as that of Badoglio, Bonomi is not exactly the kind of man likely to represent the aspirations towards freedom of the Italian masses. Bonomi, who is 71, was Prime Minister in 1921 and shares the responsibility with Giolitti for a policy of waverings and compromises which favoured the rise of Fascism. The Giolitti-Bonomi government took every opportunity to attack and weaken working class movements while they shut their eyes to fascist manoeuvres and thus were responsible for the success of Mussolini. The coming to power of a man so closely connected with a policy of compromise with Fascism is bound to be resented by the masses of Italian workers.

GOD SAVE THE KING

ITALIA LIBERA which is published in Allied occupied Italy does not think much of the efforts of the Allies to get God to save the King of Italy.

In an article they say: "It seems that our Friends and Allies have had a new text book printed for elementary schools to replace the text book printed by the Fascist State. The second page apparently has for title: 'Prayer for the King' and the text begins with this sentence: 'God save the King'. But don't you know, Messrs. the Allies, that for 44 long years, God, without any need for special prayers, has saved our King? And don't you know that by keeping saving the King, Italy is half dead? We all know, dear Friends and Allies that one of your most sympathetic characteristics is your sense of humour. But this time, we believe you have gone a bit too far."

UNDERGROUND GERMANY

IN an article on a later page of this issue of *War Commentary* the question of revolution in Germany is discussed, and the activities of the representatives of the old 'left-wing' political parties now resident in Britain are demonstrated as being completely class-collaborationist and treasonable towards the cause of the workers. It is fortunate that at the same time a note in the *New Statesman* of 10th June should provide us with evidence of the attitude of the workers within Germany to these same political parties. We quote here the information:

"... we have found some valuable, if simple, figures which the International Transport Workers' Federation has just disclosed. While we are inclined to treat with reserve all reports from within Germany, this has proved in the past a reliable source. A trade unionist who speaks German fluently returned in April from a two-years' stay in Berlin as a foreign worker, which he undertook in order to study German conditions. He reports that in a factory

where he was employed, the forty German workers included two Nazis, two Communists and three Social-Democrats. The other German workers were all opposed to the Nazi regime, but 'did not want to hear of the old parties.' . . . The report went on to say that the workers now express their opinions frankly and are inclined to sabotage and ca-canny, but would not yet risk a strike. In many plants the German workers have established close contacts with the foreign workers, especially the French. The younger workers are on the whole disinclined to follow the lead of the older parties, which they regard as 'sterile'. They are forming their own oppositional circles underground. . . .

The older workers, whatever the young may think of the parties that collapsed in 1933, may still have a part to play. Many of them are now in the army, chiefly in the reserve formations which do garrison duty in the Reich. They have not forgotten what happened in 1918, first in the navy and then in the army. Reports which have come independently from four German districts tell the same tale. Clandestine Soldiers' Councils are said to have formed in these reserve battalions. They have even begun to act. They started quietly by protesting with success against the cancelling of warm meals; this was how the revolt in the Fleet started in 1918. The reports make it clear that these Soldiers' Councils have a political aim, as have those which were formed a good deal earlier in Norway."

Is there any truth at all in these reports—which after all are published in a paper whose interests do not require that undue prominence should be given to such statements—then those who hope for a genuine revolution of the German workers have some reason for confidence, and the Free German politicians of London some cause to doubt whether they will indeed find in Germany the safe political careers they had anticipated under the protection of British and American generals.

CHINESE PUZZLE

A REPORT taken from the Russian paper *War and the Working Class* indicates that China is far from being wholeheartedly in the war against Japan. The paper charges China with not using the supplies she receives from England and the United States to the best purpose, and says China has done little towards her own industrialisation. The report goes on:

"The Chinese army is overburdened with feudal survivals. Among its officers, and especially its generals, there are many who are inclined to be defeatist. In the past two years about twenty Kuomintang generals have passed over to the Japanese side with their troops."

Whatever the truth of this statement, and we know the Stalinists have no real affection for truth, the Russians have little ground for criticism. Russia claims that its Far Eastern army, with its own supplies, is still intact, and yet this force is not used at all to help their Ally.

U.S. PRISONS WHITEWASHED

IN the May issue of *War Commentary* we published a report on brutalities which had been committed on U.S. prisoners at the Federal Medical Center, Springfield. Since then an investigation has been carried out by Attorney General Francis Biddle and as it was feared it "whitewashed" the whole unsavoury affair.

Biddle's report admitted that there "probably were instances of unnecessary force," announced some changes in the institution's set-up and declared that no further investigation was necessary. The report was followed by a demon-

stration of protest at the prison at Danbury, Conn., prisoners went on work and hunger strike for one day. At Springfield a riot took place in which more than 100 exasperated prisoners smashed windows, furniture and plumbing fixtures.

Dr. Thomas (brother of the Socialist leader Norman Thomas) in a letter to all Congressmen, urged an impartial investigation, pointing to the absurdity of "bureaucracy investigating itself". This is certainly a case of bureaucracy gone mad but the Government will always be unwilling to take action against its own bureaucracy. Aren't bureaucrats, policemen, prison wardens the best pillars of the State?

RIGHT ABOUT TURN

AN indication of the growing antagonism amongst Trade Union members to the IAA regulation against strikes is given by the recantation made by Jack Tanner in his presidential address to the National Committee of the A.E.U. on the 12th June. Tanner was a member of the General Council of the T.U.C. which accepted the regulation and was present at the meeting when the acceptance took place. Now, after many branches of the A.E.U. have protested against the regulation and when it is evident that the majority of the rank and file oppose it, he changes his attitude and admits that he made a mistake in not opposing it at the council meeting. This is a valuable sign of the strength of the opposition to this regulation attacking the elementary rights of the workers. However, we wonder whether, if another such regulation were brought forward Mr. Tanner would again accept it and then repent after the damage was done. We hope the engineering workers will not be taken in by such an obvious tactic as this.

INDIAN TRAGEDY

S. A. DANGE, president of the All-India Trades Union Congress has, on his arrival in this country, given some interesting information about the situation in India.

He said that India faces a serious production crisis. Coal production, for example, is down by a third because 20,000 miners have left the pits for lack of food and clothing. An Indian miner earns 22s. 6d. a month.

The Indian Famine is far from being over. Dange believes that a famine even worse than last year may occur, rationing has not been introduced, except in Calcutta, and the Government has failed to buy and control this year's crop.

ONE LAW FOR THE RICH?

ON Monday, June 5th, Mr. W. J. Stewart, M.P. for South Belfast, was remanded with Mr. John M. Reilly, his colleague in the direction of Messrs. Stewart and Partners, building contractors, on a series of charges alleging intent to defraud and falsification of books in connection with contracts made by the Secretary of State for War. Together with a clerk in their employ, they were charged with conspiring together between October 1939 and April 1943, by false pretences, to defraud the Secretary of State for War of large sums of money represented by certain discounts or rebates to which he was entitled.

It was stated that the checking of depositions would occupy a week and they were remanded on bail.

It is interesting to note that out of our admittedly incomplete review of the Press for Monday evening and Thursday morning we did not note any reference to the fact that Mr. W. J. Stewart represented the Conservative Party in its most patriotic section, Northern Ireland. Nor did we notice any attempt to prejudge the case and denounce Mr. Stewart accordingly. This is only customary, you will say—the Press has no right to prejudge an unheard case. Nevertheless, when four people were arrested in Newcastle on charges of strike conspiracy, the Press had already prejudged the case.

The Conservative *Daily Mail* had published long articles already finding them guilty, and every other paper had denounced the prisoners even before they had been arrested, let alone found guilty. Attacks were made on strikers as a whole, and given the widest publicity, and this was fastened, quite unwarrantably, on the Newcastle "conspiracy" case. No attempt is made to attack profiteers as a whole, far less to fasten such attacks on to the Belfast "conspiracy" case. Are we expected to believe only strikes retard the war effort? Here is a case which the prosecution alleges has been continuous throughout the war. Does it receive one-tenth as much publicity as did, for instance, the strikes in Belfast when the Belfast shop-stewards were arrested? Not on your life!

In Newcastle bail was refused the defendants. In Belfast it is allowed. In Newcastle the case was tried and condemned by the Press long before the hearing of the charges. In Belfast the customary polite silence until the verdict is given, is observed. Yet we do not know even now the results of either the Belfast or the Newcastle trials.

In the meetings held to protest against the arrest and detention of Haston, Lee, Tearse and Keen, we suggest the speakers take note of the strangely dissimilar trial proceeding concurrently at Belfast. It is doubtful indeed if deliberately and with obvious reference to the particular case, Sir James Grigg will pass special laws against contractors to the War Office as Mr. Ernest Bevin passed against workers.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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Freedom Press, 27, Belsize Rd. London, N.W.6.

Negro Soldier's Trial

In the following pages we print the verbatim report of the trial of a Negro American soldier in England on a charge of rape. We have devoted so much space to this case because it is only when the whole proceedings are read that a complete idea can be obtained of the extraordinary features of this case and the blatant miscarriage of justice which has occurred. A feature of these trials of Negroes on charges of rape, of which a number have taken place recently, is that the law imposing the death penalty for this act applies only to Negro soldiers and not to American white soldiers. This fact is not widely known among English people, but it gives the lie most effectively to the pretences of people like Eisenhower and Roosevelt to be fighting for the rights of oppressed peoples.

As we go to press the news is published of the reprieve of the Negro soldier. His sentence has been commuted from hanging to life imprisonment. But this reprieve does not alter the injustice of the case, the trial itself was conducted in a most unfair manner.

THE COURT MARTIAL sat to try the 30-year-old Negro American soldier in an American army camp in Wilts. on Thursday, May 25, 1944, on a charge of raping a 33-year-old white English woman at Combe Down, Bath, on the night of May 5, 1944.

The court consisted of seven white American army officers and one coloured American officer, with a Colonel as President. Captain Culinson was the prosecuting officer and Major Drew defended accused, who pleaded not guilty.

The woman was the first witness. She said:

"I am a housewife and don't know the accused. I can't say I can see him in this court. I have two children, a boy and a girl, and I am 33. On May 5 my husband and I went to bed. I later heard strange knockings at the window of the living room. I said to my husband, 'I believe someone is knocking at the window of the living room.' I got to get back to Bristol to-night. Could you tell me of a coloured soldier standing by the wall below. I said, 'Do you want anything?' He said, 'Yes. I am lost. I have come to find my brother. I found he is not here. I have got to get back to Bristol to-night. Could you tell me of any transport or 'buses to get me there?'"

Witness: "I directed him the best I could, but he said, 'Oh dear, I don't know what I am going to do. Could you come downstairs and write it down for me?'"

"I said to my husband, 'A coloured soldier outside wants me to go down and write down directions to the station. I think I had better do it.' I hastily put on my knickers, went down and lit the gas. I went to the front door and asked him in. I thought I could better explain it inside. When I was hunting for a pencil he said, 'I do appreciate your kindness, but if it's no trouble, do you think you could put me on the right road?' I said, 'I suppose I could.' I put my coat over my nightdress and intended to go to the first corner a hundred yards away. I went there with him, and directed him. He said, 'I am sorry, but I still don't understand: could you come a little farther?' I thought how bad it was to be lost in a strange place. At last I got to the top of the avenue. We walked very quickly. I said to him, 'You can't possibly miss your way. Keep straight down the hill.'"

"He said, 'Will you come a little farther?' I said, 'Oh, no, I can't come any farther. I have to get back to my husband and two children, and this is very lonely.'"

"He said, 'Now I know the way I will come back with you to see you are all right.' I said, 'That is not necessary at all.'"

"He insisted on coming back. We walked down the avenue. He suddenly stopped and said, 'I will not come any farther.'"

"I said, 'I hope you will get there all right.' He said, 'You are coming with me.' I said, 'I can't possibly do that. I must go home.' He said, 'Yes, you are coming with me.'"

The woman added: "I looked up and saw he had a knife. He said, 'If you howl or scream I will cut your throat.' I was beginning to feel terrified, and my strength seemed to go out of my legs. I seemed to be falling, and he helped me up.

"He pushed me against the wall and said, 'Get over.' I said, 'I can't.' He repeated, 'Get over, or I will kill you.'"

"I could feel the knife pressing in between my two shoulders. He then half lifted and half pushed me over the wall. He held the knife over me, and pushed me on the ground."

The woman described how she alleged the accused coloured soldier had intercourse with her. She said, "Afterwards I went a few steps from him. He said if I did not tell anybody he would let me go. I climbed the wall myself. I ran towards home and twenty yards away met my husband. I told him what had happened. He wanted to chase the coloured soldier, but I told him about the knife and that if he did so the coloured man would stab him. My husband took me to an A.R.P. first aid post. One leg of my knickers was torn; I had never seen that tear before."

Witness added: "When I was being taken to see Dr. Gibson we passed a coloured soldier. I was sure he was the one who had assaulted me by the shape of his back and also by his cough and spitting. The soldier had his face screwed up. He said, 'What is this all about, lady?'"

Cross-examined by accused's advocate, the woman said, "My husband said 'O.K.' when I said I had better go down to see the soldier. My husband found me in the road because he had heard me directing the man to the railway station. I was away twenty minutes. It was bright moonlight. He held the knife in his right hand and I could feel it being pressed into my back."

In reply to a member of the court, the woman said: "It was about 11.20 p.m. when the soldier called. I spoke to him for about five minutes from the window. I cannot now identify that coloured soldier in court. Neither would I be able to identify him if he was brought to court."

The woman's husband next gave evidence. He said: "My wife woke me to say somebody was knocking at the door. I heard a conversation, and a man said 'I am sorry to trouble you at this time of night, but I am absolutely lost. Can you tell me ways and means of getting to Bristol?'"

The husband continued: "My wife went downstairs after dressing and I heard her unlock the door and ask the coloured soldier inside. After a few minutes there was silence. I waited a little while longer, and then as I could not make out why she did not return I put on my trousers and went downstairs. I found the gas lit and still thought she was in the garden. When I found out she was not in the garden I thought, as she was explaining the way to the station, my wife might have gone to show him the way. I went in the same direction, and when halfway down the avenue I heard someone coming at speed. It was my wife. I said, 'Whatever is the matter?' She said, 'Oh, he has got a knife.' I said, 'Where is he?' as I wanted to make after him. My

wife said, 'Don't go. He will stab you with that knife.'

"She said, 'The man has assaulted me.' She was nearly collapsing, so I took her to the first aid post.

"On the way to see the doctor my wife gave out a scream, saying, 'Don't stop; there he is.' A few yards away the police car stopped, and they got out. My wife was positive accused was the man."

An American police investigator said: "I saw the accused at 12.30 in the early morning of May 6, and saw him again at 2.30 a.m. in the Bath City police station. I again saw him at 4.30 that afternoon, and took him to the military police station at Bath. I questioned the accused about his activities on the night of May 5, and properly warned him. Accused made a statement which he signed."

Cross-examined, witness said: "The accused seemed normal and all right. It was correct that while being questioned accused had to stand at attention. Witness told him to do so. Whilst standing at attention accused had a faint and fell down, but nobody had touched him."

Another American police investigator said: "On May 6 in the afternoon I questioned the accused continuously for about forty-five minutes. We finally secured a statement as to what accused had done the night previous. It was written down by the first investigator."

An American army captain said: "I was present when the investigator read the statement in the presence of the accused."

The statement was read to the court. In it the accused said he went to the Cross Keys public-house at 6 p.m., and started drinking beer. He then went to the King William public-house and later returned to the Cross Keys, staying until 10.10 p.m. He returned to the camp and signed at 10.30 and went to his room. He left camp about 11.20. He later came and asked the woman the way to Bristol. He asked her to write it on paper and she invited him in by the fire. She agreed to show him the way. They walked away from the house together. The woman soon stopped but he asked her to go farther. She stopped again and said he could find the station all right. He told her he would see her home. The statement continued: "I said, 'I have a knife. You are coming with me. You had better not scream, for I will kill you.' She kept saying I would get into trouble. I told her I would kill her if she screamed. I lifted her over the wall. I still told her I had a knife in my hand. The woman jumped up and did not scream."

Dr. Charles Robert Gibson, police surgeon of Bath, said: "I first examined this woman at 1.30 a.m. on May 6. She was brought to my house in a very distressed condition. She was suffering from shock. Her pulse was 112 instead of 70 to 72. In addition her pulse was of very low voltage. I examined her for signs of injury. The only injuries were bruises and superficial scratches on the right leg and bruises and superficial scratches on the left leg, all being below the knee. I examined her thighs and abdomen and found no sign of bruising or scratching. She had had recent sexual connection."

Asked by defending officer, he said: "There was no evidence of a struggle. The only injuries were superficial scratches on the leg. One cannot possibly say there was any evidence of a pronounced struggle. The scratches could have been caused by the woman climbing over a stone wall."

The coloured member of the court: "According to your evidence and conclusion, there was no serious resistance or force used?"

Dr. Gibson: "I don't think there was any serious resistance, providing she was in a state of mind when she could resist. The average woman struggles, but I have known cases where the woman was so terrified that she was incapable of struggling."

Police-sergeant Temlett, Somerset Constabulary, said: "At 12.30 a.m. on May 6, I received a telephone message stating a woman had been assaulted in the avenue at Combe

Down, about ten minutes previously by a black American soldier. I went to the A.R.P. post and saw a woman in a very distressed condition with her husband. I formed the opinion she required medical assistance. I communicated with Dr. Gibson and took her in the police car to search for the soldier. I took her to the doctor at 1.10 a.m. Half a mile from the scene of the incident we saw the American soldier. Police-constable Atwood jumped out of the car and told him we suspected him of having assaulted a woman a little earlier. We searched him for a knife, but he said, 'No, sir.' In reply to the allegation he said, 'No, sir, not me.'

"We were not satisfied with his explanation and detained him. A U.S. jeep came up and we handed him over. They took him to Bath City police station. I took the woman to Dr. Gibson, the police surgeon. I made a search of the scene of the incident and could find no knife. A complete search of the district failed to discover the knife, and it has not yet been forthcoming. I telephoned details all around and had a check up made where there were American coloured soldiers, and ascertained this man was absent without leave. I identify accused as the black soldier I stopped."

A coloured sergeant said: "I have known accused seventeen months, and have never known him to possess a knife. He is very well liked by all the men with whom he works."

A black corporal said: "I have known accused six months and have never known him to own a knife. He is not a frantic type of individual."

Accused then volunteered to give evidence on oath. He said: "I arrived at the civilian jail at slightly after one o'clock in the morning. It was sort of cold. I slept in my overcoat. I got up somewhere near after ten o'clock. No one gave me any food. I had a cup of tea and I was hungry. They took me to a room where the military police were about. It was cold in there. I lay down and went to sleep. When I woke up American investigators were peeping through cuts in the doors. They peeped at me through holes. After a few minutes the American police brought me two long sheets of paper. They had me standing up to attention and asked me a few questions. I answered some and some I did not, as all they asked me was not the truth.

"A police investigator wrote just what he wanted to write down. I was trying to give a statement when I just had one blind flash, as if someone had hit or kicked me from behind. They picked me up and shook me, and tried to make me stand to attention again. They filled a long thing out and asked me to sign. One said: 'God dam, you will sign.' I was almost out on my heels. He called a captain and said I must stand to attention. The captain was standing some distance away. I put my name to one or two sheets, but I don't know what was on one sheet.

"The American investigators threatened me, the one wearing a brown coat drew his fist as if to hit me, but he never hit me."

Dealing with the alleged rape, accused said: "I made a date with a lady between 8.30 and 9 o'clock on May 5. She said she could not see me, but would see me later. She told me to knock at a certain house and described it. I went there after 11.30 and knocked. She stuck her head out of the window. I heard her talking to someone. She rushed downstairs and invited me in. I heard somebody moving upstairs and asked her the way to Bristol. I walked out of the door and she walked behind me. I went into a field. We had been there a couple of times before. I assisted her over the wall. She laid down and unbuttoned her coat. She asked me for two pounds. I didn't have two pounds. I told her I had well over one pound. She walked off and said, 'I will get you into trouble.'

"I just laughed and walked off. The first time I saw her was in the Cross Keys drinking. When I walked that way I ran into this lady. I spoke to her. She smiled and I stopped. I said: 'I have been told that there is a very nice place to spend money.' I asked her if she knew a nice girl.

(continued on p. 15)

Germany's Next Hitlers?

THE FREE GERMAN movement held a delegate conference in London on Saturday, 3rd June, 1944, and sent a servile message to Churchill, declaring: "Thousands of us have the honour of being soldiers. Tens of thousands are working in war factories. But we want to do more than this. We want to call on the Germans to overthrow Hitler and thus to lay the basis for a peaceful and democratic Germany."

The Anarchist attitude towards the pro-war "Free German" opportunists and Vansittart's deplorable gang of paid anti-German German "Socialists" was clearly outlined in our issues of March 1942 and August 1943. The German Anarchists have nothing in common with any exiled "working-class representatives, leaders and groups" whose political past presents itself as an endless chain of incapacity, corruption, treachery and bankruptcy, followed up by an even more shameful policy in exile.

In 1940 they fell for the Beaverbrook press propaganda which we denounced as a manoeuvre of the Government to win the war quicker by exploiting revolutionary movements on the Continent for reactionary ends. In 1942 *War Commentary* predicted: "Very soon the British ruling-class will feel that it had better stop all this gentleman's talk (about the two Germanies, one waiting only the opportunity to overthrow Hitler) and preach instead a crusade of extermination of the Hun." "Instead of broadcasts the Italian and German people will get bombs."

When in September 1943 this prediction came true *War Commentary* was the first paper in this country which dared to protest against the wholesale destruction of workers' towns and mass murder of their populations, while the pro-Ally refugees were joining the chorus of those British journalists and cartoonists who rejoiced and made the bombing a subject of jokes.

The new declaration of the "Free German" movement adds one more detail to the evidence which will sooner or later serve the German workers to formulate their accusation and judgment. When that day comes, there will be no denying, and covering up the past with phrases and promises. The workers will accuse the German Labour Party for having allied itself with the class enemy from 1918 on, for having called upon the counter-revolutionary Generals to crush the workers' revolts of 1919, 1921 and 1923, for letting Noske, Zörgiebel, etc., kill the workers by the hundred thousand, and for giving reactionary justice the possibility of imprisoning, maltreating and killing the German revolutionaries. They will accuse the trade unions of playing the game of the bosses, strangling every strike, wasting the millions of contributions in high wages for the officials and investments, pompous offices, enormous printing plants, etc., thus on the eve of Hitler's coming to power having no strike funds to finance a general

strike.

To-day these very same people want once again to call upon the workers to overthrow Hitler. They even blame the workers for not yet having taken action. The workers have no longer any intention of following agents of the British Government or any Government which have always been and always will be the enemies of workers' revolution. The workers will especially not follow those politicians responsible for the strengthening of Nazism and its present power, which could even in 1932 have been destroyed, if the workers had had any say in the matter. We quote one of the "guilty men", Julius Braunthal (in "Need Germany Survive?"):

"Papen's action (July 1932) was an open counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* . . . In eleven days time, the German people would have the opportunity of a plebiscite, as the General Election was fixed for the end of July. So the labour leaders decided to leave the decision to the people. We know now that this discussion was one of the greatest disasters in history. It was probably the last chance of saving Germany from Fascism. *I personally have not the slightest doubt that millions of German workers would have downed their tools and that thousands would have fought if the call had sounded.*" (p.145)

The labour leaders also knew that the workers were prepared to fight the counter-revolution, as unitedly as they had during the Kapp putsch.

"The Executive of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party would have had to decide upon armed insurrection. *There was not the slightest doubt that the working class would have responded to the call to arms.* In fact they were expecting the Party signal for armed rebellion and General Strike. A joint meeting of the Party Executive, of the Executive of the trade union and social-democratic Members of Parliament had assembled to deliberate on action. But in the face of superior armed forces they shrank from evoking the certainty of bloodshed and destruction, they agreed to continue exploring all the legal means of retrieving the situation. I myself was a party to this decision, so I must share the responsibility for a fatal error—as I can see it in retrospect—which we all committed." (p.144).

The Communist Party was just as bankrupt as the S.P.D. (Labour Party) and trade unions. The criminal stupidity and arrogance of its policy was apparent to everyone but the gagged and doped Party members.

The only sincere anti-Nazis in Germany were the extreme Left (K.A.P., S.A.P.) and the anarcho-syndicalists (F.A.U.D.) defamed by left and right alike, persecuted, imprisoned and shot in the back by the bloodhounds of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich.

(continued on p. 12)

TACTFUL RUSSIANS

Russian comment on Mr. Churchill's recent references to General Franco has been remarkably reticent compared with the blunt American criticisms. The awkward paragraphs of the Prime Minister's speech were simply left out in the Russian translation. Presumably it was thought in Moscow that to publish them would add needlessly to the "mountain of suspicion" of which Mr. Eden spoke the other day. It was not until a week after Mr. Churchill's speech that *Izvestia* replied by pointing out that just about the time when the Prime Minister delivered his speech a celebration took place in Madrid at which the members of the Blue Division that had fought against the Russians were decorated. Only "naive people"—the paper said—can take Franco's neutrality at its face value. But *Izvestia* still politely omitted to mention Mr. Churchill's name, preferring not to class him explicitly among the naive. *The Observer*, 4/6/44.

SERFDOM—BUT NOT IN BRITAIN

It is illegal in Australia to order people to work for a private employer.

That is the effect of an important decision given to-day by New South Wales High Court. It declared that all such wartime man-power orders are void.

The Australian Government is to appeal against the ruling.

Chief Justice Jordon, delivering the court's unanimous decision, said:

"The regulation, if valid, would reduce Australians to a serfdom more abject than any obtaining in the Middle Ages. There is nothing in the Commonwealth Constitution which authorises the Government to impose on the people a status of villeinage."
Daily Herald, 26/5/44.

In Britain, as everyone knows, the Essential Works Order is part and parcel of the war for freedom.

KEPT PRESS

Is Fleet-street subject to the influence of the Bank of England? Five of their directors have newspaper connections. There is the Governor, Lord Catto, a large shareholder in the firm of Yule, Catto and Company, which acts as "managing agents" for *The Statesman of India*.

Then there is Lord Keynes. His journal, appropriately enough, is *The New Statesman*. Lord Keynes does not own *The New Statesman*, but until he became a Civil Servant he could be described as an active agent in the policy of the paper.

Other Bank directors with newspaper interests include Mr. Laurence Cadbury, vice-chairman of the *News Chronicle*, which is owned by his brother, Mr. George Cadbury. Mr. John Martin is a director of the *Argus South African Newspapers, Ltd.*, owners of the *Cape Argus*.

Of the four trustees of *The Economist*, two are bank directors—Sir Charles Hambro and Sir Alan Anderson. These trustees exercise large powers.

Evening Standard, 5/6/44.

OUR GREAT ALLY

Agencies through which British goods can be advertised in the trade Press of Russia will shortly be opened in key centres of this country.

Yesterday I talked to Mr. Francis C. Middleton, British agent of the Soviet technical and trade journals concerned.

Three weeks ago he started work on this new venture. He has already found that British firms are eager to tell the Soviet Union of the goods that can be produced by the skilled craftsmen of Britain.

Reynolds News, 4/6/44.

No wonder the British Press is invaded with tender feelings for the virtues of our Great Soviet Ally!

POOR ITALIANS!

Mr. Will Lawther, the Miners' President, and Mr. H. N. Harrison, General and Municipal Workers, are leaving shortly for Italy as T.U.C. representatives to assist Italian trade unionists to regain their former status.

Daily Herald, 5/6/44.

Maybe a couple of Italian underground workers will come to assist British trade unionists to regain their former status . . .

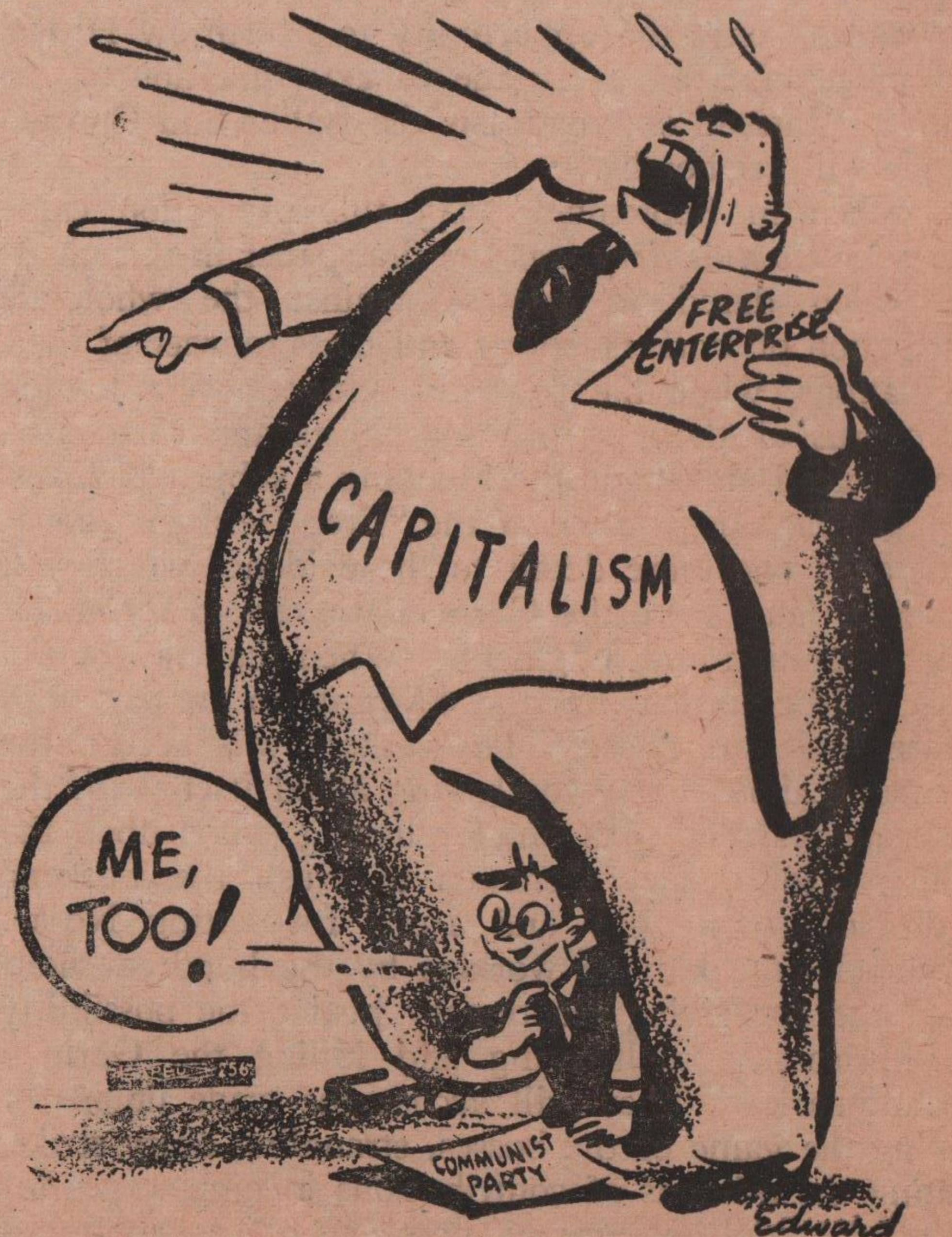
Through

COMMUNIST AMBITIONS

The general belief is that American Communists—who have now embraced the doctrine of capitalism and publicly renounced political ambitions—are up to another elaborate manoeuvre.

It is suspected that they are hoping that, if they emerge after the war as the group with the most conservative programme, American employers will be more eager to deal with them than with any other group, and that their power and influence will correspondingly increase.

News Chronicle, 30/5/44.



From *The Call* (organ of the Socialist Party of the U.S.A.).

SERVICE PAY "INCREASE"

Since the recent change in Service pay and allowances many married men in the R.A.F. will receive less cash than before. Some suffer a reduction of 5s. 3d. per week.

The airman's wife is given an increased allowance by the State, which then proceeds to mulct the airman's pay to make up the increase. In short, Peter is robbed to pay Paulette.

Reynolds News, 21/5/44.

the Press

CLERGY AND LANDLORDS' FRIENDS

Russian propaganda gives the impression that Rumania has been singled out for milder and more friendly treatment than that the other Balkan satellites can hope for if they do not overthrow their rulers and contract out of the war.

The soldiers of the Red Army have received strict instructions to behave respectfully towards Rumanian priests and monks and not to interfere with the property of the monasteries. Moscow Radio has recently described the friendly relations between the Soviet soldiers and the Rumanian clergy. The Press has published interviews with monks.

Similarly, interviews with Rumanian landlords have occasionally been published. They, too, stated that their property had not been touched.

In this way, Moscow desires to show that Molotov's assurance that "the social order of Rumania will be respected" is being kept.

The Observer, 4/6/44.

In Italy the Pope, the landlords, the high officials are respectfully treated by British and Americans, in Rumania the Russians act likewise. This is truly a war of liberation!

U.S. STAY-IN-STRIKE

Machines again remained idle to-day in the two Brewster Aeronautical Corporation plants, where 8,000 employees ate, slept, and played during the "stay-in strike" organised in protest against the termination of their employment caused by the Navy Department's cancellation of its contract with Brewster for fighter 'planes. This comes into operation on July 1. Food is being sent in to the workers.

Manchester Guardian, 31/5/44.

"GIFT"

The National Trust has added substantially to its possessions during the war. Gunby Hall, Lincolnshire, the home of Field-marshal and Lady Montgomery-Massingberd, is the latest country house to be presented to the Trust. It is a fine house with magnificent gardens.

Lady Montgomery-Massingberd, who owned the house, "This is the only way of keeping Gunby Hall in family. That is a permanent stipulation in the deed of gift.

"This is the only way of keeping Gunby Hill in family occupation," Lady Montgomery-Massingberd said, "In future days, with death duties and so on, it would have been impossible to stay on otherwise."

Evening Standard, 31/5/44.

FUEL ECONOMY ?

Major Lloyd George, Minister of Fuel and Power, arrived at Horden (Durham) by a special one-coach train when he began a three days' tour of Northumberland and Durham coalfields to-day.

The purpose of the tour is to check up on every aspect of coal organisation in the area, with special reference to increasing output.

Evening Standard, 31/5/44.

Miners are not likely to be impressed by a Minister who preaches fuel economy and travels in a special one-coach train!

THIS ENGLAND

Viscount Buckmaster, during the debate in the Lords to-day on the Education Bill, praised the public schools, saying:

"They offer something that never can be found elsewhere. They provide, not a system of education merely, but a way of life. Never was their work so justified as in war, because they fostered the spirit of independence and leadership and acceptance of responsibility."

Giving an illustration of the difference between public schools and others, he said:

"Take a boy in an elementary school and whip him for something he has done and all too often he goes whining to his mother, who goes to the magistrate or to the teacher. Take a boy in a public school and flog him, perhaps, for something he has not done, and no one hears a word about it." (Laughter.)

Evening Standard, 7/6/44.

And when the public school boy grows up he will do the flogging and will expect such inferior being as Indians, for example, to shut up about it.

EVEN THE DEAD MUST PAY

Flight Lieut. John Taylor Metcalf, of Sully, Glamorgan, thought a lot of his country.

As a night fighter he died for it.

Road home for John Metcalf was along the Cardiff-Penarth road.

There is a toll gate on the road, and there the hearse and its flag-covered coffin and mourners in a following coach were held up.

And for payment of one shilling to the Penarth Road and Toll Gate Company, which acts for the Lord Bute and Lord Plymouth Estates, John Metcalf was allowed to go on his journey.

Daily Herald, 25/5/44.

MINISTERS' PRIVILEGE

A number of magistrates are considering making a protest against what they describe as Whitehall interference with the administration of justice.

Recently they have received circular-letters from Ministers—chiefly the Home Secretary—on aspects of the law and the enforcement of it.

Lately, the Home Secretary wrote to the magistrates and suggested, with regard to Bevin boys who refused to obey "directions," that the cases might be adjourned to give the defendants an opportunity to come to a better frame of mind. He deprecated sending them to prison except as a last resort.

This was followed by a "lecture" by Mr. Bevin in the Commons to magistrates on the same subject. He said that if anybody made default in obeying directions, he expected the justices to do their duty and enforce the law.

Sunday Dispatch, 4/5/44.

If some workers venture to advise others what to do they might find themselves in jail under 1AA.

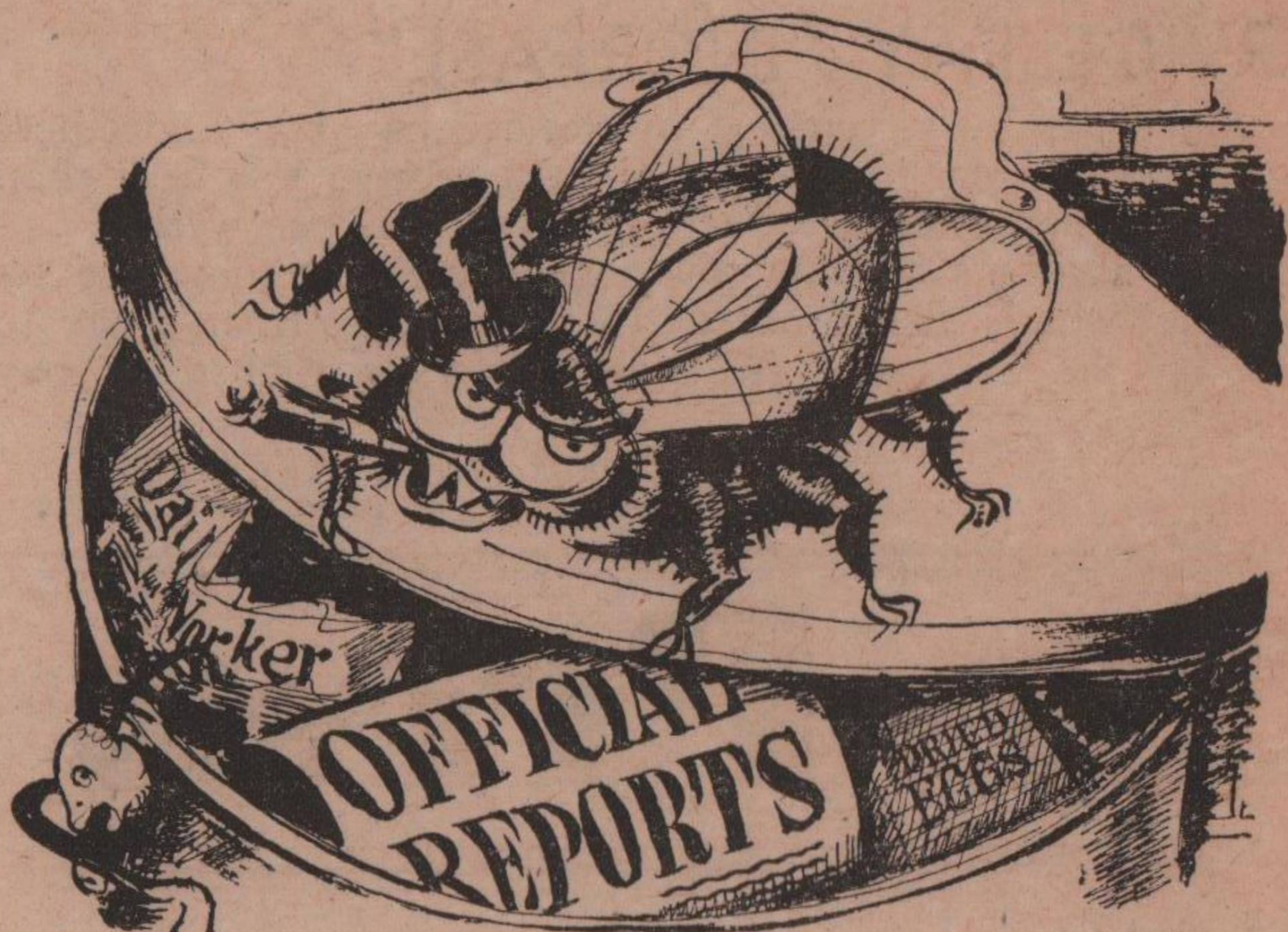
AFTER THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW

IN THREE RECENT articles in *War Commentary* I discussed the kind of houses in which the majority of Englishmen live and are likely to live for a long time, unless the capitalist system comes to an end. In this article I shall discuss those other parts of his environment which are regarded as essential public services in modern society, *i.e.* streets and parks, garbage collection and sewerage, water, gas and electricity.

All these services have at some time in the past been provided by private enterprise. The streets were often toll roads, the disposal of refuse and sewage were the concern of the individual, and those services, such as water, gas and electricity, on which profit could be made by monopoly methods, were early seized upon by private companies fortified by Acts of Parliament. During the last century, however, the tendency has been for local authorities, supervised by the state, to take over these services, and it is now only in water, gas and electricity that private capitalists continue to operate, to a diminishing but still formidable extent. However, it does not matter a great deal whether the worker has his 'services' provided by the Town Hall or the Gas Light and Coke Company—he has to pay for them in any case. If he does not pay rates for streets, his effects may be sold up to provide the money, and a municipal authority is no less likely than a private undertaking to cut off the gas or electricity if the quarter's bill is not paid promptly. Thus all these necessary services are regarded in our present society as commodities for which the user has to pay in one way or another. In order to see what value the citizen gets for his money, we will take the items of communal environment in turn.

Death In The Afternoon

The system of streets in English cities and towns, and the roads connecting them, have long been admitted to be badly planned. The toll authorities were superseded by the local authorities, and these by the Ministry of Transport for the large main roads, but still the road system is inadequate and, on the main roads and in the busier streets of the towns, does not provide sufficient protection against congestion and accidents. In the ten years before the war an average of 7,500 people were killed and 230,000 injured per annum on the roads. Since then the death rate has increased—in 1941 more than 9,000 people were killed. More children have been killed by street accidents during the war than by air raids. In spite of Belisha beacons and traffic lights, the increase in deaths has been steady and continuous. This high rate of accidents is due in great part to the existence of narrow and congested streets in the towns, whose survival is assured by vested interests in land and property. It is estimated that in London alone areas totalling 10,000 acres require to be replanned because of their inadequate streets. Many accidents are caused by inefficient road surfacing, while the tram lines still lay their Victorian death traps in many miles of town streets. The most dangerous places are in crowded working class areas, where the streets are most narrow and the children have to play in the gutter for lack of adequate parks and recreation grounds.



It's The Rich What Gets The Pleasure

The lack of open space in working class districts, where every available acre was covered by the profiteering builder of the nineteenth century, is evident in all towns of any appreciable size. The parks are, as in London, mostly situated in those upper or middle class districts which already have adequately wide roads, individual gardens and private squares. In the locality of most city parks, property gains an added value which makes it out of the question for workers to live there. Similarly, in large cities suburban expansion has driven the country so far away that for the inhabitant of, say, the Isle of Dogs to get into any countryside worthy of the name would involve an expenditure which can be met only rarely, if ever. For many thousands of Londoners the crowded hillocks of Hampstead Heath on a Bank Holiday are the best substitute for a holiday in the country. It was not until the speculative builders had spread their monstrosities so far as to endanger even the haunts of the owners of private cars and weekend cottages that anything was done to save the nearest remaining countryside, already, for the most part, more than twenty miles away from the centre. Then the London County Council proceeded to spend money collected in rates from the slum dwellers of Bermondsey and Stepney, to compensate the landowners of the Home Counties for not being able to get building prices for their estates—and all this so that the country cottages of the people from Mayfair and St. John's Wood might be saved from the incursion of the discordant elements in the landscape. Thus the rentier who feeds well and who lives in the most healthy part of a city (London is only one example among many) has usually all the facilities for enjoying the open air either in his local park or in the more easily available countryside. The slum dwellers, on the other hand, whose poor feeding and overcrowded homes breed consumption and other pathological states, for the relief of which fresh air is necessary, and whose children play danger games with the traffic because the street is the only place in which to play, have to remain in their narrow and filthy streets, because they have neither the energy to travel miles to the nearest crowded park nor the spare cash to visit the countryside at the weekend.

The Plague Of Flies

If any one scene is more typical than another of English municipal inefficiency it is that of the lofty Noah's Ark dust cart lurching through the streets, halting every now and then for the dustman to heave a heavy bin over its high side, while clouds of dust float over the street and troops of flies follow in its stinking wake. In the country towns the most inefficient type of horse-drawn dust cart is still common—even in London it is by no means extinct, and when petrol-driven refuse lorries are employed,

they usually necessitate the method of slinging the bin over the high sides, while at least a section of the top remains open to the air. Rarely in England have I seen the efficient types of refuse lorries which one met before the war, on the Continent, where the garbage is drawn by suction from the bin into a completely closed van, or the slightly less efficient type where it is carried on a moving band into the interior of the van. Here and there they exist, mostly in experimental ones and twos to prove the broadmindedness of a few borough councils, but the vast majority are still of those types which require the maximum effort from the dustman and distribute the greatest possible amount of dust into the air.

Perhaps even less efficient is the way in which the garbage is distributed. Almost every small town has its field or disused quarry or sandpit on the outskirts where the refuse is tipped—sometimes houses are built on top of pits filled in with the local rubbish. Here the inconvenience is comparatively small, as a small quantity has to be tipped, but when the amount approaches the 1,750,000 tons of house refuse and street sweepings which are annually dumped by the London authorities, the problem is formidable—and the town councillors are certainly not men enough to tackle it at all efficiently. Those who wish to read the whole fantastic story can do so in Robert Sinclair's *Metropolitan Man*. One quotation will suffice:

"The garbage makes a brave parade through the metropolitan streets. Some of London's refuse has passed for years through the northern outskirts of London to dumps in Hertfordshire; the refuse from Hampstead, on the northern outskirts, is sent to Paddington, in West London. Kensington sends its garbage to Hammersmith—and the garbage of Hammersmith is sent to Fulham. The ratepayer pays for this merry-go-round, whose cost is over £1,000,000 a year."

A small proportion of London's refuse is burnt in incinerators—another minute fraction is used for agricultural purposes or in brickmaking. The greater part, however, is just dumped in vast heaps in the outer suburban areas, where it spoils whatever landscape is left by the builders, and provides homes for myriads of disease-bearing vermin, from rats down to flies. A committee appointed before the war to examine these dumps declared:

"We have inspected most of the refuse disposal works of London, and are agreed that generally they are out of date, insanitary, inefficient, or so situated as to cause nuisance or grave annoyance, and that many of them should be closed."

What is here said of London can be said equally well of many other parts of the country, the only difference being that elsewhere the nuisance is on a quantitatively smaller scale.

Another aspect of refuse dumping is the great waste of many valuable substances which might be used in industry and thus save work in extracting raw materials. In wartime this has been realised to a certain extent by the authorities, who have tried, with miserable results, to *compel* people to collect metal, waste food, etc. During peacetime, however, the interests of capitalism are to encourage rapid consumption by the use of advertisement and the production of shoddy goods, so that the waste rate is high and large quantities of valuable raw materials are thrown on the refuse heap.

Feeding The Fishes

The criticism of waste on which the last section ended can be continued here. The only alternatives available for the Englishman who wishes to get rid of his sewage are, on the one hand, the primitive and unhealthy methods of bucket and earth privy, which conserve the natural manures but at the same time provide breeding places for flies and sometimes infect underground water supplies, and, on the other hand, the sewerage method employed in the towns, which is comparatively healthy but attempts no conservation of the valuable salts and humus in the sewage—instead pre-

cipitating them into the rivers and seas and killing off the fish in the process. Some 5,000 parishes, mostly villages and very small towns, rely on the primitive earth privy, the cess pool or even the bucket—thereby incurring a heavy risk of disease. The rest dispose of the sewage by modern methods so efficient that they rid the land annually of the enormous quantity of valuable food-growing substances which would help a great deal towards making our agriculture again self-sufficient.

"In England we waste every year 219,000 tons of nitrogen, 55,000 tons of phosphate, and 55,000 tons of potash as sewage sludge and household refuse that pollute the rivers and are lost in the sea."

M. J. Massingham, *The Tree of Life*.

It should not be difficult to plan a way of preserving all these valuable substances for the land, and at the same time enable our rivers and estuaries to become again prolific breeding grounds for fish and shellfish.

Water, Water Everywhere!

A regular and clean piped water supply is essential for good sanitation and efficient agriculture, and also saves much labour in household work. Still, however, in June 1939 more than 3,400 country parishes were without piped water supplies. This meant that the cottagers often have to carry water half a mile or more from the village pump to the house—no great incentive to cleanliness—and the farmer in these considerable areas is at the mercy of the weather for his supply of water. Modern methods of farming cannot be put into practice at all efficiently in such localities, and the supply of milk, and consequently of butter and cheese, will vary according to the dryness of the season. Nor, where piped water supplies exist, are they by any means sufficient. The Metropolitan Water Board pleads with us every summer to cut down our baths and not to water the allotment, and of the smaller undertakings the recent Ministry of Health report stated—

"Many of the smaller water supplies are inadequate at any time and seriously inadequate in dry spells; gathering grounds are in some cases located too near to places of public resort, or on agricultural land, and so are open to pollution; proper headworks are sometimes lacking or, if provided, are too small; treatment works, where provided, are in several cases maintained inexpertly."

This inadequacy of water occurs at a time when large numbers of people have no baths in their houses, when streets are washed inefficiently—if at all, and when agriculture suffers from a lack of regular facilities. If all these circumstances were changed, as they must be in a society that aims at the welfare of the people, there would be a demand for water which the present means of supply could not meet, even at the wettest season. Yet England is not a dry country and there are large and widespread reserves of water. As the Ministry of Health report says, "There is in this country ample water for all needs. The problem is not one of total resources, but of organisation and distribution." That, however, is a problem which will not be solved by sleepy middle-class town councillors or by municipal engineers who hold down their jobs by making their work appear more difficult than it is. It will only be solved in the end by the co-operation and initiative of the people who are most vitally concerned in the provision of an adequate water supply.

Tweedledum And Tweedledee

Lastly we reach the two public services which have been fighting through the cities and towns of England for the last twenty years with all the fury and persistence of Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Coal gas as a means of heating and lighting went out of date with the development of electricity for these purposes. The disadvantages of gas are many—its fumes are unhealthy for anything less hardy than an aspidistra, it is more liable than electricity to result in fires and explosions, it takes much more labour to instal and requires much larger transmission pipes than does electric current—

making its transmission outside the towns impracticable, and its manufacture is more wasteful in labour and coal. Also, taking a long view, it is dependent on coal, whose extraction would be minimised in a society that studied the interests of the workers, while electricity can be obtained from almost any source of energy, such as water in tides or rivers, wind or sun.

In spite of all these disadvantages, the powerful gas companies, supported by the coal interests, carried on a great campaign between the wars to persuade the people to use an obsolete and inefficient method of lighting and heating. The most advanced methods of advertising, the highest pressured salesmanship, and all the devices of Parliamentary influence were used in this great battle of conflicting capitalist interests, with the result that the gas works, which should have disappeared two decades ago, are still stinking and smoking in the working class areas of every town in the country, and many houses are afflicted with the fumes of gaslight, which kill flowers but are represented as having no bad effect on human beings.

This condemnation of coal gas does not mean that the way in which electricity is supplied to-day is in any way satisfactory. To begin, almost all the power stations in the country are operated by coal-burning plant. Where mountain water power exists it is frequently ignored, and nothing has been done to establish barrages in the tidal estuaries, as was done successfully on the Shannon in Ireland. Moreover, it is only occasionally that the wind is utilised, and solar power, which would make possible an extensive decentralisation of power production in local units, has not been developed because it is against the prevailing interests in the industry. The present tendency is towards an increased centralisation of production, through the grid system. This has two great faults, firstly, that a breakdown may cause a widespread blackout and immobilisation of industry, and, secondly, that further centralisation of administration occurs, which tends to favour the control of the industry by central power groups, who operate in their own interests and against those of the ordinary consumer. At the same time, there exists an appalling diversity in technical matters where some form of agreed uniformity is desirable. Some towns have alternating current, others direct current, and there are several different rates of voltage. The only people who gain from this confusion are the vendors of electrical appliances and wireless sets, who reap a good harvest from people who move to an area with a different current or voltage and have to buy new appliances or have their old ones adjusted.

Most towns now have electricity supplies, and about 80% of factories use electric power, but in the country districts there are still many areas where it is not available. Although some years ago there was much talk about taking electricity to every farm, it was estimated that in 1938 "only about twenty-five to thirty thousand agricultural holdings, out of a total of 365,972, were served with electricity" (Scott Report). Electricity can play a great part in the modernisation of agriculture, and if the villages were all served, preferably by small local power units, it would greatly facilitate the achievement of self-sufficiency in food production.

Summary

I have shown briefly the faults of the major communal services under our present social system. The ground to be covered in one article has made the survey necessarily scanty, but I hope I have at least managed to convey some idea of the present appalling inadequacy of these services. The two important omissions are education and public health, but both of these are subjects too wide for any short survey. I have felt all the more justified in this as both have been dealt with fragmentarily in articles in recent issues of *War Commentary*, and it is hoped that pamphlets on both subjects will shortly be published by Freedom Press.

GEORGE WOODCOCK

(Continued from p. 7)

The Free German movement wants, with the gracious permission of the Allies, to call upon the Germans to overthrow Hitler, and thus to build up a peaceful and democratic Germany. Great Britain, Russia and the U.S.A. have already reached complete agreement on the draft of this very comprehensive and drastic plan which is going to give the German worker the honour of paying for the economic, industrial and financial damage for which he, and not those who led him into the clutches of the Nazis, is made responsible.

The three great Powers are going to occupy Germany. Berlin, as agreed at Teheran, will be occupied by all three powers jointly. The Russian zones of occupation will reach as far as the Elbe, the American zone remains in the south, and the British in the North-East. Occupation police will see that there will be no "chaos" and "disorder", should the working-class not accept democratic or bolshevik justice and freedom, or want to settle their accounts with the renegades. But whatever the ruling-classes of the victorious powers may plan, the international working-class is learning rapidly. The Russian and German workers have experienced pseudo- and state-socialism. The long years of "socialist" construction has proved Bakunin's words true: "Socialism without freedom is slavery and bestiality." The German Anarchists still stand on the basis of the anarcho-syndicalist International, as expressed in the 1935 I.W.M.A. manifesto:

"Neither the parliamentarians nor the dictatorial states know a way out of their social and political crisis. World industry has reached its dead point. The fascistic states want expansion. Colonial expansion means new hope for their own enslaved and hungry masses, work for the unemployed. The democratic states possess great colonies, but difficulties enough caused by their system. They see a possibility of solving their problems through war, which will transfer their unprofitable peace industries to war industries. Production of war material in enormous quantities and destruction of material in no less quantities—that is and always has been the only solution of the capitalist states, to cover their incapacity and political ruthlessness, their escape from complete bankruptcy and way out to avoid being overthrown by their discontented people. Fascism means War. Capitalism means War. And the State, as we know it now, clearer than ever, means War.

"In Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Holland, England, America—wherever Fascism secretly or openly raises its head, there is only one possibility for the working class to defeat it: the social revolution."

By bitter experiences the working-class will learn to appreciate the Anarchist alternative to capitalism in its different disguises. When that time has come—and come it will—world domination shared among the three victorious powers will crumble into freedom by the answer of the united workers' world revolution.

WILLY FREIMANN.

THE ABOLITION OF PROPERTY

IN THE MID-MARCH issue of *War Commentary* one of our readers asked us to explain more fully the views of the Anarchists on property. We answered him by reproducing short extracts from Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoy. From all of them it appeared clearly that Anarchists condemn property as being based on injustice and obtained through exploitation, oppression and violence. They condemned it further, as being "at once the consequence and the basis of the State" and having a corrupting influence on the privileged classes while the poor starve and are physically and morally crushed.

According to the Anarchists the first task of the revolution must be the abolition of property. Both the means of production and consumption goods must be expropriated and put at the disposal of the whole community.

How property is going to be abolished does not seem to be clear to many people. Some confusion has arisen in their minds because of the expressions used by revolutionary movements and the Anarchists in particular who advocate the *seizure* of the land and the factories by the workers. This seems to imply that property instead of being abolished is going to be transferred from one group of people to another.

When the Anarchists advocate the occupation of the factories by the workers and the seizure of the land by the peasants they do not mean that those workers should become the *owners* instead of the capitalists or the State, but that they should act as agents for the whole of society. After the revolution everything will belong to all—which comes to the same thing as saying that nothing will belong to anyone in particular.

When workers expropriate a factory they will not become a kind of shareholders, each owning 1/100th or 1/1000th part of the factory. The factory will not belong to them any more than to the miners or the agricultural labourers who may be working nearby; they will be merely running it for the whole of the community which meanwhile will provide them with the things they need.

If we said that the factories, and land, etc., should become the *property* of the workers (using the word in the sense it has been used up to now) we would be creating a new injustice. Property "is the right of using and abusing"; there is nothing which prevents a man from destroying his own house, and for years capitalists have destroyed whole crops of wheat, bananas, oranges, or coffee, or thrown fish back into the sea merely because it belonged to them and they could do what they wanted with it. Eccentric ladies

have their dogs, their personal belongings, their yachts, etc., destroyed after their death. According to the present conception of the word 'property', workers owning a factory would be able to destroy it if they wanted to, or destroy its products if they chose. This is a very unlikely hypothesis and there are other reasons for condemning property. Collective property is as illogical and unjust as private property. Everything created in society is the result of common labour. A factory which may have taken hundreds of workers to build, which possesses machines created by the efforts of generations of engineers cannot be said to belong to anyone in particular. If from one owner the property passes to a hundred, the injustice would still be there.

Of course, the abolition of property in factories and land must be followed by its abolition in consumption goods, the abolition of money and the abolition of wages. Men value property to-day for the privileges it gives. Shareholders value their shares in a factory because of the profits they draw from them which allow them to live on a better scale than ordinary workers and give them a superior position in society. With the abolition of money and wages, and private property in consumers' goods, "owning" a factory would become a completely meaningless term.

The injustice of private property in the means of production is generally recognised, but many people try to draw a distinction between two kinds of property: the factories, land, etc., which would allow men to exploit other people's labour on one hand and the personal possessions like a house, cars, books, etc., on the other. Says our critic, "Surely you don't want a man's hammer or bicycle to belong to the whole of society?"

The answer is yes and no. There are obviously things which can't belong to several people; a tooth brush, for example, is rightly considered by people as an instrument they should have an exclusive privilege to use. But supposing hammers and bicycles were in very short supply; then it would be wrong for a man to say: "this hammer or bicycle belongs to me" and thereby deprive other men from using them. The same principle would apply to a house. There is nothing wrong in a family wanting to have a house to themselves; they are obviously entitled to comfort and privacy. But supposing that after the revolution there were for a time a number of people without shelter, then it would be wrong for a man or a family to have a whole house to themselves and if they refused to share it with other members it would show that the old capitalist mode of thinking is still alive.

We want to abolish property altogether. It might at first seem just that a man should own a house, tools, bicycle or car because it is true that these possessions would not allow him to exploit his fellow workers but it is equally true that by owning these commodities he may be excluding other workers who have an equal claim to them. One cannot share everything and one will still say *my* bed when sleeping in it, *my* coat when wearing it but one will realize that one has no exclusive right to the bed or coat as long as other men go without.

During and after the revolution it will be the job of the communes or the distribution syndicates to distribute the food and other commodities amongst the population. They will start by collectivizing food, transport, clothes and other commodities and will distribute them as fairly as possible. But if there were a shortage of goods it should be the duty of each member of the community to bring to the distribution what "belongs" to him so as to share it with others. If this were not done spontaneously, if a man possessed stores of food while the population starved there is no reason why the commune or the syndicate should not take the goods and distribute them amongst the population. If bicycles or cars were urgently needed they should be equally requisitioned. This is why we cannot accept the view that only the land and the factories should belong to all.

The method of consumption will undergo a change as radical as that of production. Things like cars, tools, books, records, will generally no longer be used by men individually but will be shared by a group. There is no reason why individuals should accumulate a great number of tools, books, etc., in their own house when they can borrow them from a communal centre. There is no reason why each man should have a car in his garage if he can borrow it, when he needs it, from the communal garage. The lending library system could be applied to most commodities of life. If a family has guests it should be able to go to the communal centre and get the extra crockery, bedding, beds and chairs necessary to accommodate the guests; when these have left, the articles borrowed could be returned to the centre. Vacuum cleaners, washing machines, paint sprayers and a hundred other things could be equally borrowed every time they are needed. In this way even if the production of industrial goods does not expand so as to provide each individual with all the commodities he requires he will be able, nevertheless, to have access to them. The other advantage will be to cut down the amount of furniture and household articles in the house which generally take up a lot of space and complicate housekeeping.

To our minds, influenced by capitalist ideas, the abolition of property may seem rather disturbing. There is in many of us a reluctance to share what we have with others. The isolation of man in present-day society has created in him a strong individualistic feeling. This selfish attitude did not exist amongst savages

or in primitive societies where men used to feel part of the community. As Kropotkin has abundantly shown in *Mutual Aid*, members of the same community shared all they had, food, clothes, houses, implements of work.

There is no doubt that, after the revolution, the work in common for the good of all, the daily contact with neighbours in factories and at home will give birth to a revival of feelings of fraternity amongst men. It is by no means unpleasant and one likes sharing what one has with friends. When friendly relations will exist amongst all men it will seem a natural thing to put everything one has in common.

One may remind sceptics that relations between men have undergone very deep changes through the ages and that there is no reason why the relation between men and things should not undergo equally deep ones. There were times in history when men thought that they had the right to possess slaves and do what they liked with their lives. This would seem repugnant to most men to-day (capitalists and politicians excepted). Man considered his wife as his personal property which he could treat as he wished. Now he tends to regard her as a companion and admit that she is free to think and act as she chooses. There is no reason to suppose that once capitalism, money and wages have been abolished our attitude towards property will not undergo a similar fundamental change so that the word will be rendered completely meaningless.

M. L. B.

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Negro Soldier's Trial

(continued from p. 6)

"Finally I popped the question to her and she said, 'Why not?' She asked me for one pound and I gave it to her. When they picked me up was the third time I had been with her. I walked slowly from the field and did not see her husband."

Cross-examined by Captain Culinson, accused said: "I only had one cup of tea and nothing to eat before the investigators questioned me. I saw them give a white boy a cup of tea. I had no cooked dinner at 1.30 p.m., and I didn't have bread, butter and marmalade for breakfast. I didn't have anything to eat from Friday till 5 o'clock on Saturday night in the prison camp. It was after they had prepared the statement that they called the army captain. They gave me cigarettes.

"They didn't write down just what I told them to, and they didn't read the statement to me in the presence of the captain. Somebody hooked me from behind. It was not me tripping over furniture. The investigators used profanity in talking to me. I saw this woman on April 27. I again saw her on the Wednesday in the same week I was picked up."

The President: "You say the statement was never read to you. Do you say the captain is lying?"

Accused: "I just won't say that he is, but I never heard it. I have never had a knife in all my life.

"When I had a blind flash I fell down. I am not confident I was kicked. At the time of the investigation by the two investigating men no officer of the U.S. Army was present. I saw this woman in the area of the King William pub. She said she wanted so much money. Each time she asked me for money, and the last time I didn't have two pounds. I was pretty well on my feet when I signed a statement."

Recalled, the woman said: "I have never seen the soldier before the night of May 6. On April 27 I was with my husband in the garden and later in the evening I assisted to get the hen coops ready. On the evening of May 3 I was with my husband all the evening. I never left him from the time he left work. Early in the evening of May 5 we were in the garden. At twenty minutes to ten p.m. my husband suggested we should go to the King William for a drink, which we did. After the act in the field there was no mention of money.

"My husband comes home between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. He only goes out at night when on duty, and then I go with him."

Asked by the coloured member of the court, the woman said: "I do not go out with other women. I have only visited the King William public-house three times at the outside. I can well remember what I did on the two evenings of April 27 and May 3. On April 27 my husband set a fowl to hatch eggs."

The woman's husband, recalled, was asked what his wife did on the night of April 27, and he said: "She was in the garden the whole of that evening."

The defending officer asked if a man could testify for his wife. The President: "He need not testify against her. It must be presumed there is no collusion between husband and wife."

The defending officer said: "This story by the woman is rather incredible. She gets out of bed in the middle of the night, leaves her husband in bed, then leaves home, and she walks off with a strange coloured soldier to show him the way to town. It was not necessary for her to have gone at all, or at the most it was only necessary for her to have gone ninety to a hundred yards. The doctor's testimony is that no force was used by the man and the woman, according to her story, offered no resistance. It is not logical that a man who intended to rape her should help her over the fence and then lay his own coat on the ground. It was not the act of a man committing rape. I have brought witnesses to

prove this man has never been in possession of a knife.

"In order to prove rape it is necessary for the woman involved to use all her powers of physical resistance against the act. In this case none was offered by her on her own testimony. There were many chances where this woman could have called out in this very densely populated district with houses all over the place. The wall is four feet high and she could have run away, screamed or done anything else. Another possibility is that the state of surprise she was in might have been caused by the fact that she was caught by her husband who was supposed to be safely in bed, when actually he was only ten to fifteen yards from the spot where she had climbed over the wall.

"The mere fact that he signed a statement is no indication of guilt. It was forced off the accused, who didn't know what was going on, and only after he had been threatened by the persons who were trying to get a statement from him."

Captain Culinson, prosecuting officer: "I quite agree with the defence, that the action of the woman in getting out of bed and walking off with a dark strange soldier is rather odd, but in our relations with the English they do things that we don't do, and many of us will be able to teach our wives lessons. English wives do everything possible to help their husbands. They do answer the door. The English are doing a fine job of work by accommodating us in their houses, but they go out of their way to do things. I think there could have been forceful penetration.

"As to the signing of the statement, we have two investigators who knew what they were doing. They are always up against this thing when they get a statement of persons who later on say it was forced from them. They are very conscious of that and do everything possible to avoid that possibility. They are not in the game to pin anything on anybody. They get the full true story. We know the captain could not deliberately say the statement was read to accused if it was not read. By the articles of war accused knows the penalty for rape. Accused mentions he went to the King William and found a woman. The prosecution has it in mind he got the wrong woman on that night. It's an idea that might fall in with the picture."

The Judge Advocate said: "Accused is thirty years and two months old, with no previous conviction."

The President, following a short retirement in camera, said: "We find you guilty and sentence you by the unanimous vote of every member present to be hanged by the neck till dead."

(Reproduced from "Tribune")

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BACK TO THE BREAD LINE

THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW White Paper on *Employment Policy* (H.M.S.O. 6d.) could well be described as a manifesto from the bureaucratic caste on the question of the transition from a wartime to a peacetime totalitarian order. Far more than being merely a report on the subject indicated by its title, it can be regarded, without exaggeration, as a surprisingly comprehensive sketch of what the ruling class hope this country will be like after the war.

It is a significant fact that as the war draws steadily towards its close, as the Allied governments feel that they cannot safely keep the pantomime going much longer, and as the statements of governments crystallise from the vagueness of pep speeches to the explicitness of printed reports, the extent and quality of the promises made to the workers decrease in steady progression. It is also interesting that the promises of Government Departments are many times more cautious than the *recommendations*, often taken for *promises*, of unattached individuals like Beveridge. A further significant fact in this connection is that the publicity given to the Beveridge report, which, meagre as it was, appears to have been merely a specious mirage, was many times greater than that given to the present report, which is obviously a much more exact and important approximation to what the Government intends to do.

The thought in the minds of the ruling class would appear to be that as the end of the war becomes a more tangible possibility—even a probability of the next year or so—the worker will be so pleased with the idea of peace in itself that it is unnecessary to implement all the rosy promises which floated like beautiful clouds over the early years of the war. Therefore the government's plans, as they appear in detail, promise much less than one would have thought from the preliminary statements—obviously because it is thought better to put as little as possible down in writing to be used as evidence.

All the report promises the worker is "a high and stable level of employment", which does not by any means signify immunity from unemployment, or from the accompanying debased standard of living which is of more importance to the worker than the unemployment itself. In fact, in the appendix at the end of the report airy references are made to the assumption of "an average level of 8 per cent. unemployment". If we take this statement away from the vague plane of mathematics and express it in human terms, it means that between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000 persons will be unemployed—and if we consider their dependents, between 3 and 4 million people in all will be subjected to life on the dole.

This is the only promise of any importance made to the workers in the report, and we have seen just what it is worth

in real terms. On the other hand, the authors of the report expect a good deal from the workers, and in spite of their declared repugnance for maintaining "restrictions for restriction's sake", the impression one gains is that workers will be expected to endure a good deal of pushing about in return for their "stability".

For instance, "workers must be ready and able to move freely between one occupation and another," para. 31. Indeed, mobility of labour is an idea which assumes considerable importance in this paper, and in another part, para. 29, there are proposals for forced migration of whole villages from isolated mining areas, and also for the forced depletion of population in other "depressed" areas. But it is evident that the government intend to use this "mobility" as a means of keeping the labour market fluid by providing a drifting mass of machine minders whose existence will help to break up the kind of solidarity which exists among workers who are permanently attached to one industry. This half-trained labour pool will also be extremely useful to provide an army of blacklegs in the event of strikes—unless, of course, the government's plans go astray and this very drifting mass of workers becomes permeated with revolutionary feeling.

Paragraph 49 goes on to say "it will be essential that employers and workers should exercise moderation in wages matters so that increased expenditure provided at the onset of a depression may go to increase the volume of employment". It is difficult to see how this will be a hardship to employers, as the plans laid down in the paper provide for controlled prices, which guarantee a certain level of profit and protect the individual employer against trade competition. The workers, on the other hand, are to be kept from demanding higher wages for fear by doing this they should create more unemployment. There is no suggestion that the employer might go without some of the high profits which always attend controlled prices. The idea it is intended to instil into the minds of the workers is evidently that it would be better for them all to be employed at low wages than for some to be employed at higher wages and the rest unemployed. In a similar way it is hoped to use fear to induce the workers to give up other rights and conditions, for in paragraph 54 the report says, "Workers must examine their trade practices and customs to ensure that they do not constitute a serious impediment to an expansionist economy and so defeat the object of a full employment programme."

Apart, however, from the question of unemployment, this report plans in rough outline the whole structure of a managed economy which will be the British form of totalitarian society after the war. Individual capitalists will remain, but their activities will be so closely interlinked with each other and those of the state that the ruling class will present a far more united and monopolistic front than they have ever done before. A significant point which shows the fundamentally anti-social character of this *new order* is that the state and the public services authorities are to hold over all the improvements in social services until times of depression, when, paid for by extra tax, collected during "prosperous" periods, they will be put into operation to save the capitalists from bankruptcy.

The leftist socialists have criticised this report because they do not see how it can attain full employment. For us, however, the evil is not unemployment itself, but the social condition that attends it. We look forward to a society when men will be neither the pariahs of unemployment nor the slaves of full employment; but when a scientific use of the resources of nature will provide plenty and leisure for a small amount of voluntary labour undertaken not from economic necessity but from co-operative responsibility.

L. T. C.

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