

# WAR. For Anarchism COMMENTARY.

Vol. 5, No. 23.

OCTOBER, 1944

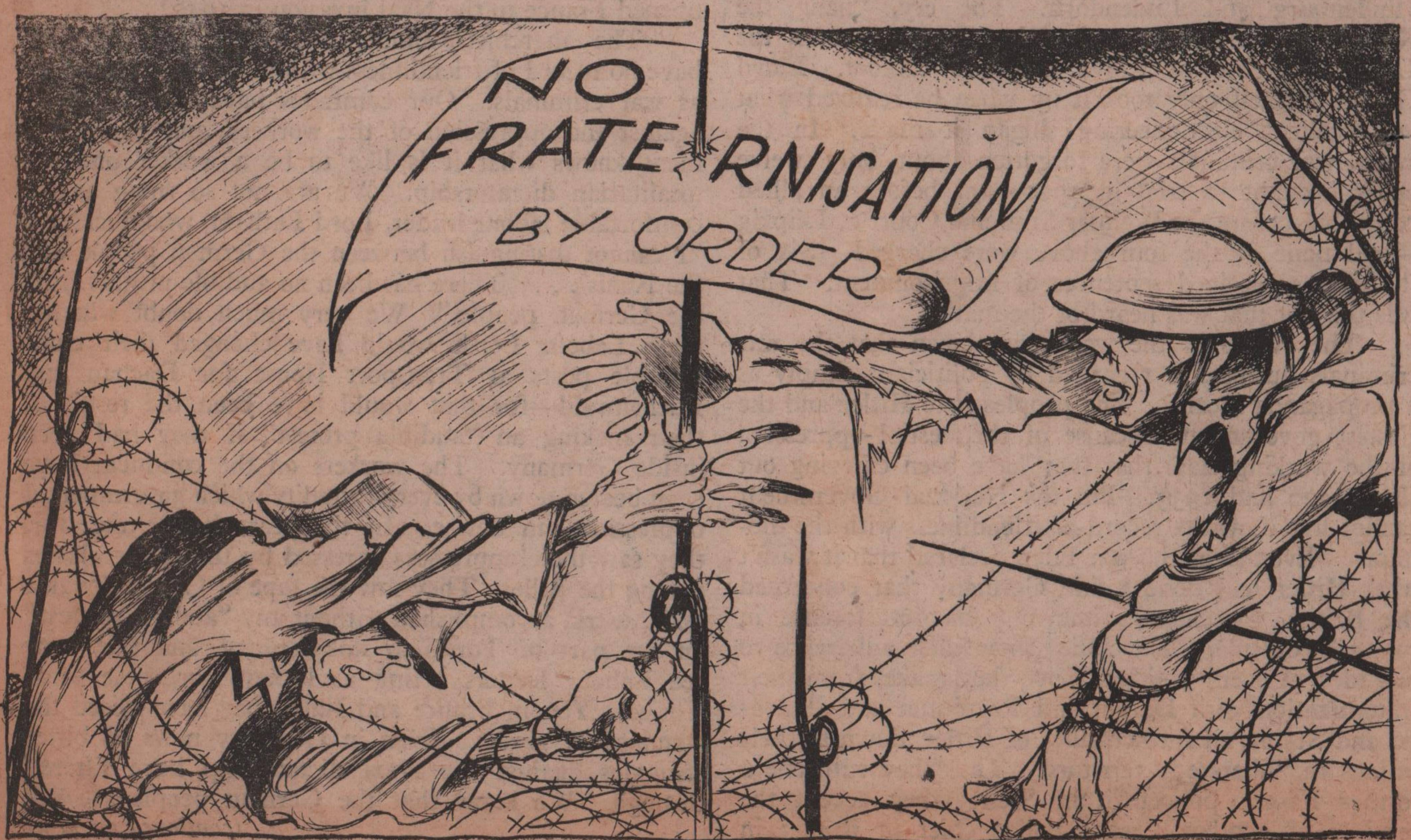
TWOPENCE

## THE GUILTY STAIN!

WARS ENTAIL ENDLESS sacrifice and suffering. They also involve disillusionment, for it soon becomes apparent that no positive gains emerge from all the bloodshed and cruelty. The last war "to make the world safe for democracy" enthroned dictatorships all over Europe, and the present war "to destroy militarism for ever" has succeeded in introducing peacetime conscription of the male population in England—the only European country which had so far stood out against this militarist measure. Nor do politicians hold out any hope of this being the last war. But in that case the sacrifices will have been made in vain, and people dare not face that reality. As in the last war, they are passionately determined that "it must never happen again", and a tremendous hatred for the causes of war is developing once more.

Victorious politicians are not slow to exploit this feeling, by raising the question of war guilt. If they can fix the responsibility for the horror of war on to the defeated enemy they hope to conceal the fundamental causes of war. For of course wars will continue so long as the profit motive compels national economics to "expand or burst", so long as the world is cursed by the competitive search for markets abroad with their finally inevitable armed conflicts.

In the context of capitalism, the conception of "war criminals" is really ludicrous. All the nations of the world are supposed to be driven into war by a handful of wicked politicians in the enemy countries! Even the Labour Party recognized the idiocy of this conception: Before 1939 they were never tired of pointing out that the policy of the National Government was





leading straight to war. Even after the war started, Bevin declared that he did not accept the idea that Germany was solely responsible for the war. Yet now the Labour Party, no less than the Tories, clamour for a vindictive peace and insist on the question of war criminals on one side only.

The picture is made even more fantastic by the spectacle of the government of Russia, for the first two years of the war in alliance with guilty Nazis, now being the most vociferous and bloodthirsty of all in bringing war criminals to Kharkov trials! The leaders of the U.S.S.R. have proclaimed their determination to make the German people pay. They insist that no distinction be made between the Nazi government and the German workers. So does Lord Vansittart. So does Lord Latham, Labour leader of the L.C.C. The *Daily Mail* (barely distinguishable from the Labour Party or Communist Press) had a cartoon showing a German worker, his hands dripping with the blood of Lidice and Lublin, rushing forward to greet Allied troops as liberators. The caption "It won't wash, Heinrich," attempts to fasten German ruling class crimes on to the oppressed German workers. Clearly, the function of war crimes agitation is to divide the German workers from their fellow workers in Allied countries. Conservatives and adherents of the alleged "Internationals"—the Second and Third—are alike anxious to avoid any international feeling among the world's workers.

The same war criminals racket was tried last time. The Allies drew up a list of several hundred "war criminals" including the Kaiser, the Crown Prince, Hindenburg and Ludendorff. The cry, "hang the Kaiser" was vigorously raised by George Barnes, the Labour member of Lloyd George's cabinet. Lloyd George himself only took it up when he realized what an excellent electioneering slogan it made. In the event, war criminals were forgotten about, only twelve being brought to trial in 1920—not before an allied court, but before the Weimar Supreme Court at Leipzig—and none of the four above were charged. Six of the twelve received sentences of imprisonment. That was the last that was heard of the matter.

The events of the war have shown that the war criminals business is regarded by politicians simply as a propaganda means. The peoples hate Hitler and the Fascist governments because of the bestial oppression of the working class that they have been carrying out since 1922 and 1933. But the National Government cannot live down its record of friendliness with the dictators. Even since the war Eden declared that it wasn't what Hitler had done inside Germany that concerned the British government, but only his interference in countries outside. The Allies show their adherence to this idea in every political move they make, from their fraternization with Darlan and Peyrouton and Badoglio and Stalin, all former allies of Hitler, down to their actions in "liberated" territory. Thus they enthrone a former Fascist policeman in Sicily; they accept the services of another Fascist police chief in Rome; in

Siena, they released the Chief of Police from the gaol where Italian anti-fascists had put him (thereby exposing the latter to his vengeance); they placed in control of Taranto a man who had earned a hated reputation as collaborator with the Gestapo in Naples. The Tarentines resented this so much that they ran him out of the city in a wheelbarrow. It is only too evident from all this that Pietro Caruso, the Rome Chief of Police who was shot a few days ago, had adopted the wrong tactics; instead of running away from the Allied authorities he should have come forward and offered his services!

While the majority of Fascists are looked after by the Allies, and even given jobs, the popular fury is deliberately directed against small fry. Laval and Darnand resorted to all sorts of coercive measures to compel men to join Darnand's militia—economic starvation and reprisals against members of their families and so on. It is revolting therefore to read of executions of such men as though they were as responsible as the political leaders. A few weeks ago, six boys aged 18 to 22 were executed for being members of the militia. When Hitler invaded France they would be from 14 to 18 years old. Yet they were shot just the same, and judging from the gloating photographs published in all papers, they died with courage.

Politicians care little that scenes like this are enacted; indeed, they spur them on, well knowing that casting the blame on such instruments obscures the fundamental issues of the causation of the war. Kill off ignorant boys, but protect the property owners who opened France to the Nazi invasion in 1940!

The anarchists, unlike the Allied Governments, have no record of friendliness with those now denounced as war criminals. Our comrades have always fought against the oppression of the workers, and our movement knows what it is like to be a worker under a totalitarian dictatorship. We are not so smug as the comfortable labour leader, Lord Latham, who declares: "I cannot distinguish between the German people and the Nazis . . . There has been no audible protest from the German people." We very much doubt whether these Labour Lords would have changed their comfortable posts at Transport House for Dachau and Buchenwald—for that would have been the result of their making an "audible protest" if they had been inside Germany. The workers on the continent have been beaten down by every brutality which governmental oppression can devise. In the years before the war, they saw their oppressors caressed by the ruling classes among the Allies. They saw the rape of Czechoslovakia and Austria accomplished without any "audible protest" on the part of Tories in this country, and they now see Labour leaders acting as lackeys for these same Tories. Yet, in France and Italy, they have raised the standard of revolt. Even in Germany news of bitter struggles against the Nazi dictatorship have filtered through. We know that the German people are not

(continued on p. 4)



# ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

## REMEMBER LIDICE ?

THE *Sunday Dispatch* on the 17th September carried a report that the American army had burnt a village in revenge for sniping. The headline pointed out, with evident glee, that the Americans are using the 'iron hand' in Germany.

Whether this report is true we have no means of saying. But the fact that it should have been made, and quoted with approval by a great capitalist newspaper, without any intervention from the government, is significant enough. It is obvious that, even if the Americans did not burn a village in this case, they or the British will have no scruples in doing so if the occasion arises, as it undoubtedly will, in the near future.

Reports of this kind, and the state of mind they represent, reflect the attitude of the invading generals and their governments at home. Instead of going into Germany to free the Germans from the Nazis, the British and American armies will enter as a great punitive expedition to prevent the German workers from rising against tyranny. Resistance within Germany will be of two kinds. There will be the regular military resistance of the Reichswehr, and supplementary to this there will probably be a certain private resistance on the part of minor Nazi bullies who feel they will be sold out as scapegoats by their own leaders. But there will also be a genuine resistance of the German people against the invaders as a new repressive force, a resistance which will gradually become more revolutionary as the German people realise the reactionary nature of the Allied domination. It is evident that the Allies will do their best to crush such resistance, in the name of freedom of course, and that they will not scruple to burn down villages in revenge. No doubt, of course, they will blame the resistance on to 'Nazis', just as there have already been cases in Italy of genuine revolutionaries being treated as if they were fascists.

Sunday's report carried our minds back to the very different reports which appeared in the British newspapers when the Germans destroyed Lidice. When the Germans did such a thing there was horrified condemnation. When the Americans are said to have done it, there is smug satisfaction. Yet the villagers of the Rhineland have as little interest in or responsibility for the war as the villagers of Lidice. All are the victims of power politics.

That the Allies should take to burning villages is in reality only a return to past—and not very long past—politics. Before the Nazis burnt Czech villages the Black and Tans were at work in Ireland, and within the last decade the British have bombed and burnt villages on the North West frontier of India and in Iraq, sometimes for rebellion, but sometimes merely for non-payment of taxes. Physical ruthlessness is the monopoly of no single ruling class.

## SABOTAGE

IS sabotage a crime? No, if it is organized in the interests of Imperialism; the British Government advocated sabotage to the workers of Italy and France when they were occupied countries. When the French railway men destroyed rails and engines to prevent them being used by the Germans, the capitalist press glorified such acts as highly meritorious and patriotic!

Recently they have called on the Dutch people to organize a General Strike. The Danish workers have done so on a big scale. There is no IAA to be applied, if it is to help the interests of the master class—all means become "moral", if they are useful in the sacred cause of profits.

Is Sabotage a crime? No, when employed by our masters. For is not sabotage employed in a thousand ways? Almost every necessity, food, clothing, fuel, housing—they

are all faked or adulterated; surely this is sabotaging the lives of workers? Have the ruling groups not sabotaged the very face of the country? What was once pleasant countryside is now hideous and foul with slag heaps and refuse dumps of the chemical works; beautiful streams are choked with filth of every kind. Noisome slums, foul and evil, where once were pleasant fields—this is not sabotage! It is capitalist progress, the progress of the nineteenth century.

Their system of education is a definite form of mental sabotage; it throws sand into the minds of the workers. There is no imprisonment for saboteurs of the legal fraternity—imprisonment is reserved for those who are impudent enough to copy (on a smaller scale) the methods of their masters. For those who are so foolish as to think that all are "equal before the law" will soon find that the first thing to be sabotaged in a law court is justice.

When the war is over, when the markets are again glutted with surplus goods and labour, who will be the first to throw the "sabot" into the machinery of production, but the master class who find their profits gone? To-day everyone knows how fish are dumped back into the sea, coffee and cotton burnt, crops ploughed in and livestock slaughtered. In the interest of maintaining high prices, necessities of every kind—even during periods of semi- or actual starvation—are restricted in production, if the profits are no longer there. Sabotage has always been a favoured weapon of the boss class. Their sabotage is legal, and therefore "moral", is in the best interests of Christian Civilisation.

## CAPITAL IS INTERNATIONAL

*"The many men so beautiful  
And they all dead did lie  
And a thousand thousand slimy things  
Lived on; and so did I."*

THUS spoke the Ancient Mariner, but it might with equal truth be spoken by the Modern Shipowner. Certain information comes into our possession which shows how false and hollow are the fine patriotic sentiments uttered by the ruling-class. Seamen in this country should stand firm to demand an instant and independent investigation into the circumstances surrounding a recent strike in the Argentine.

Since June 15th one thousand workers of the "Talleres Central" (owned by the Blue Star Line) were on strike in conflict with the Board which ignored their claims and rejected their right to organise in their union. During this strike the union (Federacion de Obreros en Construcciones Navales) issued a leaflet in Buenos Aires in English, and distributed it to British and Allied seamen.

The leaflet is headed "THE BLUE STAR LINE REPAIRS ITS SHIPS AT NAZI DOCKS. IS THIS POSSIBLE?" It states:

"Due to the unanimous boycott and repudiation shown them by organised labour, they have gone as far as to employ Nazi firms and Nazi-capital such as the *DEUTZ OTTO, COMPANIA ARGENTINA DE MOTORES LEGITIMOS*, qualified as Nazi, and entered in the Statutory List and List of Blocked Nationals. Is it tolerable that a British concern like the Blue Star Line shall work hand in hand with the Nazis, in order to deny the right claims of organised labour? Is it democratic to favour, against Argentine and World Democracy, the financial interests of Nazi-German capital? Are the lives of Allied seamen safe aboard ships where Nazi saboteurs could have had a free hand? The workers of 'Talleres Central' and of the Union the 'Federacion de Obreros de Construcciones Navales' denounce these shameful facts to the British and Allied crews."

Hue-and-cry is raised in the ruling-class papers about



strikers and absentees, heavy sentences are passed on seamen who infringe discipline or are late for their boat, libellous strictures are published in the capitalist press about papers like ours which stand for the interests of the working-class. But we never see any attack on British ship-owners who are prepared to trade unit Nazi firms in order to break strikes abroad. How well it proves what we have so often said, "Sooner than give in to the workers, the 'democratic' capitalists will join hand-in-hand with Fascism."

Needless to say, the Blue Star Line is owned by a most patriotic company.

## STRIKES INCREASING

AS the war drags on to its conclusion, disillusion and discontent among the workers is steadily growing. This is shown, on the industrial field by the increase in direct action.

The biggest strike during the past two weeks was that of the 14,000 workers who staged a sit-down strike at the Austin Motor Works, Birmingham. The cause of the dispute was that the management announced that men who were to be switched on to the production of 10 H.P. cars would be paid at between 25 and 50% over the piece-rate for the job. This meant that the rate of men formerly earning £7 10s. or £8 would be cut to about £4 10s. a week. It was alleged during the strike that Austin were switching from essential work to peace-time production, and although this was denied by Mr. L. P. Lord, a joint managing director of the company, it is a little difficult to see why the cut was necessary if this was not the case.

Workers at two N.W. factories of Fairey Aviation have also been on a sit-down strike. The cause of this dispute is not clear and the statement by a union official in the *Express* (22/9/44) that it was due to "an alleged indiscreet remark by a charge hand to a worker" seems unlikely. The official added however that "there have been other complaints" but what these consisted of is left to our imagination.

Needless to say there has also been strike action in the coalfields. A grievance of pit-deputies caused a fairly big stoppage in the Durham field, and 200 miners at Fortissat Colliery, Shotts, Lanarkshire (mentioned in *Anarchist Commentary* last fortnight) struck in sympathy with a fellow-worker who had £1 wrongly deducted from his pay. There have also been two strikes in the Rhondda Valley, S. Wales. The first was at Parc & Dare Colliery, Treorchy, where, according to the *Evening Standard* (23/9/44) the strike was in sympathy with two hauliers who had been transferred to another shift. The same *Evening Standard* reported that "an alleged grievance among the ostlers at Fernhill Collieries, Treherbert, has resulted in a stoppage of work to-day by the 500 miners employed on the morning shift."

The class-struggle is becoming increasingly sharp, and it is clear that in the coming months bitter struggles are likely to develop. These struggles will only be brought to a conclusion however when the workers adopt the revolutionary form of strike action advocated by the Syndicalists throughout the world—the occupation of the factories and workers' control of industry.

## "FASCISTS UNDERGROUND"

THE Press has been full of accounts recently of the Nazis' plans for "going underground" when the

Allies invade Germany. Such talk implies, of course, that the Nazis enjoy widespread mass support among the German workers. We have never been able to understand why this view is so widely believed. The fact that it is believed, however, shows how pessimistic reformists and liberals are about the capabilities of the German workers. It seems clear to us that those who have to use the most impressive machinery for suppressing a people yet devised by any government (with the possible exception of the Soviet Government) are aware of an equally formidable opposition. Franco only established his régime over the dead bodies of more than a million

Spaniards. Mussolini's collapse revealed how extensive was the anti-Fascism of the Italian workers. The death sentences, the concentration camp horrors are an eloquent testimony to the Germans' opposition to Hitler.

But the "Nazis going underground" stuff has a more sinister function to serve. The Allies governments have no reason to think their occupation of Germany will be a god-send to the German people. How convenient to be able to call all who resist as "Nazis". The Soviet government has for years dubbed all its opponents inside Russia "fascists". The Allied propagandists are simply taking a leaf out of Stalin's book. Revolutionists on the continent as well as in Russia can expect to have the appellation "Nazi-Fascist" hurled at them by their semi-Fascist rulers!

## CARRETTA AND CARUSO

THE riot which occurred on the day when Caruso, the ex-Police Chief of Rome was to be tried is one of those extraordinary

occurrences which shed vivid light on what people are thinking. The crowd seized Carretta, one of Caruso's assistants, who was to have been a witness against Caruso, and lynched him. They finally hung his body upside down from the gates of the Regina Coeli prison (the name means "Queen of Heaven"). An unpleasant event, but in the circumstances a significant one. The Allies have shown an extraordinary readiness to employ former members of the Fascist police and OVRA. Churchill has made it quite clear to the Italians that whatever they may think, he wants to see men like Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio at the helm of Italian affairs. This in the teeth of a widely expressed hatred on the part of the Italians for the House of Savoy and the Abyssinian Marshal. Their opinions thus flouted in the past, it is highly probable that the Italians felt no sort of security when fascists like Caruso and Carretta were in the custody of the Allies. They were afraid Caruso was going to be "let off with a fine", and, like the Paris crowd that killed the Governor of the Bastille in 1789, they wanted to make sure. Caruso not forthcoming they dealt with Carretta. This view has been taken by some of the Italian newspapers also. Not a pretty scene, but one which is likely to happen when the Allies have given protection (and jobs) to so many fascists.

(continued from p. 2)

responsible for the war. It is the ruling groups in every country that arrange wars, not the workers. That is why these ruling groups try to shoulder off their own guilt on to the German workers. It is capitalism that is the war criminal. We stand with the workers of all lands against the politicians and capitalists who are the agents of the capitalist system that breeds wars. The guilty stain of war will only be wiped away when governments and exploitation have been crushed forever by the free association of men across all frontiers.

ANTI-LABOUR LAWS VICTIMS DEFENCE  
COMMITTEE

SOCIAL & DANCE

to be held on Saturday, 30th September at 6.30 p.m.  
at 31, Broadhurst Gardens, N.W.3.  
(nearest Tube Station, Finchley Road).

There is still a large debt outstanding in connection with the trials and all comrades are asked to attend and make this a success.



# UNITED ACTION WINS AT EBBW VALE

THE EBBW VALE strip mill of Messrs. Richard Thomas & Co. is one of the most modern steel plants in this country, and is totally dependent on electricity, an inherent feature of strip mills. Thus the electrical department is an highly important part of the organisation, a fact one would doubt considering the status of this department and the treatment handed out to the electrical personnel.

Relations between the electrical workers and the company have never been cordial, but the workers were able in the early days of the plant (1939) to maintain fair rates and conditions by their own militancy and local T.U. branch organisation. Clever use of the E.W.O., the Labour Supply Officer, and such like now familiar devices, enabled the company to get rid of many militants and reduce the power of this particular section of their workers.

For some years conditions in this department have grown steadily worse, with unfortunately little serious opposition from the men. It is pleasing to note that of late a little more interest and militancy is being displayed by at least some of these workers. A recent dispute at this plant involving the electrical department points to the value of direct action and indicates clearly the attitude of the management towards labour in the near-at-hand post-war period. This is of outstanding interest as it shows clearly what we can expect from the capitalist class and their stooges and how sure they are that post-war organisation will be along the lines *they* want.

Wages and conditions for the electrical workers are governed by an agreement between the company and an Allied Smelters Trades organisation covering the area. A basic wage for 47 hours week is paid and average overtime conditions prevail. The shift workers have worked under this agreement since the inception of the present plant, have always held they are ordinary shift workers and thus maintained the view that they hold the right to accept or refuse overtime. This differs from the position of *continuous* shift workers who agree to man the plant seven days a week throughout the year. Provision for setting up such an agreement locally exists within the prevailing agreement, but the company have never approached the workers with the request for such an agreement.

Due to the fact that the plant operates throughout much of the week-end, continual overtime has been a feature in the department since a few months after the plant started production. Arising from this the men have in effect worked a seven-shift week since that time, always retaining, as mentioned before, the right to refuse this overtime. On a number of occasions officials of the department have attempted definite action or threatened workers who have used this right, but in every case have failed in their attempts.

Recently, however, a more determined attempt was made by the management to force a definite seven-day week upon electrical maintenance men. One of these men refused to work a twelve hour overtime shift, while being prepared to work an eight hour shift. He was told that if he did come in to work eight hours only he would be sent home, and if he did not work the twelve hours, further action would be taken, whereupon the other men in his shift went home also. The other shifts supported their action by refusing to work that week-end.

A meeting of the local branch of the E.T.U. decided, in view of the company's attitude to operate the agreement only. Thus no man would work overtime unless requested to do so

by the company officials, a rule that had not been applied for some time. At a meeting with the company they were informed of this decision; at which the engineer made it clear that as far as he was concerned the men were continuous shift workers and he had no intention of asking them to work overtime; they were expected to do so.

In reply to this attitude the men operated the agreement for one week-end, after which the officials posted notices asking men to work specified overtime periods, thus admitting the correctness of the position taken by the men. Early capitulation on the part of the company was probably due to a number of reasons. The plant must have regular maintenance; it has had insufficient for some time due to being undermanned; mainly however I believe they knew of the solidarity of the men on this occasion and the fact that more concerted action had been agreed upon. Let us hope the men will continue their show of solidarity.

During the meeting with the company officials, the personnel manager made remarks to the effect that "in a short time anyone who is not satisfied with conditions under the Company will be able to offer his services elsewhere". The implication of this attitude should be sufficiently clear to make further remarks superfluous.

R. L. JENKINS.

## Anarchist Jailed

AT THE OLD BAILEY on Monday, fifteen months' imprisonment was imposed on an Anarchist comrade, T. W. Brown, for distributing a leaflet which the ruling class didn't like. Tom W. Brown (not to be confused with Tom Brown, the author of *Trade Unionism or Syndicalism* and *The British General Strike*) had written several articles in *War Commentary*, in most of which he vigorously attacked the hypocrisy and cruelty of war, and especially the meanness of the ruling class. The spectacle of profits being made from the sacrifice of soldiers' lives and limbs, aroused in him a passionate indignation and spirit of revolt. He was particularly infuriated by Churchill's comfortable cynicism about the bombing of workers' homes, and it was the remark "it's just like old times" with which the Prime Minister greeted the return of bombing raids to London last February which stung him into producing the leaflet to which exception was taken. Later he was similarly affected by Churchill's advice on the flying bombs: "We've just got to get used to them".

The callousness of these ruling class utterances provoked in our comrade a personal response. He produced a duplicated leaflet drawing attention to this callousness, and circulated it himself. It was the act of a man chafing at the injustice and cruelty he saw around him, an act which, in a way, itself reflected the powerlessness of the individual in revolt against reactionary power.

A mere three or four hundred copies were distributed. Yet the State prosecutor screamed that it was a "wicked leaflet", and denounced our comrade as an "agitator"—that word so beloved of reactionaries! Tom W. Brown expressed *his* reactions to the prevailing insanity of war. The State was scared that people might express similar views; so our comrade is put out of the way for 15 months. He is just one more who is paying the penalty for his opinion.



# JIM CROW IN THE U.S. FORCES

THE JUNE ISSUE of the American paper *Politics* contains two articles which throw much light on the colour situation operating in the U.S. forces, and which should open the eyes of any who think that racial persecution is the monopoly of the Nazis. The first is the story of a year in the U.S. Navy told by Isaac McNatt, a coloured teacher who joined up in October 1942. He was sworn in with about twenty-four other men, all whites, but when he reported for training he discovered that he had been segregated into a Negro group. At the training camp the Negroes were organised into separate companies from the whites, quartered in separate barracks, and fed in separate halls. They used the same Ship's Service Store, but before a few days had gone a notice appeared directing whites to one window, coloured boys to another, and a guard was posted to enforce the rule.

An incident occurred which shows how things were going. At movies the policy was that people sat where they could find a seat. One night the whites demanded first choice of seats, and this was permitted, at which, says McNatt, a near riot broke out. But after the show all was quiet, until in the middle of the night all the Negroes were ordered out of bed on to parade, *whether they had attended the movie or not*. They were drilled to exhaustion while the whites slept on.

At the next camp, for advanced training, the Negro companies were split up, and reformed with some whites in each. Always the whites appeared at the head of the column, and when enquiries were made the reason given was that place in line was determined by rating, practically all the whites being first-class or chief-petty officers, while no Negro was higher than second-class petty officer. Negro second-class petty officers who enquired about prospects of promotion were put off with promises despite their qualifications. McNatt gives an example of one Negro specialist in electricity with the highest qualifications and experience, who was continually promised promotion, but was eventually discharged as "Unfit".

On board the ship the same discrimination in the matter of quarters and food occurred. The whites ate first and so got the pick of what was going, while sometimes a few coloured boys didn't get anything at all and often got different food from those who went first.

## AT THE CARIBBEAN BASE

The first job at the base was the building of new quarters, and in order to save time meals were taken at a naval air base, and on the second day the order was given that whites were to go to the head of the line. The Negroes found that this meant they had to stand up for most of the lunch hour, while the whites who did no actual work but supervised had half an hour in which to rest. The Negroes refused to eat. A policy was arranged whereby the whites ate with the crew members of the station and the Negroes formed a separate line. But the station whites were displeased by this jim crow attitude, and refused to eat in such an arrangement. So three lines were formed, one for the Negroes, one for the station crew, and one for the colour-conscious whites.

When the living quarters were ready the same segregation was put into operation, and at the Ship's Service Store a notice went up, not separating coloured from white, but



enlisted men from first class. The intention was clear, however, and the coloured boys practiced a boycott until the signs were removed.

## CONFERENCE WITH THE OFFICERS

The Commanding Officer called an informal meeting, attended by about twelve coloured boys and nine white officers, to discuss grievances and things which did not seem to be going very well at the base. After talking about shortage of leave, one of the officers said that leave wasn't the real trouble, and wanted to know what the fellows thought about the racial situation on the base. One asked whether there was a rule preventing Negroes from being promoted higher than second class p.o., to which the reply given was that there was no such rule. But the Negroes replied that they had always worked hard and done their best, yet promotion had not been forthcoming for them. Said the Commanding Officer: "It is the policy of this battalion to have only white fellows first-class or above. If I were to upgrade you fellows to that rating it would upset my setup."

After some more talk about the racial question the coloured boys were dismissed, the C.O. saying that the air had been cleared on the subject. But the next day the regimental commander hauled them up and lectured them for having petty complaints, and a few days later nineteen coloured boys were dismissed from the service on grounds of "Undesirable by reason of Unfitness."

## THE AIR CORPS TOO

The other article concerns the events during the formation of a Negro air unit. Previously the Army Air Corps had accepted Negroes for plying duties in single engine fighter and pursuit planes only, taking in 200 pilots altogether. On July 22nd, 1943, it was announced that a Negro medium bombardment unit would be formed and that autumn the 477th Bombardment Group was got under way, to take 50 officers and 350 men, all coloured. Early in 1944 training



started at Mather Field, California. There was not segregation or racial friction between the whites at the training base and the Negroes. Everything went smoothly, until a high officer came and introduced a jim-crow policy, as the following extract from the *Pittsburgh Courier* of March 11th, 1944 shows:

"Then came Maj. Gen. Ralph P. Cousins to the field on an inspection trip. Among his first orders to the camp commander was one for the separation of the Negroes from the whites in the mess hall.

The commander was flabbergasted. But in the Army, orders from men of higher rank become law. He called in the Negro pilots and told them the situation.

One of the spokesmen for the group asked if the men were under orders to eat in the mess hall. He was told they were not.

From that day to this, not a single Negro pilot has eaten in the jim-crow mess hall. They dig into their own pockets and buy their food from the post exchange, in addition to paying their regular mess assessment.

The PX is staffed exclusively by whites, mostly women. But the entire force was in strict sympathy with the Negro pilots. They came to work earlier in order to serve breakfast to the "jim-crowed" pilots and get them on the field in time.

Then came Christmas. The girls were due to have the day off. But they voted to give up their holiday in order to serve the Negro pilots if they did not want to go into town for their Christmas meal.

"No," said the pilots. "We have decided that to-day would be a good day to do without anything to eat." Not a single pilot put a morsel in his mouth that Christmas day.

A tradition was thus established. The first class has finished its preliminary training at Mather Field. Two other classes have followed. But not a Negro pilot has eaten in the mess hall since the infamous order by Major General Cousins.

The jim-crow order is still in effect."

When at Selfridge Field, Michigan, Negro officers applied for membership of the base officer's club. A meeting was called of all Negro officer personnel at which the Commanding Officer, Col. Robert L. Selway, Jr., admonished those who had applied, and read a letter from the base commander to the group commander in which he made it known that the applications of the Negroes would not go forward since it was not the policy of the War Department to mix the Negro and white officer personnel in the messes and clubs.

This delightful and encouraging information, calculated of course to convince the Negroes in question of the benefits of American Democracy, was followed by a visit from Major General Frank O'D Hunter, Commanding General of the First Air Force. He confirmed this jim crow attitude and tried to justify it by pointing to a hundred years of social discrimination. He promised that a separate Negro officer's club would be built, and said that all "agitators" would be weeded out and dealt with.

Before the promised club was built the entire Negro group was removed from Selfridge Field to Godman Field, Kentucky, one of the worst fields in the States, with such poor facilities that the entire group would not be able to operate from the base. But it did provide a Southern background where there was a local jim-crow tradition to back up that of the Army.

The living accommodation for men and officers alike are deplorable, yet when inspecting officers arrive they are tactfully shown only the one barrack room which has reasonable living conditions. Comments the *Politics* article;

"Conditions continue to get worse with the passing of each day. As a result, a number of investigating officers have been sent in to get the actual picture. The group personnel believes they were given the old "eye

wash" treatment, or that they were not sincere in their efforts."

Finally Lt. General Barney Giles, second highest officer of the Army Air Force paid a visit to the field. He called a meeting of all the flying officers in the group to talk over grievances. But the group commander was present at this meeting, while the general procedure is for the inspecting officer to hold a private meeting to hear complaints without the presence of the group commander. Naturally under these circumstances no exposure of the "dirty practices" of the group commander was forthcoming. The outcome of the meeting was a promise by General Giles that certain minor amenities would be provided or improved, but nothing that would improve the colour situation.

These two stories show in no uncertain manner the kind of thing that can go on in a democracy that is supposed to be bringing the Four Freedoms to the oppressed peoples of Europe. When these freedoms don't even exist for the American Negroes, the prospects for the Europeans seem pretty dim.

JACK WADE.

## CHRIS JONES

ALL REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS will share in our sorrow at the death of our militant fellow worker Chris Jones. He was well known in the North and especially in South Wales, and during the last few years, in London. The best coloured open-air speaker, he drew large crowds at the Docks among his mates. Being one of them, he spoke to them in their own tongue, and knowing their strength and their weaknesses, he knew just what points to make. The docker of to-day is very largely a disillusioned man; tricked and cheated so often by politicians and labour skates, he mistrusts the glib promisers who seek to get on his back. He is loyal to his own mates, and is capable of any sacrifice for solidarity. Chris Jones worked with them, took the same risks and paid the same dues. Always ready to fight their battles, his colour made no difference. His long and varied experience as a seaman enabled him to speak with authority of the conditions of the workers in all parts of the world. Those of us who can remember him speaking at the Freedom Press meeting on India in the autumn of 1942 will never forget his description of the women of India who worked in the mines and on the docks. In terse, biting phrases he told of how the mothers soaked rags in opium for the babies to suck to still their hunger.

Chris Jones left his home in the West Indies quite young and followed the sea. He saw capitalism at work under all conditions, and it aroused all his native antagonism to injustice and poverty. His was not an attitude of mere negative antagonism to injustice and poverty. His was not an attitude of mere negative rebelliousness; he knew and always made it clear that there was no hope under capitalism; only by the overthrow of the present system could the emancipation of the workers be achieved, and that could only be done by the workers themselves.

His work amongst his coloured comrades made him loved and respected by them all, for these the true spirit of Internationalism shone out. His death is a great loss for the militant labour movement. His life is an inspiration and a spur to more energetic action, for he was a forerunner of the coloured workers who are finding their places in the International working class. The crisis is approaching; we must be ready for it, must take up the cudgels dropped by our comrades in the struggle. They have not fought in vain, there are willing hands to fight and keep alive the memory of the heroes fallen in the fight.

MAT KAVANAGH.



## HUMILIATING "JUSTICE"

In all countries it is the same. Some women make the best of life with the conquerors. And when the conquerors leave, the local men act on a contempt that is physical as well as patriotic. They disenfranchise the woman not only as a citizen but also as a woman. In the Corsican village of Pisciatello, a patriot group put on trial three local women. For whatever reasons, the women had consorted with Germans. One was a peasant girl, another a government office worker who had quit her job to live with a German officer and the third, a woman accused of prostituting herself to the Germans.

All three of the Corsican girls were found guilty. All three had their hair cropped close to the skull and all were stripped of their clothes. Two of the girls were sent down the road stark naked except for their shoes. The straightforward peasant girl was given her coat to wear.

Much the same thing has happened in Norway, Denmark, Yugoslavia, lately, in Normandy.

*Life (U.S.A.) 17/7/44.*

If the Germans had used such methods what an outcry there would have been! Because they are used by French patriots they are accepted as a matter of course and even praised. Yet this kind of "justice" humiliates more those who apply it than their victims.

## BRITISH "LIBERATING" ARMY?

The Spanish Government, it is believed, would like to see still stronger British and American forces over the border in France now that the Germans have gone.

Allied troops in the frontier regions would be preferred to F.F.I. groups, some of whose members are Spanish exiles.

With German defeats following the Allied invasion, between 40,000 and 50,000 Spanish exiles left their forced labour jobs in France and made common cause with the Maquis.

These forces are still ranging France just over the border, and it is believed that some of Franco's political opponents have lately joined them.

*Star, 15/9/44.*

## FORTUNES OF WAR

The luckiest Belgian a friend came across in Brussels was a stockbroker. Expecting a German invasion, and the consequent collapse of the franc, he invested between £40,000 and £50,000 in bar gold, and buried it.

Tipped off by a collaborationist, the Gestapo arrived, demanded the gold in exchange for paper money; and said, "If you don't give it up, you and your wife and relatives will be sent to a labour camp in Germany."

When the stockbroker, risking his family's enslavement, denied possessing the gold, they dug all over his grounds but failed to find it. Now he is a rich man.

Hannen Swaffer in *Daily Herald*, 15/9/44.

Those who made profits out of "collaboration" may lose them—those who made profits out of this type of "non-collaboration" are honoured. What's the difference between them?

## A NEW ALLY FOR DEMOCRACY?

Portugal is considering whether the moment is ripe for settling accounts with Japan over the Portuguese island of Timor, in the Pacific, which the Japanese occupied earlier in the war.

The Portuguese Government may soon declare war on Japan.

The desire for some kind of Anglo-American support after the war may well be Lisbon's motive rather than Timor itself, for it is not impossible that after recovering Timor, Portugal might perhaps be willing to transfer the island to the U.S., on terms.

*Sunday Dispatch*, 24/9/44.

## BUSINESS AS USUAL

### FOR SALE

Eminently desirable property situated at 3 miles from Bayeux. In completely liberated district. Price and conditions to be arranged.

*La Renaissance du Bessin*, 7/7/44.

(First newspaper to be published in liberated France).

# Through

## WHY CONSCRIPTION?

Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare, leader of the British Parliamentary delegation to the union of South Africa, said at a civic dinner in Johannesburg, according to Reuter, that no one appreciated more than he the great contribution made by General Smuts to the cause of the United Kingdom during the war.

"When General Smuts came over to Britain the first time I can assure you his presence was worth a million men," he said.

*Star*, 13/9/44.

Smuts is worth a million men—and what with Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin and all on our side, and Hitler, Musso, Tojo on the other—would it not be practicable to let them fight it out together and spare the despised masses?

## DINERS AT THE RITZ AREN'T MINERS AT THE PITS

It was reported to Fulham Food Committee that a trades council deputation had complained to the Minister of Food that "luxury catering establishments" were evading maximum-price regulations, charging exorbitant prices for wine and spirits, and were able to get poultry and fish that could not be bought by ordinary shoppers.

The Minister replied that he was satisfied that hotels and restaurants did not get an undue share of food, and that he was not concerned with the high prices of wines, which was a case of a "fool and his money are soon parted."

*Star*, 16/9/44.

The people who can afford expensive wines have plenty left over. The Minister should coin a new proverb—"A worker and luxury seldom meet".

## "LIBERATORS" AT WORK

In retaliation for being fired on after white flags had been flown the Americans razed the German town of Wallendorf to the ground.

American radio in Europe last night gave this account of what happened:

"When American units reached the small town of Wallendorf they saw on every building the white flag in token of surrender as well as many Allied flags prominently displayed all over the town.

"The American soldiers entered the town, but suddenly shots were fired and several American soldiers fell, the bodies riddled with bullets.

"Sharp orders were issued by the C.O. and rapidly carried out. Not one single house was spared. The whole town was burnt to the ground."

*News Chronicle*, 18/9/44.



## SOLDIERS USED AS SCABS

When 1,200 Newcastle-on-Tyne quayside dockers, without consulting their union, stopped work on Saturday in a dispute over the removal of hatch covers, troops were called in to take the places of the strikers so that urgently needed cargoes could be unloaded.

*News Chronicle, 25/9/44.*

# the Press

## UNEXPECTED EFFECTS OF PROPAGANDA

I suspect that Russian and pro-Russian propaganda will in the long run defeat itself simply by being overdone. Lately I have several times been surprised to hear ordinary working-class or middle-class people say, "Oh, I'm fed up with the Russians! They are too good to live," or words to that effect. One must remember that the USSR means different things to the working-class and the Left intelligentsia. The former are Russophile because they feel Russia to be the working-class country where the common man is in control, whereas the intellectuals are influenced at least partly by power-worship. The affection they feel for the USSR is still vaguely bound up with the idea of the meek inheriting the earth, and the tone of the latter-day Soviet propaganda obviously contradicts this. In any case, English people usually react in the end against too-blatant propaganda. A good illustration of this is General Montgomery, idolized a year or two ago and now thoroughly unpopular because over-publicized.

Here is a sample of the kind of story now told about Montgomery. General Eisenhower is having lunch with the King. "How do you get on with Montgomery?" asks the King. "Very well," replies Eisenhower, "except that I have a kind of feeling that he's after my job." "Oh," says the King, "I was afraid he was after mine."

George Orwell in the *Partisan Review* (U.S.A.), Summer, 1944.

## CONDITIONS IN FRANCE

Lady Louis Mountbatten has just returned from a nine-day visit to see the work of the Red Cross in France.

During her visit she saw the president of the French Red Cross in Paris and returns with many appeals for help. Their stores are immobilised. Some French hospitals are so short of supplies that the red Cross equipped one of them with a lorry full of dressings and disinfectants. "The first plea I brought over was for soap," said Lady Louis. "Children are suffering from skin diseases because their mothers have had neither soap nor disinfectants to clean them with." There is a shortage too of fats, milk, and oil products, and through lack of fuel there is no hot water.

*Manchester Guardian, 23/9/44.*

## OFFICIAL JOKE

The Policy Committee of UNRRA has passed a resolution empowering UNRRA to extend its activities to India should famine and disease strike there, Reuter reported from Montreal yesterday.

*Daily Worker, 23/9/44.*

Should famine and disease strike there! Is this meant as a joke? Millions of Indians have died through famine and epidemics last year, another big scale famine is threatening and apparently UNRRA is not aware of it!

## THE LOCUSTS ARE READY

Several missions of business men particularly interested in foreign trade, are being organized by the Foreign Economic Administration to visit liberated countries and to examine "trade conditions and practical operating possibilities," according to information supplied by Mr. Sidney H. Scheuer, executive director of the bureau of supplies, Foreign Economic Administration. In an address to 600 members of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York recently, Mr. Scheuer said that these missions will be set up to "obtain an informed first-hand opinion and to report and to advise his organization as to their views. They will consider methods of trade participation in both exports and imports and if they find it necessary or desirable, recommend how the United States Commercial Corporation can be used as an instrument to facilitate such participation."

Such investigations, it was added, were supposed to be applicable particularly to those countries liberated from enemy control and where military or other temporary forms of government are set up. This approach, it is said, is experimental but one that holds promise of meeting a real problem on a practical basis.

*The Chamber of Commerce Journal, Sept. 1944.*

## HEAR, HEAR!

Sir Humphrey Rolleston, physician to King George V. and holder at one time or other of practically every big post in the medical world, died at his Haslemere (Surrey) home yesterday. He was 82 and had been ill for about a year.

Holder of 16 degrees in nearly as many countries, Sir Humphry extended his famous "bedside manner" to factory workers and spent much time inquiring into industrial disease.

Almost to the time of his death he was pressing for a minimum eight week's holiday a year for workers.

*News Chronicle, 25/9/44.*

## FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

132 Cheltenham Road, Bristol

Freedom Press publications advertised elsewhere in this issue also in stock. The following books are still available:

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF	
GERRARD WINSTANLEY 7/6	
TAOIST TEACHINGS	3/6
TO HELL WITH CULTURE	Herbert Read 1/-
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT	"Icarus" 6d.
THE CULTURE OF CITIES	Lewis Mumford 15/-
THE LIFE WE LIVE—THE DEATH WE DIE	
(Drawings—Hand Printed)	John Olday 5/-
THE REAL RULERS OF SCOTLAND	Thomas Burns 6d.
STEPMOTHER BRITAIN	Oliver Brown 6d.
THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA	A. Ciliga, 1/6
THE PECKHAM EXPERIMENT	
A Study in the Living Structure of Society	12/6
WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN	Bertrand Russell 6d.
A MARTIAN EXAMINES CHRISTIANITY	2/-
THE RIGHTS OF MAN	Tom Paine 1/-
WHAT IS MAN?	Mark Twain 2/-
THE SAYINGS OF LAO TZU	2/6
WAR AND THE CHILD MIND	9d.
YOUNG CHILDREN IN WARTIME	Anna Freud 1/6
STALIN'S RUSSIA AND THE	
CRISIS IN SOCIALISM	Max Eastman 7/6

Please add for postage on books as follows: Orders up to 1/- add 2d. postage; 1/- to 3/- add 3d.; 3/- to 8/- add 5d.; 8/- to 15/- add 7d.; over 15/- add 1/-.



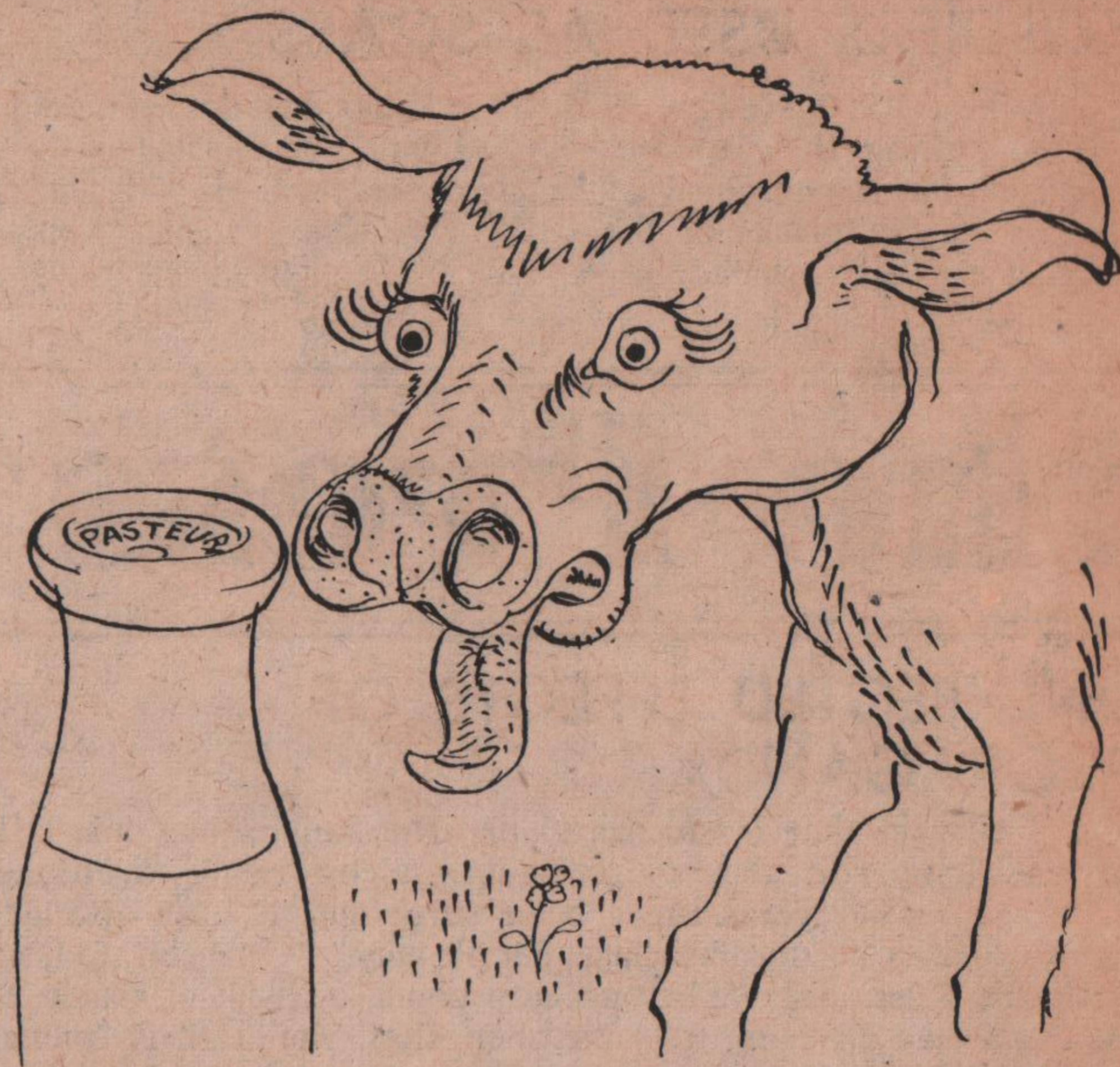
# YOUR MILK

TO THE TOWNSMAN the regular arrival of his pint of milk, neatly bottled and sealed on his doorstep each morning, is as natural a phenomenon as the rising of the sun and is dismissed as such. To the countryman who draws his milk more or less straight from the cow a problem of distribution does not arise, and he therefore gives it no thought. But to the farmer, the man who produces the milk, the problem of distribution is a very real problem to which he has in the past given much thought.

The subservience of British farming to industry, coupled with the huge imports of grain, beef, fruit and canned goods, had before the war left British farmers with no alternative but to devote their energies almost exclusively to milk production, *i.e.* grassland and root farming supplemented by imported foodstuffs, oil and cake for cattle. This process is likely to be repeated after the war unless the ruling class suddenly decide that the land must be reserved as a playground for huntin', shootin' and fishin', and that it would be cheaper and more expedient to import milk from Denmark or Africa by transport plane. However, Professor J. S. Scott Watson, Chief Education and Advisory Officer to the Ministry of Agriculture, has prophesied that after the war livestock will once again become more and more important and that milk "would remain a permanent part of our policy". The Minister of Agriculture has also stated that after the war we shall require, by 1948, some 300 million gallons of milk extra to that being produced at the present time. So there seems to be a future for milk.

About 1930 more milk was being produced than could be adequately and 'economically' distributed. Owing to lack of transport facilities many farmers were dominated by the big combines such as United Dairies, Cadbury's, etc., who were able to afford fleets of lorries. Other farmers could not afford heavy transport charges and as no markets were available close at hand they were forced to feed large quantities of good milk to fatstock and pigs, or pour it down the drain. This was being done at a time when millions of people were unemployed, undernourished and without milk—the most vital food.

At the height of this chaos, proposals for a producers' association were put forward, and in 1933 assurances were given that reliable markets were forthcoming and transport would be available if producers put their trust in the Milk Marketing Board—a scheme which had just been hatched from the fertile brains of yet another bunch of exploiters. On the strength of these assurances the producers voted. Thus the Milk Marketing Board became the sole purchaser of all supplies sold wholesale and took over the control of the transport of milk from the farms. To-day if a curious townsman were to ask the average farmer (and one of those, incidentally who had voted in 1933) to explain the function of the M.M.B. the reply would probably be that it was something or other to do with the Ministry of Food; that it was housed in huge offices at Thames Ditton; that it wasted large quantities of paper and postage stamps in telling him where to send his milk and how to send it; that it charged exorbitant prices for road transport and extracted levies for the payment of fat salaries to a multitude of officials, and that finally once a month it presented him with a cheque that he could never understand but had to accept



because there was no argument. The Board's words are final—its words are law. So that we can clearly see that the M.M.B. is far from being a producers' organisation which looks after the interests of both producers and consumers, but is in reality no more than a vast monopoly of the milk industry, and far worse than any Government department in its ruthless inefficiency.

The Board suffers from precisely the same faults as any other executive committee of a democratically elected organisation. By its constitution it is composed of 17 members, some of whom are elected and some appointed; 13 of the elected members represent between them 12 regions of the Board. There are, in addition to the Board members, Regional Committees, whose job is supposed to be to advise the Board on local matters. However, these Regional Committees act only in an advisory capacity, and in many instances their members feel that their advice is followed only if it is in agreement and coincides with the policy which the Board has already formulated. The lack of interest taken in the election of Regional Committees is sufficient evidence that producers do not feel that their functional value is great. Also, the average producer in any region does not know who his representative is, and as he has no easy means of communicating with him, the point of electing members is lost. Election is used merely as an argument to subdue the individual producer who raises his voice in criticism or protest. The remoteness and insignificance of the rôle played by the individual producer in the constitution of this organisation is more alarming when it is considered how easily such a bureaucracy can be utilised by the government to strangle any resistance or opposition by farmers for the common good. This was clearly illustrated when the Dale farmers of Yorkshire were on strike for a week against the Ministry of Food last autumn.

The Board's activities do not stop at arranging prices, markets and distribution. It is now becoming a powerful instrument for scientific research, education and propaganda, and is continually enlarging its scope and sphere of activity. Major decisions on policy are taken by the Board without any consultation with the rank and file. Two recent examples which can be quoted are on the questions of milk-recording and artificial insemination. The fact that no publicity at all was given in the press to the negotiations which led the Board to take over milk recording seems to indicate that producers were not consulted and probably did not even



know of the trend of events until it was publicly announced that the Board would, in fact, take over milk recording. A similar state of affairs prevailed on the question of artificial insemination. Although the subject was referred to, and came up for discussion, at the county branches of the National Farmers' Union, the rôle of the M.M.B. as such was never discussed outside the headquarters by the rank and file of milk producers as such.

It is obvious that such a centralised bureaucracy can only be harmful to the progress and development of any industry. It is also obvious that such a policy pursued for any considerable time, especially during a period of economic stress, is bound to promote unrest and revolt. But the setting up of a new Board with the same constitution will inevitably lead to the same faults. The highly paid officials must be swept away together with the uneconomical system of road and rail transportation. Sound organisation would terminate the excessive rail charges for unnecessary journeys and prevent the souring of milk in filthy wagons. In the years before the war it was considered quite in order that milk should travel to London all the way from such places as Carlisle while milk for Carlisle was drawn from Wiltshire.

The basis of reorganisation can only come about by a concerted action of responsible producers. Unrest must be canalised into positive action. It is not easy, or desirable, to suggest the form that re-organisation should take, except that it should be something more constructive than the mere election of delegates to regional or national boards and sub-

jecting them to immediate recall if unsatisfactory. It is desirable that local delegated committees of producers should supervise the setting up of small milk depots in every village in milk producing areas. Thus milk would no longer lie around in churns by the roadside, but would be collected immediately after milking and sent to the depot, where it would be examined, weighed, sampled, equalised and cooled. Existing producer-retailers would not take milk direct to consumers but would be allocated a supply from village depots and district factories. After meeting local needs the surrounding towns and cities would be supplied through district factories and distributing centres. District factories would be equipped with laboratories and technical staffs to ensure a hygienic product, and to deal with surplus which would be used for cheese and processing. Milk would be graded for quality so that every farmer would be encouraged to produce the maximum food value in milk instead of concentrating merely on the production of quantity. Low quality milk, however, could be used up in many forms in industry.

Such developments will never take place except by a revolutionary upsurge of all the individuals in the farming community. Governments and bureaucratic cliques like the Milk Marketing Board ride rough-shod over the people who are the foundations of things—the people who do the work and produce the goods. Always such organisations retard the building of a healthy agriculture, and consequently of a healthy people.

CLIFF HOLDEN.

## WAR COMMENTARY TO APPEAR IN NEWSPAPER FORMAT

TO START WITH NOVEMBER ISSUE

AS THE WAR draws to its close the pace of events is accelerated, and more and more "War Commentary" has had to devote its space to news items of the class struggle. The present format of our paper was designed at a time when world events moved more slowly, and it was necessary to group together and analyse those which bore directly upon the antagonism between master and man, between capital and labour. Usually this required longish articles to which the magazine format was well suited.

But during the past year the class content of events has become increasingly obvious, and has required correspondingly less analysis, less lengthy articles. "War Commentary" has always sought to be a newspaper of working class struggle, and now the pace of that struggle and the growth of our movement demand a different format to our paper. In consequence of this, it will come out shortly as a four page paper, with large pages. The contents of the paper will be the same, and its policy will not alter, but the presentation will be better suited to the needs of the times. "War Commentary" will simply be a better, more effective propaganda weapon in the hands of the militant working class.

The first issue in the new format will be the November issue. It comes opportunely, for that issue will not only mark the first of the sixth year of "War Commentary's" publication, but it will also mark the hundredth issue of our paper. We are convinced that our friends and comrades will give "War Commentary" even more staunch support than before. We are entirely dependent on our comrades for news, for in the class struggle the capitalist press (and its labour hangers-on) present only the employers' and the State's version of the conflicts between rulers and ruled. "War Commentary" exists to give the workers a hearing! By sending news of workers' initiative you will be helping to make the voice of labour heard!

Finally, "War Commentary's" numerical circulation cannot be increased for we already press our paper supply to the limits. But although no more copies can be printed than already come off the press each fortnight, the number of workers who see our paper can be increased if every reader sees to it that his copy is read by his mates on the job as well as by himself. Anarchism can only be brought about by the individual effort and initiative of every class-conscious worker; but "War Commentary" exists to help those efforts, and to show those who rebel against the dictates of authority that they do not fight alone!



# REALLY Mr. DRIBERG!

FORT DARLAND IS the military detention camp in which Rifleman Clayton was killed in March 1943. Unfortunately, the walls of detention huts and prisons tell no tales of what they see, and our press men never spend a few weeks *incognito* as common soldiers under punishment in detention, to find out exactly what goes on. Thus the reports received from journalists like Tom Driberg (*Reynolds' News*, 10/9/44), whose efforts to establish the truth are scarcely convincing.

After having had a "general look-round" and a pleasant chat with those in charge of Fort Darland, after having looked through peepholes and into cocoa vats, he reports to his readers that "one obviously doesn't see anything wrong going on if there is anything wrong". Not feeling easy, he assures them that he does not want to whitewash and "if anyone has authentic information to supplement what I saw at Fort Darland the other day, I shall be glad to have it". We are pleased to let him have it, in the words of a present inmate of Fort Darland.

"No one know anything about his (Tom Driberg's) visit. Apparently he came at evening time when all the men were locked up. They are herded into their rooms or cells at 4.45 p.m. and are not let out until 7 a.m. the next day. Therefore he never saw the men on parade to speak to, or to see just what they were doing. I have not heard of him coming round the barrack rooms to question the men, and the men in the single cells deny hearing of anyone making enquiries.

"I contend that even if Mr. Dirberg is not whitewashing the Detention Camps purposely, he is then more naive than I should have taken him to be.

"How does he know whether the Assistant Commandant was telling him the truth about no slapping or abnormal drill being done? Did he see the men on parade or did he ask their opinion?

"Who amongst the men (apart from the youth in the hospital) did he question during his visit in order to ascertain their opinions about the camp? Did he see a man's dinner dished on his plate? Did he taste the cocoa? Did he question the men about the diet? (It never varies and when dished out it looks like something for the dog).

"He talked about the most severe sentence that could be given being three days bread and water. Simple Mr. Dirberg. There are two punishment diets, P.D.I and P.D. II. A man on P.D. I. gets 16 ozs. of bread a day and an unlimited supply of water. On P.D. II. a man gets 16 ozs. of bread, his water and at dinner time unsweetened skilly and potatoes. Didn't it occur to Mr. Driberg that a man might get three days P.D. I. go on to ordinary diet for a day and then return to P.D. I. for another three days. For this is what happens! A man can get 14 days' P.D. I. and 43 days' P.D.II. Further a man who gets say three days P.D. I. and 14 days P.D. II. goes straight off the P.D. I. on to P.D.II. Finally it is not abnormal as Mr. Dirberg was led to believe for P.D. I and P.D. II. to be administered. In

every company there is a barrack room for the disposal of people on these punishments, and they usually have plenty of occupants. Did Mr. Driberg's investigations make him so acquainted with things in Darland Camp that he could say now that what I have stated here is true or otherwise?

"Did he see men washing their gear and how much water and soap they had to wash it in? He should have asked for a little demonstration of how the men bathed. He would have been shocked a little.

"Talking of brutality, there are various kinds of brutality. For instance, a man wanted to go to the lavatory very badly whilst on parade. This often happens to men because of the diet. He asked the staff several times, but wasn't allowed to go. Consequently he had the unavoidable accident. He went to complain to the Company Commander who refused to listen to him. Isn't this brutality, Mr. Driberg?

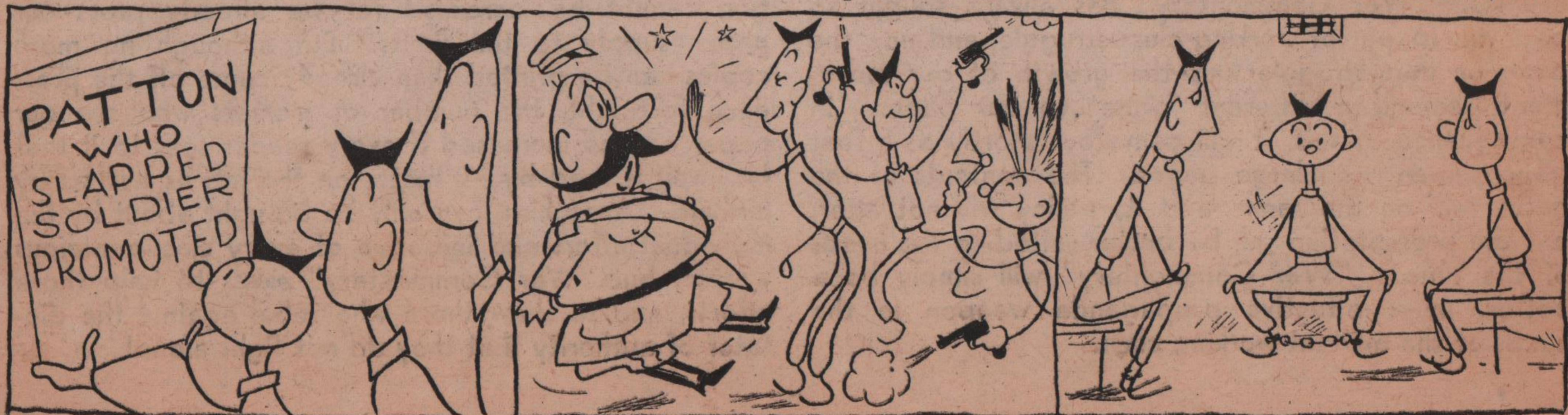
"In conclusion I must point out that majority of the men are not, as the Oliver Commission tries to make out, violent, stupid, irresponsible, half-wits, but as normal a selection of men as can be found in any unit of the armed services. They have violated some petty rule or regulation imposed on them by the officer caste.

"There are 1,700 people here who would have told Mr. Driberg that underneath the picture that he has been painted is one with darker colours.

So far our correspondent from Darland. There are many more detention barracks, in which people experience the democratic humanity of military law. That's the way it is with militarism and the victims who 'slipped up once'. They do not turn into 'confirmed criminals' as journalists want to make us believe. They become rebels, disillusioned, discontented men who ask: Why do men, who are supposed to be fighting for freedom, have no longer a right to take any active part in the affairs of any political organisation or party, to speak in public, to publish or distribute literature in furtherance of any such organisation or party? Why do they have compulsory War Office and A.B.C.A. lectures and (as in the navy) no right to their own political meetings or speeches? Why is any form of political activity on board His Majesty's ships or in naval establishments prohibited? (King's Regulation 541 for the Army, K.R. 1092 for the R.A.F., and K.R. 17A and 18 for the Navy). Why are 'class-war' agitation and fraternisation among the men regarded as the most serious offences, while officers exploit their position unpunished to propagate counter-revolutionary chauvinist propaganda?

Why can a deserter, being admittedly a shell-shock case, be condemned to four years' penal servitude, while officers who ill treat and mentally torture soldiers get off with insignificant punishments?

It seems that the surest way of gaining the admiration of the military authorities, government and press, and getting quick promotion, in both British and American armies, is to slap soldiers in the face and break those who dare object.





# Anarchism in France

THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT in France dates back to the early part of the last century: already in the 'thirties the workers were getting some consciousness of libertarian ideas and the struggle that lay before them. The lessons of the revolution that had miscarried laid before them. Out of the early teachings of Proudhon was adopted the name "Anarchist" which was not until later applied to a social movement—the then Anarchists calling themselves "Internationalists" and later, within the International, "Federalists" as opposed to authoritarian socialism of the type of Marx. Later when this struggle arise within the International, the "Jura" was "Bakuninist". This section embraced, amongst the French workers, the workers of Paris, Lyons and the Haute Savoie, amongst whom a revolutionary tradition has persisted to this day. The libertarian teachings of this early period may be said to have come to a head with the Commune of Paris in 1870. This has been written about previously in these columns, so we do not need to touch on it here, save to mention Louise Michel, who was with the Socialist Dmitrieva, the organiser of the Central Committee of Women for the Defence of Paris, who organised the battalions of fighting women in the Commune, and who was later transported to the hell of New Caledonia, from which she returned under the amnesty to exert tremendous influence amongst the French proletariat.

After the Commune the terrific repressions of the Versailles Government beat down the workers' movement, and only with the "propaganda by deed" of the 'eighties and 'nineties was it brought to life again. Such attempts had the sympathies of the Paris working-class at the period, much as similar attempts in our own day have had, and the class-war victims were honoured by the masses. The movement amongst the French—particularly the Paris—workers grew and permeated their organisations.

By 1879 the working-class movement became opposed to the bourgeoisie Republican elements that ruled the roost since 1870 and its congress in 1882 (Etienne) was in favour of the withdrawal from parliamentary activity. Jean Alleman lead the struggle against this, and the workers, disgusted with the tactics of Socialist parties—dozens of differing factions fighting for power—drew more and more towards the anarchist way of thinking. In 1895 the C.G.T. was first formed. (C.G.T.—General Confederation of Workers).

The C.G.T. was at that time quite different and distinct from say English trade unionism. It was a revolutionary body, with strongly-pronounced ideas about taking over industry and managing each industry by the workers in that industry, for the community as a whole. This theory was called "syndicalism" (after the French word meaning "unionism"). The Congress at Amiens (1906) which adopted the Charter of the C.G.T. declared itself against *all* parties and in favour of "syndicalism".

The Anarchists represented the most militant elements within that movement. In that period of struggle, in which "anarcho-syndicalism" was born, great movements of the workers took place. The influence of revolutionary syndicalism spread across the world. It was not for many years later—not till 1914—that social-democratic ideals triumphed and brought into being "reformist syndicalism" another name for "English trade unionism" or the Fabian-Fascist conception of "national syndicalism" (unions incorporated in the State), introduced in our times by René Belin, who under Vichy became the French Bevin. From 1906 to 1914 the French workers pursued a revolutionary course. They were steered away by talk of the "Union Sacrée" to desert class struggle, and then by the social-democratic and Bolshevik illusions to keep away from it. Nevertheless, anarcho-syndicalism only lost a generation. It retains the future,

In the period of class struggle the ideas and methods of anarcho-syndicalism, tested and renovated in struggle in the rest of the world, came into being.

The idea of the general strike was introduced to France by the Anarchist Tortelier, a carpenter, who had been a participant in the great American strikes of 1886/7, and the skilful means of striking, and the great inspiration of the French general strikes, resounded across the world. Even in England the influence of French syndicalism and the American I.W.W. resulted in syndicalist propaganda that had a wide influence at the time, and whose teachings were seen years later in action in the General Strike of 1926.

We may never know the full extent of the debt we owe to the French workers of that period, that was brought to an end only by the war which clamped down upon the vigorously anti-war activity of the Anarchist movement, but more particularly deprived it of mass proletarian support which was led astray by the delusion of "Patriotic revolution"—detending the ideals of the French Revolution that had been lost for a hundred years.

## POST-WAR YEARS

After the war, the profoundest impression was made upon the French workers by the Russian revolution. The vast majority at any rate of the politically-conscious militants warmly supported the revolution from its earliest inception. The formation of the French Communist Party was therefore easy, in spite of the fact that its leading light, Marcel Cachin, had only a few years before been a most enthusiastic war-bond-selling jingo. At the congress of the Socialist Party a heavy majority voted in favour of Communism, and switched their allegiance, together with Jean Jaurés' old Socialist paper *l'Humanité* to the new party. (Later most of these drifted back). The Communists formed a new union movement, the C.G.T.U. (United C.G.T.).

The anarcho-syndicalists supported the events in Russia until news of the Bolshevik reaction reached them. At the anarcho-syndicalist congress in Berlin in 1922, which formed the International Working Mens' Association, they were represented by the Revolutionary Syndicalist Defence Committee, a minority movement in the C.G.T.U., which later broke away to form the C.G.T.S.R. (Revolutionary Syndicalist C.G.T.). Its secretary, Pierre Besnard, later became secretary of the I.W.M.A. Later it organised within its ranks the F.A.F. (Anarchist Federation).

Meanwhile however it should be remembered that many Anarchists did not support the original breakaway from the C.G.T. but remained inside, holding that it was possible to "bore from within". When the C.G.T.S.R. was formed, they considered they were best inside the C.G.T. to which the masses belonged and which anarcho-syndicalism had formed. They grouped themselves within the C.G.T. in the Union Anarchiste. This unfortunate division in the libertarian ranks undoubtedly weakened the movement. When I was in Paris in 1938 many comrades were discussing the manner in which unity could be brought about between the C.G.T.S.R.—F.A.F. and the U.A., but this was never reached until unity was brought by the State acting against all. Nevertheless, in spite of the organisational lack of unity, most anarcho-syndicalist centres of workers were in fact united, on all issues of the day, and all means of struggle and propaganda.

One of the major struggles of French labour in 1918-36 centred round the Sacco-Vanzetti trial in America. It brought a wave of popular enthusiasm in France. Mass demonstrations to the American Embassy in Paris almost led to barricades in Paris. Unfortunately, the Communists managed to cash in, and so divert the struggle. There were a number of major strikes in France during this period, many



of which were intimately linked with the struggle against the varying Governments of the Third Republic.

### JUNE '36

In June 1936 the workers, inspired by the teachings of syndicalists since the birth of the workers' movement, declared a social general stay-in strike. They occupied the factories, shops, garages, all places of work. They struck for a general standard of living all round. They struck against the Popular Front Government which had just been elected, to force its hand and make it carry out the concessions it had promised but refused to grant. As a result, it had to grant those concessions. Leon Blum, the Socialist Prime Minister of the Popular Front Government, made it quite clear that this was the case during the trial at Riom. He challenged the reactionary leaders who accused him of making concessions to the workers in a "war danger" period by saying that the workers themselves had taken those concessions, and the only way he could preserve France from revolution was to give in. He challenged the Vichyists, asking what else he could have done, and Vichy could not deny that in such an event they too would have had to give in to the workers. Blum further affirmed that the Popular Front Government by persuading the workers to go back, by insisting that it represented them, had saved France from revolution. All this is true, but of course it is a vindication of the Popular Front only from the capitalist point of view. From the workers' point of view all this meant a gross betrayal. Blum stated, and it was not denied, that the employers did not ask for force—all they asked for was that the Socialist-Communist-Liberal elements should persuade the workers to give in.

Having done that, the Popular Front Government was able to carry out its policy with regard to Spain. It was the first government to deny Spain arms, and moreover engineered the "Non-Intervention Pact" by which the Spanish workers could not buy arms even from those private capitalist firms who would have sold to the devil incarnate if he had paid cash. This although Communists in Britain and all other countries were saying, "If only you elect a Popular Front Government one of the things it can do is to send Spain arms". The illusion created by the Popular Front prevented any effective help being sent from France to Spain. Anarchists opposed the Popular Front, and insisted on direct revolutionary action of the workers.

### OUR PRESS

In 1939 the anarchist press was quite numerous in the aggregate. The C.G.T.S.R. published several papers, chief among which was *Le Combat Syndicaliste*. The F.A.F. published *Terre Libre*, edited by Prudhommeaux, the Union Anarchiste published the best-known of all anarchist papers in France, *Le Libertaire*, edited by Ferdinand Vindringuer, which had been founded in the 'eighties by Sebastien Faure and Louise Michel. *Le Reveil Syndicaliste*, though not an anarchist paper, was the organ of "the syndicalist class struggle circles" which stood very near to our ideas. The I.W.M.A. published *Internationale* in several languages (including English) while its headquarters were in Paris. *L'Espagne Nouvelle* gave news on the Spanish struggle and many other smaller papers and journals were issued. One may mention amongst the valuable material awaiting an English translator, Pierre Besnard's works of anarcho-syndicalist theory (*Le Monde Nouveau*, etc.), the immense work of Sebastien Faure, *L'Encyclopédie Anarchiste* in which the "Grand Old Man" of the libertarian movement had put his greatest work, Archinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Louise Michel's autobiography, H. E. Kaminski's *Bakunin* and *Ceux de Barcelone*, an epic on the Spanish struggle, the complete edition of the works of Bakunin, and numerous other classics of Anarchist literature.

### UNDERGROUND

At the outbreak of war a veritable witch-hunt began against the libertarian movement. Comrades were even sen-

tenced for anti-war activity that took place before the war—thus Fernand Vindringuer went to jail for anti-war articles in his paper which he had not even written himself and Gaston Leval was sentenced to imprisonment for "desertion" in the last war! Even Sebastien Faure in his eightieth year was interned for speaking out at the state of affairs in France, and there awaited the advent of the Nazis (he is reported to have died since). The secretary of S.I.A. (anti-fascist solidarity) went to jail for anti-war and anti-imperialist activities. French Anarchists were shanghaied for the front-line and sent to "disciplinary regiments". Frémont, secretary of the U.A., was one such. Spanish exiles, already confined to concentration camps (see the last numbers of *Spain and the World*) of the vilest nature, were reported to Franco's firing squads or subjected to the harshest treatment. Italian Anarchists likewise were deported to Mussolini (still a friend of French capitalism) the only alternative to which was the Foreign Legion. Hundreds were corralled in camps to await the Gestapo.

The moment the Nazis came the police handed them the political dossiers they had so painstakingly collected. No-one will ever convince us that some policemen were not collaborators, in view of the fate that overtook our movement and every other. Assisted by the French police, the Gestapo rounded up our militants for the Todt organisation, or for forced labour in North Africa. Countless others were shot as hostages and in the course of the class struggle. A very few only managed to leave. In September 1941 the great drive against saboteurs was announced by Pétain as being directed against "Communists and Anarchists" (it should be remembered that "Communist" in Vichy language includes followers of Blum and left Republicans). Persistent Vichy reports have told of action against Anarchists. Our records are however ended here. That French Anarchism is not dead and cannot die we know.

We have in Britain an excellent opportunity of international solidarity in the coming period, the opportunity of rebuilding the movement that will undoubtedly regain its strength of itself, but which will be greatly aided by the assistance which we can give to it. We can aid French Anarchists by seeing they do not go short of a newspaper that will gather round itself the contacts so long hidden and dispersed that will have this effect. However that may be, it is certain that growing sympathy and support for our movement will be found in the ranks of the French masses at home and overseas.

A. M.

## CAPITALIST INTEGRITY!

"No undue profits on war orders," seems to be the business motto of the Ford Motor Company. Last year this company refunded to the Government of India a sum of Rs. 10,50,000 out of the profits made by them on the contract for the supply of motor-vehicle spare parts, although the prices originally fixed for these goods were very favourable in relation to the company's other wholesale buyers. This year the company has refunded to Government a larger sum of money in respect of the contracts for the supply of chassis. It is understood that the Ford Motor Company found that the total output of their factories, including orders placed by India, greatly exceeded the estimated figures and the rate of profits had in consequence been higher than what was anticipated. This action of the Ford Motor Company sets an example of high purpose and integrity in wartime.

*The Chamber of Commerce Journal*, Sept. 1944.

Ford's workers through whose efforts such fabulous profits are possible didn't get a single penny back!



# Red and Black Notebook

THE A.E.U. *Monthly Journal*, August issue, carries a remarkable attack upon Anarchism from the pen of R. M. Fox, who writes:

"For many people, the idea that the capitalist view is the same in essence as that of the anarchist, comes as a shock. Anarchists are still regarded as bomb throwers by a large number. But the fiercest anarchist is the successful capitalist who believes in complete individualism and in his right to prey on society. The individualist who is poor and unfortunate embraces anarchism simply because he is not able to enjoy the individual freedom which the capitalist possesses. There is no difference in thought between them, only a difference in social position. Men like Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Bahuaine (sic) and others were 'philosophic anarchists' who saw the evils of individualism, but who were never able to apply their ideas to modern society because they started out from the wrong end of emphasising individual freedom rather than safeguarding the community from predatory forces."

Surely, the three Anarchists Fox mentions are poor examples of his argument that "the individualist who is poor and unfortunate embraces anarchism simply because he is not able to enjoy the individual freedom which the capitalist possesses." All three were born of landowning aristocratic families, Kropotkin being a prince born to every opportunity of wealth and privilege. But all three, like millions of working men, hated capitalism because of its cruelty, humbug, dirt and frustration. Fox's argument is an old one used by the Tories in defence of capitalism and against, not only Anarchists, but Socialists and any others who oppose the greedy scramble for wealth. As Socialism becomes ever less distinguishable from Toryism, the more the arguments of the two approximate.

## Canteens Again

A correspondent reminds me of an omission in my report of the De Havilland canteen run by the workers. The canteen committee is working on the excellent idea of forming a special canteen section for gastric and similar cases needing a special diet. This is a most necessary thing, though one which no private catering firm I ever heard of has tackled—the scramble for profit would hardly allow them to. There is a surprisingly large number of gastric cases in factories, greater since the war because of the men rejected or discharged from the forces and directed into factories as an alternative. Such cases hardly flourish on a diet of spam and chips.

## Irish T.U.C.

At this year's Irish Trades Union Congress held at Drogheda the most exciting item was the debate on Section 5 of the E.C. Report; "Cost of Living, Wages, Prices, etc. in Eire". Cost of living has risen to 70 per cent. above 1939 level. The Emergency Powers Order 1943 does not allow advances of wages except as "cost of living bonus". The *maximum* bonus allowed by this Order is 11s.; this, claims the Irish T.U.C., means that the rise in wages is about 12 per cent., while the rise in prices is 70 per cent. However, the Irish T.U.C. didn't do anything about it, except chat.

## No Money For Strike Pay

According to the *Daily Express*, September 25th, 1944, the Amalgamated Engineering Union has invested in War Bonds, £850,000! in 3 per cent. War Loan, £515,556; in 3 per cent. National Defence Loan, £504,688; a total of £1,870,244. One does not expect much opposition to the capitalist state from one of its principle shareholders.

## Out Of Work

Unemployment of engineering workers continues to grow, though the figures are disguised by the Ministry of Labour's decision to publish them quarterly instead of monthly. The figures would have been swelled by hundreds of thousands of building workers but for the damage to houses caused by flying bombs.

Increased sackings in the engineering shops have raised the question, "who shall go first?" Early in the war, the engineering and shipbuilding unions made an agreement to allow unskilled male and female labour and craftsmen from other trades to do work previously performed by skilled men who were to teach the newcomers. Naturally, the skilled engineering workers now expect the agreement to be applied in reverse; the labour from other trades and the previously unskilled labour to go first. Most of the "dilutee" labour recognises this claim and sympathising with it are quite willing to go. Men will be returning to printing and building, if engineering workers seek to enter these trades after their own jobs have gone, they will find craft union barriers against them. Even in other jobs, the engineering craftsmen, particularly those over 50 years of age, will find it difficult to compete in the strange new surroundings. "Therefore," argue many dilutees, "let us leave the engineering craftsmen whatever jobs the post-war slump offers and return to our own occupations."

## Dividing The Workers

But some are not content to let the problem be solved so easily. Communist shop stewards are commonly arguing, "some of the best 'trade unionists' (i.e. Communist Party members) are dilutees, we should retain them and let the others be sacked." The war factories have received a large influx of petty middle-class recruits and it is among these that the C.P. recruits its members, rather than among the real engineering workers. What the latter have to expect may be seen in the following report in the *Daily Express*:

"Mr. Tom Lowe, Midland organiser told the National Union of Foundry Workers delegate meeting at Morecombe (Lancashire) that he had advised his firm to stand off craftsmen with 20 or 30 years experience before dilutees who had not finished their apprenticeship. He added:

Numbers of dilutees have become first-class workers and first-class trade unionists; and on the other hand; there are a number of craftsmen with twenty or thirty years experience who in no circumstances would join any society."

To understand all this one should remember that nowadays to be a "good trade unionist" is simply to be a good party man.

## A Fascist Calls For British Help

The Italian Fascist, General Badoglio, who deserted to the Allies is alarmed at the threatened stirring of the Italian workers and cries—

"After all wars, if the people have suffered bad enough, there is danger that they may turn to new supposed methods of salvation. The allies must help us! in the press and in the propaganda, to prevent the rise of syndicalism."

*Eighth Army News.*

SYNDICALIST.



# WHY COLLIERS CURSE

IT IS ONLY necessary to work in an industrial, particularly a mining, area to realise the extent to which our so-called "free" democracy has adopted fascism and fascist methods. Of late, partly due to the influx of the rebellious "Bevin boys" and partly due to the direct action of the miners themselves, there has taken place an attempted militarisation of the coal industry. Many ex-military men—the real "pukka sahibs"—have momentarily given up their full-time jobs beating and shooting defenceless natives, in order to seek the more lucrative occupation of "welfare" officers and "representatives of the Ministry of Fuel and Power".

This base canaille, most of whom have never been down a mine in their lives and would be thoroughly scared if they did, spend their time making speeches about "the necessity of increasing production" or "why absenteeism helps the enemy" or "why strikers and other 'Hun' supporters should be immediately executed". It is their job to interview absentees and those persistently late for work. Perhaps there is no greater contrast between two classes, exploiters and exploited, than as shown when these interviews take place. They are usually held at the manager's office at the pit, when the malefactor has completed his day's useless toil. Usually he is covered in coaldust and presents a very different picture to the sleek, well-fed and immaculate government bureaucrat. I have been in that office pretty often and I am glad to say that many pit workers, particularly the younger ones, have just spat in the face of that reptile and the class he represents.

The great increase in the number of prosecutions of "Bevin boys" and miners for various crimes against the State is but one sign of a great movement abroad in Britain. More and more miners are faced with open teaching of the "yellow" Socialist and Communist parties and are turning back to the old Libertarian school of thought. It is not surprising therefore that the ca'canny movement, which is avowedly a Syndicalist idea, is gaining popularity. "Hit back at the bosses" is a fixed idea, with many of the young men, and the slogan "The bosses' plight is our opportunity" expresses their feelings ideally. Underground fires are smouldering in the mines of the world, and any moment, as in Australia, they may break out and burn the exploiter badly.

VIVIAN BIRD.

## WAR COMMENTARY

FORTNIGHTLY, 2d.

*Incorporating: SPAIN and the WORLD & REVOLT*

6 Months subscription ... 3/- post free

12 Months subscription ... 6/- post free

U.S.A., single copies ... 5 cents

6 Months subscription ... 60 cents

12 Months subscription ... 1 dollar

Please make all cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders payable to Freedom Press and crossed a/c Payee and address them to:

**FREEDOM PRESS, 27 Belsize Rd., London, N.W.6**

For enquiries, 'Phone: PRIMROSE 0825

# PRESS FUND

AUGUST 1944

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rochdale: V.H.L.	1	0		l'Adunata	19	15	0
Hamilton: J.C.	1	0		Richmond: N.C.M.	2	6	
Accrington: A.E.	4	0		Newmarket: W.K.	2	0	
Gateshead: J.E.S.	2	6		Sheffield: H.W.	2	0	
Gateshead: E.McK.	2	6		Portsmouth: J.A.	2	0	
Gateshead: G.W.T.	2	6		London: S.W.T.	5	0	0
Leicester: K.W.B.	3	0		London: B.P.	5	0	
London: N.W. group.	5	0	0	Ware: G.S. & E.M.B.	1	0	0
Glasgow: J.T.	5	0		Los Gatos: comrades			
London: H.A.M.	3	4		per L.M.	10	15	0
London: H.F.	1	0		London: Park			8
Derby: H.E.H.	2	6		London: F.C.D.			2
Carshalton:	5	0		1st list SOLIDARITY			
Minehead: L.S.	1	0		TICKET DRIVE*	45	16	6
Lancaster: R.S.P.	2	6					
Dublin: O.J.S.	10	0		Total for August	£91	7	6
Kenton: B.M.H.	2	0					
Argyle: K.P.	4	0		Previously			
U.S.A.: comrades & groups per				acknowledged	£344	13	11
				TOTAL TO DATE	£436	1	5

## FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

<b>TRADE UNIONISM OR SYNDICALISM</b>	24 pages	Tom Brown	3d. (postage 1d.)
<b>THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE</b>	16 pages	Tom Brown	3d. (postage 1d.)
<b>NEW LIFE TO THE LAND</b>	32 pages	George Woodcock	6d. (postage 2d.)
<b>SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE</b>	32 pages	W. Godwin	3d. (postage 1d.)
<b>A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM</b>	100 pages	Alexander Berkman	1s. (postage 2d.)
<b>THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM</b>	36 pages	Herbert Read	1s. (postage 2d.)
<b>ANARCHY</b>	44 pages	E. Malatesta	3d. (postage 1d.)
<b>KROPOTKIN—Selections from his Writings</b>	152 pages	Chosen by Herbert Read.	2s. 6d. (postage 3d.)
	Special Library Edition	8s. 6d. (postage 3d.)	
<b>THE WAGE SYSTEM</b>	16 pages	Peter Kropotkin	3d. (postage 1d.)
<b>ANARCHY OR CHAOS</b>	124 pages	George Woodcock	2s. 6d. (postage 3d.)
<b>REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT</b>	16 pages	Peter Kropotkin	3d. (postage 2d.)
<b>THE STATE—ITS HISTORIC ROLE</b>	44 pages	Peter Kropotkin	1s. (postage 2d.)
<b>RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY</b>	32 pages	George Woodcock	3d. (postage 1d.)
<b>THE ISSUES IN THE PRESENT WAR</b>	32 pages	Marous Graham	6d. (postage 1d.)
<b>THE MARCH TO DEATH</b>	80 pages, 50 drawings	John Olday	1s. 6d. (postage 3d.)
<b>THE LIFE WE LIVE THE DEATH WE DIE</b>	21 drawings, limited edition	John Olday	5s. (postage 4d.)
<b>NOW, Volume Two</b>	68 pages	Edited by G. Woodcock	1s. 6d. (postage 2d.)
<b>THE KRONSTADT REVOLT</b>	16 pages	A. Giliga	2d. (postage 1d.)
<b>KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS</b>	22 pages	C. Berneri	2d. (postage 1d.)
<b>FREEDOM PRESS</b>			1d. (postage 1d.)
<b>SYNDICALIST PROGRAMME</b>			1d. (post free)
<b>ANARCHIST FEDERATION—AIMS AND PRINCIPLES</b>			1d. (post free)

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