

WAR COMMENTARY

For Anarchism

Vol. 6, No. 2.

11th NOVEMBER, 1944

Fortnightly, 2d.

WIDE UNREST IN INDUSTRY

Dockers Strike in Bristol and Newcastle—Gas Workers out in Manchester—Women Spinners out at Paisley—Port Glasgow and Greenock Shipyard Workers demonstrate

Bristol Dockers

BEFORE the war there was always surplus labour in the dock areas, and the casual labour conditions created no real problem as far as the number of men who were able to work on any particular gang was concerned. But war conditions necessitated the creation of the Dock Labour Corporation which absorbed all labour resources, and this was hated by many, especially the Communist Party, as a step in the right direction—the fools imagined, or attempted to lead others to imagine, that the bosses and the Unions were organizing labour for the benefit of the workers. However, in recent weeks the dockers have been confronted with several problems and grievances which indicate that conditions have in no way improved. It is encouraging to note that the dockers are tackling every problem with the only effective weapon, that of direct action, e.g., the recent strike on the Newcastle docks, and other minor disputes.

On Tuesday, 24th October, 1944, the dockers at Avonmouth stopped work because of a decision by the bosses that certain loading gangs should consist of six men instead of eight, so that we can see that although the men now have guaranteed work and wages under the new scheme the bosses still seek to drive them like slave gangs. In support of the men at Avonmouth all the men of the Bristol City docks and the Portishead docks struck in sympathy on the next day, so that in all 4,000 men were then

who had been waiting to hear the result of the meeting gave a grand display of solidarity by following suit.

After the meeting with the men all that Mr. Donovan had to say seems to be contained in the following statement to the *Evening World* of the 27th October, 1944: "Following the resumption of work at Avonmouth yesterday, the local joint committee considered the matter in dispute and reached a settlement which has been endorsed by the executive of the Union. The terms were conveyed to the men at meetings at Avonmouth last night and at Portishead and Bristol this morning, with a direction from the executive that the men should resume work. We regret that this direction has not been observed."

Newcastle Strike

WORK was resumed by the 600 Newcastle dockers on October 31st after they had been on strike for six weeks regarding payment for the removal of hatch covers. The dockers decided to return a fortnight ago, but their return was deliberately delayed and caused much hardship, by discussions regarding the administration of the new union branch formed by the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. The dockers' original union branch was closed down when they refused to recognise it.

During the last six weeks it is regrettable that troops have unloaded and loaded vessels so efficiently that officials and employers deprived the men of work until they gave assurances as to the constitution of the new branch.

When the men turned up for work on Monday morning they received a notice from the local Dock Labour Corporation. This stated that the Corporation had been informed by the Union that the dockers had given a written undertaking to observe union rules and honour all agreements. Among these agreements they had undertaken to accept in full the Dock Labour scheme for the Tyne. Their attendance at control points, however, was not to be taken as indicating their acceptance. Even now there is not enough work for all, but those attending will get attendance money. Each man has lost about £30 during the strike. It was a great effort—they did well.

ONLY 6 WEEKS LEFT

By the end of October the Press Fund total had only just passed the £500 mark. We had asked our readers and comrades for £1000 this year so that the work of the Freedom Press might continue to develop unhampered by financial difficulties. If a really special effort were made it would still be possible to reach the £1000 total by the end of December. Are you, comrade reader, sufficiently interested in the work of Freedom Press to make this special effort during the next few weeks? If you are, send us your contributions, large and small, NOW!

STOP PRESS

As we go to press the gas workers in Manchester are striking again on the same issue as in April. Once again troops are being used, but the strike is extending to the Stockport area. Two thousand A. V. Roe return to work on November 4th after being on strike for 12 days. They return subject to having representation at a conference of the employers and A.E.U. representatives.

No statement better bears out our view of the Trade Union leaders. They have no excuse. The bosses have no excuse. The plea of shortage of labour is ridiculous when everywhere thousands of workers are being sacked under the new name of "redundancy".

Dockers win extra pay for one job

As a result of further discussion with the Union officials on Saturday morning, the dockers decided to resume work on October 30th, on the terms of the settlement which was drawn up by the Local Joint Council for Dock Labour. The result of the strike is only a partial victory for the dockers, as the agreement only grants higher rates of pay for men on certain loading jobs and continues to ignore the original plea for eight men in a gang. At the same time the employers and the Union officials have attempted to strengthen their hand by stating that any further adjustment in the manning scale operative will be subject to present agreements, and will come up for examination by the Local Joint Council for Dock Labour, with a provision for a further delaying action that the dispute can be submitted to the National J.C.D.L. if necessary. Well, the dockers know which method produces the best results—arbitration or direct action.

Here again, as in the case of the Newcastle dockers, the men did well against overwhelming odds. Just now the bosses and the government hold all the cards. While the strike continued troops did the work.

Paisley Women

The industrial disputes and strike actions during the war years have been notable that, with the exception of the ever militant miners and dockers, they have always been carried out and organised most successfully by those elements who are entirely new to the industrial procedure and are therefore neither contaminated nor disillusioned by the trade union leadership.

The more conspicuous of these elements have of course been the "Bevin boys" and the conscript women in the engineering industries. A good example of this was seen last week at the Anchor Thread Works, Paisley. These factories consist of non-union shops and the dispute in progress there at the moment has resulted in the first strike for 35 years.

The strikers say that they are being paid less than £2 per week which includes one night overtime, and that whenever they are transferred to higher paid work they are still paid at the old rates. Complaints were made and a strike was averted the week before last when the firm, playing for time, asked for 48 hours to consider their demand; but when the time expired nothing had been done. So the workers walked out.

The strike so far only affects part of the factory and the workers involved want more support. This would probably have come from another branch of the firm at the other side of the town if the workers there had been acquainted with the facts; the strikers set about to get the support of these other workers. Nearly 600 of the women strikers marched resolutely through the west end of the town to the other branch of the factory. When they arrived work was going on so that it was only a natural and logical act for them to stop all the machinery so that they could state their case. In a truly democratic manner the employers had the gates closed so that the strikers were locked in the premises and the police were called to throw them out.

Finally the strikers left and a strong cordon of police were stationed round the factory.

Apparently some attempt has been made by a trade union official to organise the strikers. It seems obvious to us that they are already organised, they organised spontaneously and for a specific purpose, and can well do without the disrupting tactics of union bureaucracy.

Greenock & Port Glasgow

A big demonstration of shipyard workers in Greenock and Port Glasgow was held on the afternoon of the 6th October, in support of a claim for an increase in wages to meet the rise in the cost of living. The meeting was held without the sanction of the trade unions and is yet another example that the men are using their own initiative and are taking matters into their own hands. The workers stopped work at two Greenock and two Port Glasgow shipyards at 4.30 p.m. in order to take part in the demonstration. It is expected that further mass demonstrations will be staged in December. The men are growing impatient as they have heard nothing further about the claim which was lodged by the National Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades to the Employer's Federation. The workers seem in earnest for already something like £600 loss in wages is estimated as a consequence of attending meetings.

Franco must thank Churchill

GENERAL FRANCO'S impudence grows as his position in Spain seems to get weaker. He now claims that Spain is an "organic democracy" and that he has always adopted a friendly attitude towards the Allies. It is unlikely that he would have had the effrontery to make such fantastic statements had not Churchill whitewashed him in a speech he made this summer when he pointed to the good turns Franco had done to the democratic cause.

Franco's assuredness can only be explained by the fact that he has powerful backers. As Hitler's power in Europe is withering away it is becoming increasingly obvious that the main supporters of the Franco régime are the British and American governments.

This country had been supposedly fighting for democracy for the last five years and yet at the same time it has supported a Fascist dictatorship in Spain. Even the most ardent defenders of British democracy find it impossible now to disguise the facts and we have the case of Alvarez del Vayo, ex-foreign minister to the Spanish Republican Government meekly appealing to Britain, not to declare war on Franco, not to send arms to the Spanish guerrillas, but merely to stop supporting Franco. In an article in *Reynolds News* 29/10/44 he declares: "I would be satisfied if the Allies would simply

refuse to give Franco that support he is unable to evoke from the Spanish people." Alvarez del Vayo gives ample proof to the effect that Franco's prestige among the governing class is solely due to his ability to secure the friendship of the Allies. Says del Vayo: "To deprive Franco of political support by the Allies is to ensure his downfall. That impression, which I have long had, was strengthened by a talk I had with a Latin-American friend recently back from Madrid. He was there on the day Churchill made his eulogy of Franco in the House of Commons, and he confirmed that that speech exerted almost miraculous powers of rejuvenation on the decaying Spanish régime. Falangists who were discouraged and depressed became confident and arro-

STATE OF UNREST

The fall of France has given new hopes to Spanish anti-fascists. Franco has always relied on foreign support to maintain himself in power, now that he is unable to receive reinforcements from Germany Spanish anti-fascist forces stand a better chance to overthrow him and sporadic revolts have already taken place.

It is difficult to disentangle reliable reports from the numerous reports concerning the risings and a certain caution is necessary as Franco may wish to exaggerate the extent of the fighting so as to have an excuse to carry on extensive repressions and picture himself as the defender of law and order in the eyes of Churchill and General de Gaulle.

Philip Jordan in the *News Chronicle* 30/10/44



THE DEFENDER OF "ORGANIC DEMOCRACY"

gant. The same phenomenon occurred in the Madrid press . . .

says that it seems that there is no large scale fighting in Spain but a number of limited and relatively small engagements between Spanish guerrillas and Franco's forces. He claims that no Spaniards have crossed the frontier to join in the revolt. On the other hand the *Times* reports that revolutionaries, most of them former members of an anarchist group, hold certain areas in the frontier region.

When looking at Spain one should not judge the importance of the unrest by the extent of the guerrilla warfare. Guerrillas are not the best form of fighting in Spain as they are in France and Northern Italy. Resistance expresses itself mostly in the factories and the fields by strikes and sabotage. Franco keeps complaining that acts of sabotage are increasing, particularly in Catalonia, Saragoza and Coruña, strong anarchist centres. He also blames saboteurs for the disorganisation of the railway system.

Outside Spain the opposition to Franco has

(continued on p. 4)



ide. After much persuasion at a meeting lasting over two hours on Thursday morning, when they were addressed by Jack Donovan, National Secretary of the Dockers Section of the T. & G.W.U., and H. R. Priday, Area Secretary of the T. & G.W.U., the men decided to return to work while further negotiations took place. This was after the officials had emphasised the usual line that until the men went back to work the normal machinery for dealing with disputes could not be put into action. The men returned at noon on Thursday and later in the day a local joint council meeting took place with the Union representatives and employers, and terms of settlement were discussed. Apparently agreement was reached between the Union representatives and the employers on the basis of an increased rate for the particular loading job which caused the dispute. The number of men per gang to remain at six in accordance with the referee's ruling. The rule is that six men work in a loading gang, but at the discretion of the employer there can be eight. In any case, it is obvious that the only persons qualified to decide the number of men to be engaged on a particular job are the men working on that job. Employers do not work at loading or unloading and, therefore, they have no knowledge of conditions. The mere raising of wages for a job does not ease the hard work or lessen the amount to be done. The Union officials reported to the executive who endorsed the settlement without any consultation with the rank and file. The Union officials then requested the men to carry on work. The terms of the settlement were conveyed to the men at Avonmouth at five o'clock Thursday evening, and after a long debate the men agreed to accept it. But it should be noted that the meeting was not fully representative. A great many of the dockers had already gone home and it is quite likely that only C.P. and Union stooges remained. The news was not communicated to the Bristol City and Portishead Docks until Friday morning. On the Friday morning when the Union officials again met the men and asked for a show of hands in favour of accepting the agreement, not a single hand was raised. The men went back home, and dockers at Bristol and Portishead,

WAR COMMENTARY

FORTNIGHTLY 2d.

Incorporating: SPAIN and the WORLD and REVOLT

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
6 Months, 3/- (U.S.A. 60c.) post free
12 Months, 6/- (U.S.A. \$1) post free
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 Road,
London, N.W.6.**
Enquiries, 'Phone PRINROSE 0625

PEOPLE IN ARMS

THE SITUATION in France demands the closest attention from the working class everywhere. Before the Allied invasion, the country was held down by the military power of the German occupation. "War Commentary" has already pointed out that the slackening of the Nazi grip in France would provide an opportunity for the French working class, would provide in fact, a revolutionary situation. But we added that the significant problem would remain for solution—that of preventing the successful imposition of another centralized State power. Events are now clothing these theoretical problems of the revolution in actuality.

Dual Power

The French workers seized the opportunity presented by the Allied landings. A general strike was declared in Paris, while the armed bands of the maquis seized control in the provinces from the falling grasp of the army of occupation. The armed population became the source of initiative, the centralized governmental control vanished, at least for the time being. It has been said that the only guarantee of freedom is the people in arms, and although the general property relations in the country remained fundamentally untouched, it only required a spark to set alight the fires which would consume the basis of the old economic order. Such a spark could easily be generated by the deplorable economic state in France. Unemployment is increasing, and in Paris alone there are 300,000 on the dole. Nor does the wage increase of 40 per cent. do much to offset a rise in the cost of living of between 300 and 400 per cent.

The government of de Gaulle has set about reducing this dangerous position to one of "order". In effect, there exists to-day in France a dual power, such as existed in Russia between February and October 1917. On the one hand the armed populace, on the other the central government. This is the background of the struggle of de Gaulle to disarm the popular militias.

Accordingly, on November 1st, the cabinet confirmed its decision of some days earlier to disarm the Militia. Members of the Resistance Movement could join the regular army, while everyone in possession of arms must report to the police and surrender their weapons within fifteen days. The French government is in a weak position; it consists of many who remained in comparatively comfortable exile, and did not endure the years of occupation, while the resistance groups, by contrast, bore all the danger of the underground fight and took the main part in the final disorganization of the Nazi occupation forces. In the circumstances, de Gaulle has to rely once more on persuasion and propaganda than on force. He has withdrawn his original intention to dissolve the militia, and has insisted simply on the surrender of weapons. But troops sent to carry out this disarmament are already reported to have withdrawn on seeing that they would be resisted.

All The Leaders Oppose Arms

In this situation, the fundamental position of the government is being greatly assisted by those political sections who appear as its most vocal opposition. The guarantee of freedom is the people in arms. For the government to establish its central authority therefore, the main problem is the disarming of the people. But the communists and other leaders of the Resistance Movement have shifted the emphasis on to the question of prestige. They make much of the fact that the original intention to dissolve the militia has been "reduced" to the order for disarming them. The National Council of Resistance "remains an unquestionable moral force" says Emmanuel D'Astier, one of its leading members. These men are not opposed to the government, much less to the principle of government. "We have no intention," says another of their spokesmen, "of endangering the nation's unity or of questioning the Government's authority. We want order." Nor do they like to see the workers armed. The "Daily Worker" reported (2/11/44) that M. Saillant, the president of the National Resistance Council, had stated "that it did not envisage individual possession of arms. These would be kept at a central depot, and issued as required." Now it is reported that the Council have proposed "the creation of Republican Civil Guards to replace the militias. They would be under the control of the mayor of each town and of the local liberation committee, and would be armed by the municipality only when they were carrying out a specific task."

Of course the de Gaulleists will jump at these proposals which will save faces all round, and at the same time place the militias at a hopeless disadvantage compared with the armed forces of the State. The government will have solved its main problem, and the potentially revolutionary situation will have passed, if they succeed in taking the weapons out of the hands of the individual men and women whose courage and initiative give to the maquis their immense power and influence.

Similar Conditions Elsewhere

This situation is not by any means peculiar to France. In Greece also the disarming of the resistance forces is one of the first pre-occupations of the "liberators." So also has it been the case for months in Italy. But perhaps the most striking display of governmental hostility towards those popular forces who have borne the brunt of resistance to the German occupation comes from Belgium.

Ten thousand members of the Belgian underground movement rallied in Brussels on Sunday, November 5th, from all parts of the country. They were then informed by the Burgomaster that they could not use the town hall, and public speeches were forbidden. The demonstrators therefore printed their demand and distributed them in the streets.

These situations are symptomatic of the revolutionary potentialities inherent in the closing period of the war. It is the duty of Anarchists to urge the workers everywhere, as Connolly did the Irish workers of the Citizen Army, to "hold on to your arms". While the people have weapons in their hands, Governments are weak. They will use every blandishment, every treacherous promise, to wheedle arms out of the workers; but when they have done so they will ruthlessly crush every remaining bulwark of free initiative.

Class Struggle in America

EVEN in peacetime the difficulties in the way of a working class paper are great. Because we do not have a staff of full time reporters, we are dependent for our news on the capitalist press, on reports which sympathisers send us and on other working-class papers. War conditions make our task even harder, especially with regard to news of the class struggle in other countries. It is extremely encouraging, therefore, when we receive copies of the *Industrial Worker* from America, and we learn that the I.W.W. is carrying on the class struggle as fearlessly as it has always done.

News of the Industrial Workers of the World does not get into the yellow press in this country. The only "labour" organisations reported are the A.F.L. and C.I.O., which in spite of their apparent differences occupy the same role towards the workers—to sell them out and at the same time to provide soft jobs for men like Murray and Green.

The I.W.W. does not go in for highly-paid officials and the creation of a vast army of labour bureaucrats, who become the controllers of the movement instead of its servants. There are no labour barons in the I.W.W., the movement is run by the rank and file, and it is necessary to have full-time workers they are paid only the average wage in industry. The Wobblies don't go in for the political game, either. They maintain that labour's power is in its ability to use the strike weapon, so their activity is confined to the industrial struggle.

Always the I.W.W. is striving to extend its field of activity, and the issue of July 8th of the *Industrial Worker* carries the news that a new attempt is to be made to organise the lumber workers in Idaho. During 1936 Lumberworkers Industrial Union, 120 of the I.W.W. made a valiant effort to improve wages and conditions, and they came up against the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Corporation, one of the worst industrial tyrants of America.

Speaking of the 1936 struggle the *Industrial Worker* says:

"We opposed a group of employers led by the company notorious in its desire to impose an industrial servitude on the workers of the company—the Weyerhaeuser Company—every single dollar of whose millions is stained with the blood of the men who were killed in the making of them, and whose record of land and log stealing from the public domain brands this company as one of the greatest piratical groups in an era and area of piracy."

We paid for our struggle. Dalton Gentry, Mike Setz, and Conrad Hill, our fellow workers and friends were broken in, in cold blood—and their murderers are still at large. For the crime of murder they were fined \$250, and Weyerhaeuser paid the fines!

Men were wounded. Men were illegally arrested and held incommunicado. Men were illegally deported. The local John Laws and the National Guards were enlisted on the side of the Weyerhaeuser Company. The Civil Liberties of workers were outraged and violated, and every form of terror, physical and psychic, was used to break the fighting hearts of men who dared to demand a decent living while making profit for the murdering, thieving Weyerhaeuser Corporation."

Although the workers did not get all their demands, yet wages were increased in every section of the industry, conditions were generally improved and the lumber camps were cleaned up.

Since 1936 Weyerhaeuser have encouraged the reformist unions A.F.L. and C.I.O. to offset the I.W.W. The A.F.L. and C.I.O. have given no-strike pledges while the war is on, no wonder they are popular with the bosses!

How the I.W.W. Goes to Work

And what are the organising methods of the I.W.W. Let the *Industrial Worker* speak:

"The organizers are going thru Idaho making contacts with all of the best elements among the workers. They are building a rank and file organizing crew from the lumberjacks themselves so that 'organization on the job' can be successfully carried thru in the months to come."

No big bankroll, no high pressure salesmen, no full page ads in the capitalist press, no ballyhoo nor bombast accompanies this membership drive of the Lumberworkers union. The men who are lining up are men who know that it is the worker himself who

alone can improve his wages and conditions of working.

More than all, there are real men in the country, and in the industry. Men who know the time of day, who know that if a thing is worth having it's worth fighting for. Men who know the score and record of Weyerhaeuser, of his pet unions of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and who know the score and record of the only union in the lumber industry controlled top and bottom by the rank and file worker.

The I.W.W. is coming back in Idaho. Coming back to stay—come hell or white-water."

The Philadelphia Strike

The capitalist press of this country represented the Philadelphia strike as being merely a race issue, that the white transport workers were going in for a Jim Crow labour policy, and that there were no class issues at stake in the strike. But the *Industrial Worker* dated August 12, 1944 gives the lie to all this, it prints stories from the strikers themselves.

"When they say that we're on strike 'against the niggers' they lie—and they know they lie! what we are on strike against is the attempt by the Roosevelt gangsters to settle on age-old problem at our expense!"

My grandfather and two of his brothers died right here in Pennsylvania to free the coloured people, and in the hopes of freeing the white worker from competition with slave labour. I want the coloured people to get the same break as the whites. But what happens?

The white trash of the South are still using the coloured people as tools against white labour. Roosevelt and the commies are

using the coloured people as tools in the very same way."

And another worker writes:—

"Jobs to guys like Roosevelt are just figures in a book, something that other people look at but which he can take or leave alone. Jobs to so-and-so's like these Transport racketeers are things that they can sell to work-oxes like me—if I kick back a part of my pay to feed them fat and sassy."

But a job among workers is like a bone among a bunch of hungry dogs—something to fight and snarl over. I don't like to have to act like a son of a bitch, but I don't run this world which makes me act that way if I want to eat."

Believe it or not, we are on strike to stop race riots like they had in Chicago at the end of the last war."

Yet another transport worker gives his views on the strike:

"Me? I'm striking against those —, —, bastards of the C.I.O. racket!"

A year ago we had a union here. Not much of a one, but we could trust it to look after us in little ways, and we knew that if it was not so hot, at least it wouldn't sell us out and wouldn't chisel too much out of our dues."

Then the government put the C.I.O. Transport racket in here. Of course there was an honest election. Don't make me laugh brother. There hasn't been an honest count in this town since they counted the cracks in the Liberty Bell."

Can you tell me one strike that the C.I.O. unions haven't scabbed on during the last two years? I mean one honest to god strike for the benefit of the workers who paid dues. You put me down as being on strike against

the C.I.O. comraty racket. And there's lots more like me."

So that when we actually see what the strikers have to say about it, it turns out an entirely different story to that told in the British yellow press. Maybe we cannot agree with all the opinions expressed by the Philadelphia strikers, but we must admit that in view of the wholesale misrepresentation given in this country they have a right to be heard by the English workers.

The I.W.W. and Britain

There is at present no movement in this country which corresponds to the I.W.W. The A.F.L. and C.I.O. are roughly equal to the official Trade Union movement in that they have been willing to sell out the workers to the boss class by giving "no strike" pledges and generally acting as official scabs. The workers in America will find that the I.W.W. will not act in this way, but that it will continue to uphold the banner of the class struggle against all comers. The problems which face the British workers are the same as those of the Americans, and in working out the organisation which will fight their battles the workers of this country would do well to keep the "Wobblies" in mind. Remember the Preamble of the I.W.W., which ends:—

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." JACK WADE.

"YOU'RE IN THE ARMY NOW"

The accounts of conditions in detention camps, given in recent issues of *War Commentary*, made clear the deplorable conditions which exist in such places. But how many people realise that life in a training camp can be equally devilish? No one who has not experienced six weeks "primary training" can have the slightest idea of what it is like, and from all accounts conditions vary little in different centres.

In 1943 I saw for myself, as a trainee at a Primary Training Wing in Lincolnshire, how young recruits were broken in. We all suffered alike during the month and a half spent in an atmosphere of bullying and heartlessness. First impressions are not always deceptive, and we knew roughly what lay ahead when we were shown into Hut 14 on the first night. Thirty or so had to sleep in what was nothing more nor less than a cheerless shack, and after the usual lecture from the N.C.O. in charge, we turned in with the same feeling of sick despair as one experiences in a prison cell. The next day we changed from civilian clothes to uniforms, and after that the routine was always the same. We rose at six, washed and shaved in a stone floored hut similar to what we lived in, with twelve basins between us all, and an ill-served breakfast was ready at seven. Obviously, the meals were an important subject with us, and everyone was disgusted with the stuff they put out for breakfast, tea and supper. Dinner was usually hot, and thus more acceptable, whereas everything else was lukewarm or cold. "Everything else", incidentally, usually consisted of weak tea and weaker cocoa, hard toast, fried potatoes, bread and margarine, and on Sundays, a "trifle" of stale cake soaked in so-called custard. Complaints were useless. It was surprising the amount of money which was spent in buying food in the canteen, and in fact very little of the weekly 21/- was spent on anything but food.

On such a diet, then, we were made to undergo all the rigours and hardships so readily imposed on us. "Square bashing" was not the least of these. The "green" squad was daily marched over and around a huge parade ground, until breaking point was all but reached, and woe betide the youngster who made the wrong moves! He was made to run round and round the square until exhausted, and may often form the excuse for keeping us all confined to camp. When this happened, we were told to take the unfortunate writhing in hand, "for our own good"—which of course meant a beating. In this way, the squad was hardened and degraded, and the weaker lost unity. Even the stronger were little better off. Another highly popular sport practised by the N.C.O.s was the following: We would be taken at night, with our gear on, into nearby fields, and induced to crawl in mud and dirt, after which we would be run back to camp by about ten o'clock. As there would be a parade next morning, more time was passed in

cleaning kit than in sleeping.

More good times were had by all when days of inoculations came round. The last of these was the least enjoyable. Mist and rain did not help to create a better atmosphere, and a number of the young fellows fainted after having "the needle". They fell in the rain, and were left in the rain until they were able to rise. Not much difference there between the brutality of detention and the beastliness of the training camp. And it must be remembered that almost everyone was below twenty years of age. Quite a few deserted. One begged his mates to injure him, and followed their refusal by running away to Hull, where he was caught.

After inoculation, we were supposed to have 48 hours off, but things were not allowed to grow slack. The following morning all had to stand rigidly by their beds, on which kits were laid out, while an officer crawled round. His crawling lasted almost an hour, and when a lad fell on his face in a faint the inspection continued as before! Nothing was to upset "discipline".

The recruits had but one escape to long for daily—a free night. As dull and as miserable as the nearby town was, it was wonderful to be away for a few hours from the unimaginable weight of torture and repression of our quarters. But here again, even this meagre "privilege" was too often denied us. A rifle could be clean for all to see, yet if an N.C.O. said it was filthy, filthy it must be, and the squad must be kept in.

All this is brutality in one form or another, and people in the town appreciated the fact so much as to call our barracks a "concentration camp". The inmates agreed. We were overjoyed to leave it; but as we were to learn, Primary Training Wing was only the start, only the initial process of crushing and numbing. Army life was not what coloured posters and press articles made out. Here were the same elements that go into the creation of Gestapo and OGPU—but the physical and mental and moral devilry heaped on raw recruits was more refined than non-democratic methods. God knows, it was effective enough. Glasshouse or prison, barracks or training wing, there is no difference in the fundamental use to which they are put. All are the tools of authority; an expression of a negative philosophy that will die the death it deserves.

**PUBLIC LECTURES
FREEDOM PRESS ROOMS**
to be held at
27 BELSIZE ROAD, LONDON, N.W.6.
(Near Swiss Cottage Underground)
7.30 p.m.
17th NOVEMBER by Clifford Holden
18th NOVEMBER by M. L. Berneri
24th NOVEMBER by M. L. Berneri
ITALY TO-DAY

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

132 Cheltenham Road, Bristol

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

BRANCH STREET	Marie Paneth 6/-
THE PECKHAM EXPERIMENT	Liddell Hart 2/-
A Study in the Living Structure of Society	M. L. Berneri 1/-
WHY DON'T WE LEARN FROM	John Maynard 5/-
HISTORY	A. Ciliga 1/6
WORKERS IN ITALY'S RUSSIA	Max Eastman 7/6
THE RUSSIAN PEASANT	J. & M. Fry 7/6
OTHER STUDIES (2 vols.)	Herbert Read 15/-
THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA	Herbert Read 15/-
STALIN'S RUSSIA AND THE CRISIS	Herbert Spencer 25/-
IN SOCIALISM	Philomen 2/6
ARCHITECTURE FOR CHILDREN	T. Paine 2/6
THE CULTURE OF CITIES	THE PASSING OF HEAVEN & HELL J. McCabe 6d.
ART AND INDUSTRY	A MARTIAN EXAMINES CHRISTIANITY
EDUCATION THROUGH ART	THE LIBERTY OF MAN R. G. Ingersoll 2/-
EDUCATION	PENALTIES UPON OPINION Bradshaw Bonner 2/-
MONEY MUST GO	BANNED BOOKS OF ENGLAND Alex Craig 7/6
RIGHTS OF MAN	THE RELIGION OF THE OPEN MIND A. Gwynne White 2/-
THE PASSING OF HEAVEN & HELL J. McCabe 6d.	ARMIES AND THE ART OF
A MARTIAN EXAMINES CHRISTIANITY	REVOLUTION K. C. Chorley 12/-
THE LIBERTY OF MAN R. G. Ingersoll 2/-	THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH CITIZEN
PENALTIES UPON OPINION Bradshaw Bonner 2/-	R. M. Fox 6/-
BANNED BOOKS OF ENGLAND Alex Craig 7/6	HUMAN REPRODUCTION AND
THE RELIGION OF THE OPEN MIND A. Gwynne White 2/-	ENERGICAL DISEASE R. M. Fox 6/-
ARMIES AND THE ART OF	ABORTION: RIGHT OR WRONG Dr. J. Drew 3/6
REVOLUTION K. C. Chorley 12/-	SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF
THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH CITIZEN	GERARD WINSTANT 2/6
R. M. Fox 6/-	THE SAYINGS OF LAO Tzu
HUMAN REPRODUCTION AND	TAOIST TEACHINGS 3/6
ENERGICAL DISEASE R. M. Fox 6/-	SELECTED WORKS OF VOLTAIRE 2/6
ABORTION: RIGHT OR WRONG Dr. J. Drew 3/6	NOW Vols. 1 & 2 Edited by G. Woodcock, ea. 1/6
SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF	THE LANGUAGE & THOUGHT OF
GERARD WINSTANT 2/6	THE CHILD Piaget 12/-
THE SAYINGS OF LAO Tzu	CAUSALITY Piaget 15/-
TAOIST TEACHINGS 3/6	THE MORAL JUDGMENT OF THE
SELECTED WORKS OF VOLTAIRE 2/6	CHILD Piaget 15/-
NOW Vols. 1 & 2 Edited by G. Woodcock, ea. 1/6	JUDGMENT & REASONING IN THE
THE LANGUAGE & THOUGHT OF	CHILD Piaget 12/6
THE CHILD Piaget 12/-	WAR AND THE CHILD MIND
CAUSALITY Piaget 15/-	YOUNG CHILDREN IN WARTIME Anna Freud 1/6
THE MORAL JUDGMENT OF THE	SEEDS OF CHAOS Vera Britain 3/6
CHILD Piaget 15/-	STARVATION IN EUROPE G. M. Bourne 5/-
JUDGMENT & REASONING IN THE	THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE
CHILD Piaget 12/6	HAZLITT SELECTED ESSAYS 15/-
WAR AND THE CHILD MIND	HEINRICH HEINE: WORKS OF PROSE
YOUNG CHILDREN IN WARTIME Anna Freud 1/6	SOUTH WIND Norman Douglas 8/6
SEEDS OF CHAOS Vera Britain 3/6	
STARVATION IN EUROPE G. M. Bourne 5/-	
THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE	
HAZLITT SELECTED ESSAYS 15/-	
HEINRICH HEINE: WORKS OF PROSE	
SOUTH WIND Norman Douglas 8/6	

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 1s.

ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS

FOR GENERATIONS the Chinese peasant has maintained an indifferent and passive attitude towards the rivalries of the armed bandits. For them one party is just as bad as another. They all want to exploit the peasant, to rob him of the meagre fruit of his labour, and they all want taxes. In China, as in parts of India, the soldier's profession was regarded with contempt as equivalent to banditry. Soldiers and butchers are not accepted as members of the Buddhist community.

Chiang Kai-shek's national-democratic "New Life" movement and the Chinese Red Army Commissars have to some extent revised this traditional conception. The latter originally taught the peasants that the aim of struggle was to lead it to its revolutionary objective—the expropriation of the great landowners and usurers, and the taking-over of the land by the peasants. Thus, as in Russia, the Chinese Communist Party found its fullest support among the peasants. They threw off their resignation and passivity, supplied the Red Army voluntarily with information, founded guerrilla groups, performed acts of sabotage. In short, they fought with a heroism equal to that of the Russian peasants and workers.

Chiang Kai-shek, supported with American and British gold, German arms and airplanes, his army reorganized by White Russian and German officers and technicians, waged a ruthless war against the "Red Districts" and "armed bandit hordes". The peasants who had joined the Red Army under the slogan "The Land to the Peasants", fought stubbornly and heroically. Meanwhile,

the civil war gave the Japanese Imperialists the chance to attack a country weakened and exhausted. They occupied Manchukuo, and Sir John Simon became the apologist for Japanese Imperialism.

When the Chinese Communists were driven out of Kiangsi they went north. For some time the capital of Chinese Communism was Shensi in the North West. At present, Yenau is the recognized capital of the Communist border districts which include 26 countries reaching into the four provinces of Kansu, Nighsia, Shensi, and Shansi.

The Chinese Communist Party co-operated with the Kuo Min Tang, which massacred the Communist and revolutionary peasants by the hundred thousand under the slogan of "National Salvation". The control of the Red Army was handed over to the reactionary generals of the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. The social advances of the Soviets have been curtailed to the point of almost complete abolition. The Chinese C.P. leaders have given up the confiscation of private property and the immediate realization of communism altogether, and have substituted National democratic reformism of the Kuo Min Tang brand. Landlords who fled during the days of the land revolution

of 1925 have returned. They have received back 80 per cent. of their land. The other 20 per cent. was given to landless peasants. Thus the returned landlords once more live on the toil of the peasant, and receive "reasonable" rents. Capitalists and capital are welcome and are guaranteed profits. Only 20 per cent. of industry is socialized by the State. Western missionaries are encouraged to return and their safety and property are assured.

The Chinese peasants trusted the Communist party and died for the slogan "The Land to the Peasants". They have been betrayed just as their brethren in Russia were betrayed. (In 1936 the Soviets in Russia were finally abolished by Stalin). In 1917, the workers had organized soviets of soldiers in the Red Army. To-day, all discussion among privates is forbidden. The submission of group complaints or complaints on behalf of others is treated as mutiny. In the last few years the last remnant of the revolutionary tradition—the system of Political Commissars—disappeared on the order of Stalin.

The massacre of the Kronstadt sailors in 1921 opened the door to the reaction which to-day rules in Russia. In China the wholesale executions of revolutionary workers and peasants similarly marked the bloodstained footsteps of the counter-revolution. In China, as in Russia, the grand attempt of the workers and peasants to establish a new society based upon councils or soviets, was betrayed from the first moment that they accepted the direction of the political parties, the Bolsheviks, the Chinese C.P., or the Kuo Min Tang, the party of Chiang Kai-shek.

ROUTING THE SHIPYARDS

CLYDESIDE

The main trend in the ship-building industry during the past few weeks has been in the marked slowing down of activity and work in most sections. This has increased the bitter feeling of apprehension over the future prospects, which past experience, and more especially the depression of the 1930's, has instilled in the minds of the workers. This feeling has been reinforced by the relaxation of productive pressure so that the need for overtime has been reduced. The result of course has been a drastic reduction in earnings. The idea now in the minds of the men is that the industry as a whole is now drifting rapidly back to its pre-war state. They now see clearly that hitherto a normal working week did not give them a wage on which to live, and an existence was eked out only by means of the long hours and overtime rates. As regards overtime, the position on the Clyde is somewhat different to that in the Tyne. Following the increase in wages in the Spring, and also mainly because overtime earnings become immediately subject to P.A.Y.E., many operatives naturally showed a reluctance to work extra hours. After all, what the hell's the use or the sense in working for nothing. So that in the majority of the "key" men at the yards just didn't turn up. Later the summer agreement on overtime was cancelled. Since then all overtime has been reduced and Sunday work almost eliminated. To-day the effects of the lower earnings are being felt.

Claim for a "substantial increase" has been lodged by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation. A joint conference will, apparently, be held shortly to discuss the situation. Events on the Clyde during the past week have clearly precipitated the discussion. Clydeside workers will know that discussions can go on for months with no result, meanwhile their wage pockets become smaller.

TYNESIDE

Here also the overtime situation has come well to the fore. At many yards on the river big demonstrations have been staged against the \$2 per week increase. Small strikes are taking place everywhere. A number of sheet-metal workers stopped work to emphasise their unwillingness to see more dilute labour come into the industry; about 100 riveters also struck work because they maintained that they were not even receiving the minimum wage for the class of work which they were doing. These incidents are symptomatic of the general trend—everywhere the men are restless, and are taking matters into their own hands.

TEES—MIDDLEBOROUGH

Here again the men are restless, although there is rather more work on hand owing to the demand created by the war in the Pacific. For this reason the men seem to think that they can afford to lie back using the constitutional methods of demanding wage increases.

MERSEY—BIRKENHEAD

There is dissatisfaction in all the yards. The unrest is growing owing to the delay of the employers in meeting the Union's demand for wage increases. With the cutting down of overtime many men are now working only

a bare 47 hour week with an average wage of £4 10 0. When income tax is deducted there is not much left to keep a home together and raise a family. Many protest meetings are being held. On Merseyside, Union officials have always ruled with a strong hand and have tried to force the men to toe the line of official union policy. But the more rebellious and militant workers in the yards are sizing up the situation and voicing their opinions with the result that this unofficial opposition is getting a large backing. Meetings are being held in every shop and ship, much to the concern of the union officials. There is a new procedure come into being recently which is causing many stoppages and much unrest. When men are working under particularly dirty or awkward conditions they usually demand extra pay. The employers have a fair idea usually of the conditions, and they have often complied with the demands being made. But more and more the control of ship repairs have been taken out of the hands of employers and come under the direct control of the Admiralty. Therefore employers are forced to obtain permission before they can make any concessions. A bureaucratic institution like the Admiralty can have no knowledge of conditions. This is surely a lesson for those who still cling to the belief that nationalisation of industry is the cure for all ills. We say it will promote even greater ills.

TYNE—JARROW

The men are engaged in agitation for a shorter working week and more money and until this is forthcoming they resent the curtailment of overtime.

A dispute in the Walker Naval Yard concerns a semi-skilled man who was put in charge of a new fascinating machine. The man had previously worked on a planing machine and had always given satisfaction. The boiler-makers however, contend that a skilled caulker should operate the machine. In protest they took the matter into their own hands, changed over to time-work and refused to work in piece rates. This method of protest is unique and is becoming a regular practice on Tyneside—it is a good direct action "hit-back" policy. The employers have not forgotten that some months ago the riveters adopted the same tactics when a claim for a new rate was not granted—they have not forgotten the result. The poor output. The employers argue that they are looking to the future in taking advantage of new technique and labour-saving devices, and they do not regard it as essential that such machines should be operated by skilled men. Sure, we all agree with that attitude—but no sacking of men; let's have a reduction of hours as a show in the profits. In other words just give us a chance to control our own outfit.

The Stilwell Episode

The recall of General Stilwell from the Burma theatre of war has unleashed a flood of press "revelations" about Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang government. The *New York Times*, for example described the Chinese Government as "a moribund anti-democratic régime, more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than in driving the Japanese from China". The *Daily Mail* (2/11/44) declares: "The present Chinese Government, according to all observers, is becoming increasingly unpopular and discredited. It maintains three secret police services, and concentration camps for political prisoners. It stifles free speech and resists democratic forces. Most of its armies are poorly fed and badly trained."

Hitherto, China has been represented as the most heroic, the most progressive and democratic of Allies in the fight for freedom. Why then do the press make these "revelations" now? The capitalist press affect to be very shocked at the "news" that China is still trading with Japan. Yet almost a year ago, *War Commentary* drew attention to the fact that imports to occupied areas from free China during the last six months

of 1943, according to a Government spokesman, were to the value of £1,250,000 sterling on Government account, and £25,000,000 through commercial channels. For Anarchists, the military dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek has never seemed like a democratic free republic. We have known for years that massacres of Chinese workers and peasants brought Chiang to power.

Needless to say, these facts are well enough known to the capitalist press also. It is too transparent for them to claim that the facts about China have been concealed because of the "iron censorship", for there is nothing to prevent returned correspondents from telling the facts, provided, of course, their papers will print them. The indignation of the leader-writers is so much hypocrisy.

★ ★ ★

EISENHOWER AS NEW FUHRER FOR GERMANY

The Civil Affairs Division of SHAEF announce that Eisenhower, as Supreme Commander-in-Chief will be the new Führer of occupied zones in Germany. His power, says the *Daily Mail* correspondent at SHAEF headquarters, "will be as absolute as that of Hitler."

Shaeff plans for the military rule of Germany provide that "Nazis officials will be ordered to remain at their administrative posts for the preservation of funds, property, and records." So the evil force of "uprooting Fascism" which has gone on in Italy with the "aid" of Fascist chiefs of police, is to be repeated in Germany. Just to drive the point home, General Holmes stated that any German who kills a Nazi will be treated as a criminal.

The Rail Strike of 1919

Dear Comrades,

In reading in the above article by Tom Brown his reference to the counter attack by the N.U.R., under the paragraph "Counter Offensive", I wonder how many people know that the Railwaymen were primarily indebted to Comrade Tom Keell for that opportunity?

To relate what I mean, I was in London on holiday when the strike started, and was staying with Tom Keell and Lilian Wolfe in Willesden. Tom was editor of *Freedom* at the time, and was in close touch with the Printers' and Compositors' Union. As a member of the N.U.R. and a keen Trade Unionist, I was very much upset at the reports in the press, which without exception gave only the government's side of the case to the disadvantage of the men, the opportunity to reply being denied to the men's representatives. One night when all had retired except Tom Keell and myself, we were talking about the injustice of the press reports. When Tom asked why I did not enquire if the Compositors' Union (of which he was a member, and had many friends in it) had been approached, I admitted that I hadn't given the matter a thought, although I had been to Unity House, our Head Office. He outlined a plan and suggested I interview the local strike committee, who, by the way occupied the "Howard Hall" High Street, Willesden, only about 40 yards away.

I was deeply impressed with Tom Keell's suggestion, and I visited the Howard Hall next morning. As we on the North Eastern Railway had just won a very successful strike in the North on the "Eyesight Tests", of which movement I was secretary from the start, the strike ended, my name was recognized by many members of strike committee composed of N.U.R. and A.S.L.E. & F. (Loco men's union). I was made welcome, and immediately asked for an opportunity to put Tom Keell's suggestion before the whole committee for their consideration.

A meeting took place and I outlined Tom Keell's plan and his faith in the compositors giving their support if they were approached for that purpose. A resolution was passed in a few minutes and a deputation from the strike committee was appointed to meet the London Federation of District Councils (N.U.R.), and ask them to approach the Printers' and Compositors' Union for their co-operation to force the press to give J. H. Thomas an opportunity to put the men's case alongside that of the government. In the meantime, Tom Keell was to do his part among his friends the compositors.

A message was sent to me at Tom Keell's house informing me of the success of the deputation from the Howard Hall, and that the compositors were to hold a meeting to decide the quickest and best action to be taken to get the men's case published.

For the reason given by Tom Brown in his article re everyone being rationed, we were in an embarrassing position as my wife and little girl were with me, so we were compelled to get away from London as soon as possible. We left London by boat before I knew the result of the joint action. But on arrival in Newcastle the first news I heard greeted me was that "J. H. Thomas replies to the government on behalf of the railwaymen."

I addressed a large meeting of railwaymen at a Picture Hall in Gateshead that same day and told them my story. I did not see Tom Keell for a while after this incident, but he told me that the compositors' decision was that unless the Railwaymen's representatives were given the opportunity to state their case in reply to the government, they would refuse to print anything concerning the strike for the government. This was just what Tom Keell said ought to be done, if the railwaymen approached his union. The part he played personally I never knew—Tom was not in the habit of putting himself forward. But I have my opinion of his persuasive abilities,

and have no doubt that his logical arguments played an important part in the decision of his fellow workers. I'll write with corroborated this story in regard to the part played by Tom Keell, although she may not remember the details which I have outlined above.

I have mentioned these few facts as one who took part in all the strikes of that period, and Tom Brown's article has refreshed my memory. Maybe he even did not know how much we were indebted to our old and beloved comrade Tom Keell, who lived only for his ideal, Anarchism, Individual freedom, and love of his fellows.

Yours fraternally,
G. W. TINDALE.

Red November

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations to the new size and the lively make-up of new *War Commentary*; many happy returns! But as you ask for positive criticism, here it is. In the article on "November Martyrs" Comrade Ken Hawkes gives a survey of the most important events in Red November, but he omits two years, 1917 and 1918. Why? Does he wish to silence the fact of the Russian and German Revolution in which hundreds and thousands of good Anarchists enthusiastically took part. Surely both events are the two most important facts in European History and not even an Anarchist can deny this fact. In 1917 thousands of Russian workers, Anarchists, Socialists, Communists alike lost their lives for the cause of the Revolution and when it went later a totalitarian course, the reason was that the Libertarian movement in Russia was a very small minority among the Socialists, in spite of the great tradition of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

Also in 1918 in Germany hundreds of good comrades of all Socialist shades and creeds, among them Frick Heesath, (Berlin), Oscar Lineman (Bremen), Behrend and Jönsen (of the Red Soldiers' League), Lohse, Lojewski, Mers, Milker (Tegel), Müller and Fernbach (of *Forward*), Alois Fulneck (Bottrop) and many others willingly gave their lives in order to save the Revolution, not for a party's sake, but for us all.
P. G.

Scottish Socialist's Congratulations

Dear Comrade,

Congratulations on reading your 100th issue. I and other members of the party enjoy *War Commentary* very much. I may say, for myself, that I have learned many lessons from your pages. I am a Scottish Nationalist and a Socialist. I cannot forget either, because that would mean shutting out part of my consciousness. And I am not prepared to do that. None the less, I am sure that you will find a difference between the kind of life that you and I want to live, and that's a point of unity to be getting on with.

May I recall the words which John Maclean, the great Scottish anti-militarist of the last war, shouted to his comrades as he was being led off to prison? "Keep it going, boys! Keep it going!"

Best wishes, Yours sincerely,
A. CLARK SMITH,
Hon Sec., Scottish Socialist Party.

An Austrian Comrade writes

War Commentary is the only paper in these times I heartily and deeply agree with. The paper is all a revolutionary can demand; sincere and clearly understandable for everyone. Congratulations for the hundredth issue! About the last issue and Francesco Ghezzi; when I was in Russia I tried always to bring the conversation round to his name. But I got no answer. "Oh he's somewhere—bloody Anarchist, like Makho."

"The bombing of the Ruhr makes me think of all my friends from Bochum etc. where there was a very strong Anarchist Youth group. And now, all the best for our youth, the future fight and final victory."

GILDING THE PRIMROSE

More than 800 working-class delegates from various parts of Britain are in attendance at the Communist Party's seventeenth congress, which began on Saturday in London.

Perhaps the strongest impression I received at the first two sessions was the absence, or at least the under-emphasis, of ideological propaganda. It was as if, in the presence of momentous practical issues, the delegates had no time or inclination for traditional modes of expression. The chairman's table was draped with the British and Russian national flags. The Tories might have held a meeting in the same place without removing a single decoration.

There was plenty of fervour for international and domestic causes, much pride in the rise of the party's status here and in the Communist contribution to the war effort, but very little evidence of revolutionary class feeling.

A. Cunningham in
News Chronicle, 30/10/44.

THAT COWARDLY WEAPON

The *New York Times*, in a report to-day from Dayton (Ohio), said it was disclosed there that ten major aviation war plants have been engaged for ten weeks in turning out exact replicas of the German V1 robots.

Major General Beteau, who made the disclosure, was reported to have emphasised that the bombs are being made for testing purposes only. Mass production is under consideration, he said, and experiments with the robots might take place against the Japanese. He added that the problem of manufacturing German robots has been solved.

Later to-day the War Department in Washington and the Ford Motor Company announced that a jet-propulsion engine for robot bombs was being produced by the Ford Company.
Manchester Guardian, 24/10/44.

THE LAW

Reno's opposite in divorce matters—Maha—where divorce is not permitted, has gaoled a couple on a charge of adultery.

On the other hand, a woman's complaint of his wife, Richard Teslaffera, 52, and his girl friend, Mary Pirotta, 37, were charged with criminal adultery, which is normally tried by Judge and jury.

But the Criminal Court is now controlled under the Defence Regulations by magistrates, so the couple have both been sentenced, the man to six months' and the woman to four months imprisonment, without a jury trial.
Daily Mirror, 25/10/44.

STALIN—A GIFT FROM GOD!

Russia's clergymen have collected 1,000,000 roubles (a rouble is a little more than tenpence) for the families of Red Army men, and their fund for tanks is 150,000,000 roubles.

In a letter to Marshal Stalin, telling him this, Acting-Patriarch Alexei speaks of Stalin as "Our dear supreme leader, whom God has sent to us."
Daily Mirror, 24/10/44.

THE DREAM

He dreamed that enemy bombs were falling on the United States. Everybody was running through carnage and blood and agony to the munition air-raid shelter beyond the city. He can also.

As he neared the shelter, the crowd thickened, the confusion increased, the forward movement slowed. The entrance to the shelter was wide enough to admit the entire city at one time, but some were being turned back, so that the others had difficulty getting through to safety.

He could not understand it. There was room for all, and all would already have been out of danger if there were no attempt to keep certain of them out.

Then he saw the huge sign above the shelter. It read: WHITES ONLY.

But the whites were not as unattracted as might be supposed. They had provided another shelter for the black men and women and children. True, it was smaller and simpler and situated where the bombs would fall thicker, but it was a shelter, wasn't it? It was established that even in war, even in armies, even when death faced all alike, blacks and whites must not be under one roof. Bombs were important, but men were not, even if their own security was endangered as a result.

If the man who dreamed the dream had any reaction to that sign, it was a sense of relief that his own skin was white. The safety of the shelter was just ahead of him. He pushed forward.

At the entrance there was another sign, only slightly smaller than the first. It read: GENTILES ONLY.

He was a Jew.
Bruno Fischer in The Call (U.S.A.), 21/7/44.

NO FRATERNIZATION WITH GERMANS—ARMY ORDER

Sixty thousand copies of a German phrase-book issued to American troops are being withdrawn.

The tone of the dialogue in the book is now considered too friendly, writes Basil Gingell, *Exchange Telegraph* correspondent with the American Army.

The phrase-books were issued by the Army authority to help troops over the language difficulty in Germany.

News Chronicle, 7/10/44.

American troops in Germany are obeying Eisenhower's order not to mix with the population so well that only one conviction weekly per regiment is being recorded.

Even entering a bar or café constitutes fraternization under a literal interpretation of instructions. When a house is taken over for us as billets, the whole family is moved into another home or evacuated.

Soldiers who broke the no-fraternization order have been fined from £10 to £15.—*Reuter*.

Daily Herald, 2/11/44.

STRETCH OUT YOUR HAND—ITALIAN SOCIALIST APPEAL

Get in touch with the German anti-nationalists. In your town, in your factory you certainly will find Germans who have the same ideas you have and who, just like you, hope, aspire and struggle for their liberation. Help them in their fight, accept their help in your fight against fascists and spies! If there are among the Germans many Nazis who treat you with hate and contempt, there are many Germans, too, who consider and love you as the fighters for freedom which is reawakening in Italy. Those who treat you with contempt

BRITISH IMPOSE KING ON GREEKS

The first move by Leftist elements to oust King George has been defeated by the opposition of the British Government.

All parties, excepting the Royalists, favoured the appointment of a Regency Council to function in the king's absence, which was tantamount to depriving him of his powers until he returns. The British refusal to sanction the Regency resulted in the proposal being dropped.
News Chronicle, 23/10/44.

News Chronicle, 23/10/44.

U.S. AMBASSADOR PROFILE

As a liberal capitalist, Harriman is eminently fitted to handle the job of U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, a post involving the delicate balance of understanding between Communism and democracy. True he inherited the Union Pacific from his father, is said to have made \$100,000,000 on his own.

Harriman, an advertiser's dream of a diplomat, likes horses and dogs, Scotch and soda, the sparkling expanse of his pet project, Sun Valley. He has let his 150-room house in Harriman, N.Y., into an aristocratic dilapidation. The Harrimans' New York duplex has no dining room, and although their Sands Point, L.I., estate is magnificently comfortable, it is unostentatious.

Harriman wants world peace as well as peace between Capital and Labour. In keeping with his personal philosophy, he is working for what he wants with what he's got. As he puts it: "It is as indefensible for a man with money not to use it for the benefit of his country, as it is for a labourer to refuse to work."

Look, 5/9/44.

We agree with Mr. Harriman, why should a labourer refuse to work, particularly if he can make himself a mere \$100,000,000. Harriman is apparently very popular in Moscow, as everyone knows the leaders of the Socialist Fatherland have a soft spot for prosperous capitalists.

THE ELECTION RACKET

Commercial radio, where time is indeed money, makes an election campaign extremely expensive. It costs about 40,000 dollars to put Roosevelt on the air for half an hour. One radio network alone will charge about 14,000 dollars simply for time, and to get a country-wide audience you should have your speech broadcast over at least two of the four networks.

To displace Frank Sinatra, for instance, costs 12,000 dollars. This obviously means that the party with the most money can secure the biggest audiences, and so far Dewey and the Republicans have had far more time on the radio than Roosevelt and the Democrats.

Schoolgirls who idolise Frank Sinatra are wearing a label button reading "Frankie's for Roosevelt and so am I."

Reynolds News, 29/10/44.

PROTEST AGAINST JINGOIST CAMPAIGN

Another disgusting article has appeared in the *Sunday Dispatch*, this time on October 1, under the title "Patted Calf and Macaroni". It is difficult indeed to comprehend what good such effusions are supposed to do towards better international understanding and common decency.

The text was the belittling of Italian Anti-Fascist co-operators in homes at Pinet. It is true enough that it is a scandal that British homes are not being repaired quicker after the destruction of their roofs by the buzz-bombs. But this provides no excuse for a low attack on men who have been found to be enemies of the Fascist régime, and who have in fact volunteered for service anywhere, just as their brothers are carrying on in the Alps one of the most courageous guerrilla fights of the war, as General Alexander has pointed out. These men have obviously got to be billeted efficiently, so that they can get on with their work for our common war effort. It is monstrous that the very paper which supported Mussolini in Italy before the war, and strenuously advocated Mosley and Fascism here, should be one of those to make this ill-bred attack. It is also disgusting that any organs of the press should try to make the decent human feelings of British civilians, and the sympathetic smiles of British women and girls to unfortunate men, seem like something disgusting and treacherous.

World Review, Nov. 1944.

Through the Press

THE MORAL

He was a Jew.
Bruno Fischer in The Call (U.S.A.), 21/7/44.

REDUNDANCY & DILUTEES

Red & Black Notebook

ONE of the most abused words of current English is the word redundancy, and as its use and misuse is causing considerable confusion, even amongst those who should know better, an effort to define its meaning may be appreciated. The dictionary states that redundancy is the quality of being superfluous, and the word superfluous is defined as meaning, more than enough, unnecessary or useless. That being so, it is clear that when one is told that there is growing redundancy in a factory it means simply that a growing number of workers in that factory are becoming unnecessary or useless to the employer. Once upon a time this state of affairs would have been called unemployment, and while the workers who have as yet had no threat to their livelihood may not appreciate the true meaning of redundancy, the others who have come under the edict of National Service Officer, or Manpower Board are faced with the stark reality, and see quite clearly the approach of this dread satellite of competitive capitalism.

Unemployment, Part of Present System

Unemployment, no matter how it is disguised under unfamiliar terms, holds still the same threat to the existence and welfare of the working class, and though it meantime may serve the purpose of the employers to conceal its growth, and confuse the workers with talk of 'transference of labour', 'changes to peace-time industry', and other fine phrases, it is obvious that the worker will be asked to face up to the problem in the very near future.

Unemployment, Part of Present System

Unemployment cannot be separated from the present system of exploitation, and this fact is admitted by the government and all the leading industrialists. In their much publicised plans for peace-time Britain they have endeavoured to lull the worker into a sense of false security. They have tried to reassure the worker that even although he does lose his job they still have his welfare at heart. Carefully and persistently they are trying to create the impression that a reformed and benevolent state will see to it that the pill of unemployment is not as bitter as it was on the last occasion. It is significant that no spokesman of the government or any other authority has ever suggested that unemployment can be divorced from the system. Indeed it cannot. Unemployment will be removed only when capitalism is removed.

Post-war planning is not confined to schemes of social security for the workers. British industrialists who, since the beginning of the war, have lost markets in Canada, South America, Australia, the Far East, and elsewhere, are much more concerned in planning to enter the post-war period on a competitive basis with their allies America and Russia. They are alarmed, not only at the outspoken statements of American business men with designs on European markets, but at the steps that have already been taken to acquire these markets. Their natural reaction to this aggressive policy of their rivals is to attack the wages and conditions of the British workers, and attempt to smash these conditions, and if possible, to bring them below the level enjoyed by the American worker. Whether this plan will be successful has yet to be decided, but the fact to be remembered is that the attempt to carry it out is now being made.

A Merry-go-round of Transfers

In a large number of factories throughout the country there is increasing 'redundancy'. It is claimed that this is a natural sequence in the progressive change-over to peace-time production, and to make it appear more plausible the man-power boards, in connivance with industrialists and T.U. officials, have adopted a merry-go-round of transfers. It is quite common, as is the case of the transfers from Dalmeir R.O.F.

to Linwood, that the transfers are to much lower conditions, and to places to where there is an even greater scarcity of work. *The Sunday Post*, October 22, 1944, reports:

"War workers dismissed from Clyde establishments complain that on reference to the Ministry of Labour and National Service for new appointments they were sent to workshops and factories in which there were no vacancies. Some men had to make a futile journey from Glasgow to Johnstone at their own expense."

It is also observed that the first transfers from a factory are usually classified as skilled men, and they are selected if they are of military age, because the threat of being called up for military services reduces any possible resistance.

The selection of skilled men is no accident, and is, indeed, one of the most subtle moves of the game. Amongst the unskilled rank and file of the workers it creates, and is designed to create antagonism between skilled men and dilutees. This antagonism serves the dual purpose of diverting the minds of the workers from the real issues at stake, and dividing them, weakens them for future attacks.

Dilutees v. Skilled Men

The question of dilutees against skilled men threatens to split the ranks of the workers at a time when solidarity is of the utmost importance. It is argued that dilutees should go out of the engineering industry, but it is forgotten that owing to the conscription of labour laws, a dilutee removed from an engineering factory still continues to be registered as an engineer. No doubt many dilutees would be only too happy to return to their own trades, but officialdom has the last word, the dilutee would be directed to another engineering factory, where nursing his grievance, he becomes a potential enemy of tradesmen and workshop organisation. The transfer of dilutees from one factory to another will not solve the problem. The worker must realise that redundancy is not the fault of the skilled man, or of the dilutee, and that an attack of one section against another will not cure it.

The distinction between the two sections is simply one of economic circumstances over which they have no control, but like the colour bar, and certain religious differences, it is being exploited by the employers for their own ends. These ends never coincide with the workers ends. The employer and the worker have nothing in common.

In their policy of setting one group of workers against another, the employers are relying to a great extent on the reactionary activities of the Trade Union leaders. As complete collaborators with the government, since the beginning of the war they have done everything in their power to keep the workers submissive. On the plea of shortage of labour, and the necessity of supporting the war effort, they have welcomed the conscription of labour, and other anti-working class legislation. To-day when there is every prospect of an allied victory, and the certainty of mass unemployment, they continue to justify these impositions and claim that it will be necessary to retain them after the war. The treachery of this policy is too evident to require comment. The workers must become aware, that as a preliminary step, the legislation which compels men women and children to remain in industry for which they have no inclination, and permits their forced transfer from one part of the country to another, must be removed. It is only with the removal of these slave laws that many of the glaring anomalies in industry will be removed.

The basic rights of life and liberty must be granted to every individual. Anyone with the slightest pretension of socialist belief must admit equality on the basis of live and let live, and advocate equality of sacrifice. The essential unity of working class interests must not be forgotten. It is not the skilled man alone that is exploited, it is the dilutee alone that is exploited, it is the worker who is exploited, and it is as workers solidly united that exploitation must be faced and defeated.

Facing these facts the workers must demand an immediate reduction of working hours. This common demand, based on the sound principle of unity of interest and sacrifice, will give a demonstration of solidarity; and even as a gesture of comradeship from the skilled man will defeat the employer in his attempt to divide the workers and will create friendship instead of enmity. By the reduction of working hours large numbers of workers facing the dole queue could be absorbed in industry, and in the consequent reduction of the wage packet, many workers, for the first time in five years of overtime and war bonuses, will begin to realise that they are now working for a smaller rate of wages than they had before the war.

It may appear ridiculous that one should advocate the reduction of working hours, which means, in reality, a reduction of wages, but it must be remembered that bad as the real rate of wages is to-day, the employers are determined to reduce it. The evil day when the struggle is forced on the workers, is only being delayed by accepting the employers method of playing the game, and the workers are only weakening their forces by fighting amongst themselves. The reduction of working hours is no remedy for unemployment. Unemployment can only be abolished when the wage system is abolished, but until the workers desire freedom from this octopus which holds and strangles them, this is the only progressive and logical step that can be advocated.

R. O. F.

Milk Monopoly Combines in Control

In the October issue of War Commentary we drew attention to the bureaucratic nature of the Milk Marketing Board and ventured to predict further extensions of this monopoly of the milk industry. Suggestions were put forward for a real producers' organization to meet the needs of the consumer particularly on the question of distribution. Our observations were opportune, for recommendations for the control of milk at every step from cow to consumer have been put forward to the Minister of Food by the Central Milk Distribution Committee, which is composed of the really big capitalists in the industry (reported in the Daily Express, 11/10/44). They intend to create two new boards, a board composed of manufacturers (the makers of condensed milk, chocolate, etc.) and a board composed of wholesalers. On each of the two new boards there could be at least 14 members. But large firms and combines will have the privilege of having three or four representatives on each board. There would be ten regional boards. Most big combines will come under the category of both wholesalers and manufacturers. Milk will be bought from producers by the Milk Industry Council and sold to the boards. Apparently, from the difference in price, a fund will be established to pay for the multitude of officials that will be required for the functioning of the scheme. The boards will determine everything from the price of milk to the people who will be allowed to sell it. Distributors and retailers offending against the Board's regulations would be liable to fines of £100 plus half the price of the milk sold. It is fairly obvious that the Ministry of Food will have little disagreement with the scheme and it is only a question of time before it is put into operation. The big combines and the industrialists will get a handsome rake-off at every turn while the farmers are squeezed dry. They have only themselves to blame, reliance on the committee rooms instead of their own militant efforts will reduce them to the chaos of 1930. And the public—they will be fooled into thinking that the high prices emanate from the farmers and thus their righteous indignation will be directed in the wrong direction. The industrialists are clever. Watch them.

The Boss Feels His Weight

Employers who, a year or so ago, were polite to shop convenors, trade union officials and production committees are now feeling the nostalgic urge of peace time "managerial rights". Feeling like champions, they are beginning to chuck their weight about and are already practising shouting "Get out of my office!"

From Dundee comes a report, similar to reports from most other parts of Britain, of the dismissal of Andrew Crowe, a fitter and member of the A.E.U., for breaking the Defence Regulations by distributing literature in a war factory. The literature was nothing more terrifying than a handbill announcing a meeting to recruit members for the A.E.U. "million members campaign". The bill was published by the Dundee District Committee of the A.E.U.

Trade union officials and Communists feel that the employers are letting them down by this sort of thing. The contrary is the case. They have let themselves down by their servile attitude.

The Upper Classes

The value of a good education was demonstrated in Cambridge on Guy Fawkes' Night, Sunday, November 5, when undergraduates celebrated bonfire night in the town. Cars were overturned and windows of a laden bus were broken to the danger of passengers. A car was burned and a bonfire lit in the market place. To feed the flames, these members of the upper class, without whose guidance we should not know how to behave, broke up the framework of the stalls which provide the livelihood of hard working people. Attempts to burn and overturn British and American army lorries failed.

The police did not prevent this display of culture. How different when they charge a crowd of unemployed men, women and children who ask for bread by walking in orderly procession. How different the sights I have seen when police charge along the streets of a mining village, batoning young and old.

At Cambridge on Sunday, the police only intervened when soldiers threatened to beat up the rioting students who were endangering women and children. They intervened to protect the students. People who live in university are used to such manners. Do you believe that you could not run your life without the aid of such hooligans?

SYNDICALIST.

'Our' Leaders No. 1 Ebby Edwards

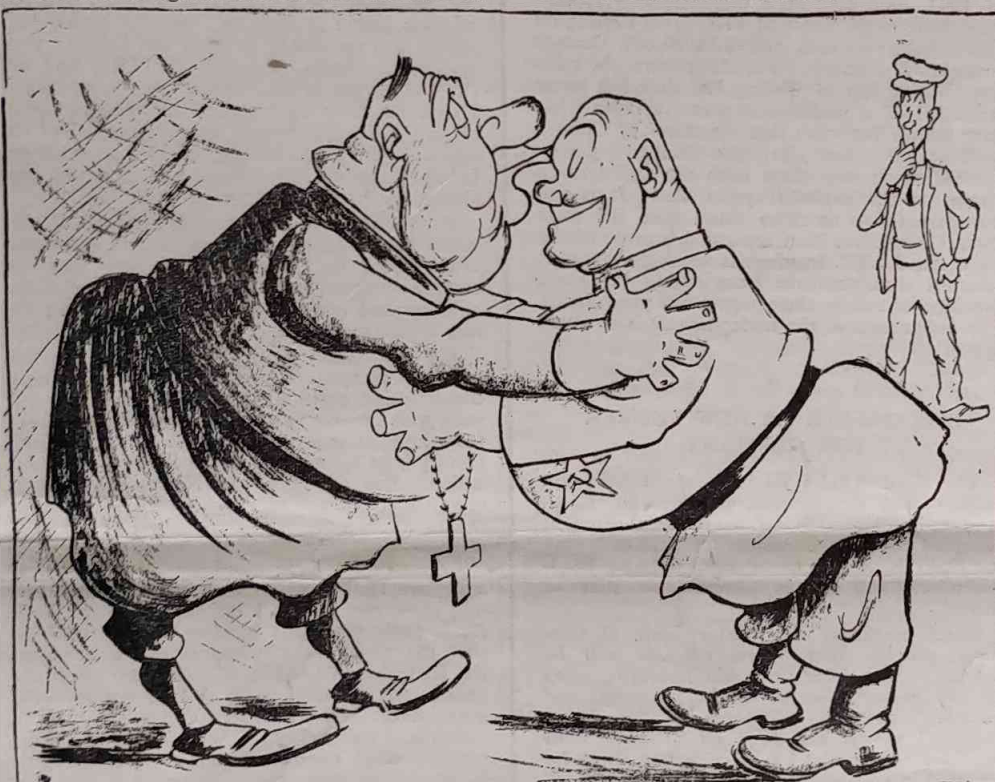
(Chairman T.U.C. 1943-44 and Secretary M.F.G.B.)

"In May, 1918, backed solely by the miners and while still working in the pit, he fought a by-election in Wansbeck as a Socialist, anti-war, 'peace by negotiation' candidate. It was a hopeless fight from the start, but he did well to come within 500 votes of success. He tried again in November, 1918, the 'coupon' election, and was beaten. Ten years later, his third attempt to enter Parliament was successful. He represented the constituency of Morpeth from 1929 until 1931, when Labour was heavily defeated in the General Election."

"Time has had its way. Here is a mellower Ebby Edwards than he who denounced the bookish economics of Ruskin and stamped the streets of Wansbeck calling 'Down with the Imperialist war'."

"Ebby to-day believes in getting things done by negotiation rather than by agitation. He is a committee man rather than an orator; he prefers the conference table to the soap-box, the board-room to the barricades. Though once a class warrior, he now puts his trust in industrial co-operation. He believes in an orderly world."

Observer, 15/10/44.



The Bishop of Chelmsford, Dr. Henry Wilson, who presided at the opening session, said: "I dare to forecast that in a few years, butter won't melt in the mouths of the Germans, they won't recognise themselves. The transformation will be effected by the fact that the European roost is no longer ruled by them but by Russia." *Star*, 4/11/44.

Franco must thank Churchill

(Continued from p. 1)

another aspect. A great number of Spanish anti-fascists who had taken refuge in France in 1939 have fought with the French maquis in Southern France and now that the French problem is partially solved they are naturally anxious to concentrate their efforts on the liberation of Spain. One of their first steps has been the occupation of Spanish consulates in the South of France and the broadcasting from Radio Toulouse.

FRANCE'S EQUIVOCAL ATTITUDE

The Spanish guerrillas have played an important role in the liberation of France but the French government does not seem too ready to express its gratitude in any tangible form. The *Daily Mirror* 27/10/44 describes their role in the following terms: "For some strange reason Britain was led to believe that all the Maquis in Southern France were Frenchmen. This is nonsense. A large proportion of their best and toughest fighters consisted of many thousands of Spaniards who had escaped from Spain during, and after, the civil war."

It is obvious that those Spanish anti-fascists did not fight for democracy as understood by Mr. Churchill or for a return to the status quo. They knew democratic governments for their worth. They had been let down by the democracies during the civil war, they had been put into concentration camps under the worst possible conditions by the Daladier Government when they took refuge in France. It is therefore likely that the Spanish fighters of the maquis fought not a patriotic war but a class war against all kinds of oppression and exploitation.

This may explain why the de Gaulle government seems merely to tolerate their existence and by some sneaking manoeuvres even tries to reduce their power while it establishes friendly relations with Franco.

One of its first moves has been to intern Spaniards living in Paris. On the 4th Oct., the *News Chronicle* reported that: "After the liberation foreigners living in Paris were summoned to the Prefecture of Police. Among them were many Spanish Republican exiles. Those who had no regular employment were taken to the Kellerman Barracks in Paris where they were told they would be drafted to labour battalions." This is a repetition of the same shameful treatment meted out to the Spanish exiles in 1939. The National Council of Resistance has protested but it is not known if conditions have been altered.

Following the fighting which has taken place in Northern Spain the de Gaulle government has given further evidence of its desire to keep on good terms with General Franco. *The Observer*

29/10/44 has reported that: "Senor Lequerica, the Spanish Foreign Minister, has seen the French representative at Madrid and they apparently agreed that the trouble is not likely to develop. On the Spanish side Franco disposes of adequate troops; on the French side there have been issued orders to the F.F.I. to withdraw 12 kilometres from the frontier. These measures, it is expected, will have a calming effect."

On the 11th October Franco had had the impudence to offer General de Gaulle's Provincial Government "all the facilities to eliminate the armed bands of Spanish members of the Maquis operating in Southern France". De Gaulle must have declined or ignored the offer but it looks as if he intended to put his house in order all the same by eliminating the Maquis which he used to shower with praise from the microphone of the B.B.C. A final proof of the good relations which exist between the two governments is that Franco has got back his consulates in Southern France and recognised the de Gaulle government.

POLITICIANS PREPARE SPAIN'S "LIBERATION"

Efforts are made by Left-wing parties, mostly under Communist inspiration, to build up a body which will be able to take over the government of Spain should the Spanish people overthrow Franco. At the beginning of November a convention has been held in Toulouse to co-ordinate the efforts of the Spanish exiles in France under the leadership of the Junta Suprema (Spain's Council of National Resistance) in Madrid and through the channel of the National Union in France.

Both these bodies can only be treated with the extreme suspicion; though they claim to represent the Spanish people no well known revolutionary militant belongs to it. It suddenly sprung up two years ago just after the Communists were excluded from the Junta Nacional de Liberacion, composed of Socialists and Republicans, which was formed in Mexico. It is composed of members of some of the most reactionary parties in Spain.

According to the *Daily Worker* 26/10/44 "The Junta is modelled on the French National Resistance Council and includes representatives of the Right-wing C.E.D.A., the Catholic Popular Party, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, trade-unions and the Carlists". For an anti-fascist alliance it is certainly an unorthodox one! The C.E.D.A. was the first fascist party to be created in Spain and paved the way to Franco's rising. Its leader Gil Robles, who is said to belong to the Junta was one of the most hated men in Spain and was mainly responsible for the massacre of the Asturian miners in 1934.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

● POLICY

TRADE UNIONISM OR SYNDICALISM? Tom Brown 3d. (postage 1d.)
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND George Woodcock 2d. (postage 1d.)
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY George Woodcock 2d. (postage 1d.)
VOTE—WHAT FOR? E. Malatesta 2d. (postage 1d.)

● THEORY

A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM A. Berkman 1s. (postage 2d.)
ANARCHY OR CHAOS George Woodcock 2s. 6d. (postage 3d.)
ANARCHY E. Malatesta 2d. (postage 1d.)
KROPOTKIN—Selections from his Writings Chosen by Herbert Read 192 pages Cloth 6s. 6d. paper 2s. 6d. (post 2d.)
THE WAGE SYSTEM P. Kropotkin 1s. (postage 1d.)
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT P. Kropotkin 3d. (postage 1d.)
THE STATE—ITS HISTORIC ROLE P. Kropotkin 1s. (postage 2d.)
MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM P. Kropotkin 112 pages 1s. (postage 2d.)
THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM Herbert Read 1s. (postage 2d.)

● GENERAL

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE Tom Brown 1s. (postage 1d.)
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT Icarus 4d. (postage 1d.)
THE KRONSTADT REVOLT A. Cilia 1s. (postage 1d.)
THE ISSUES IN THE PRESENT WAR Marcus Graham 3d. (postage 1d.)
THE MARCH TO DEATH John Olday 6d. (postage 1d.)
THE LIFE WE LIVE—THE DEATH WE DIE Hand printed drawings 6s. (postage 6d.)
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE William Godwin 3d. (postage 1d.)
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS 16 pages 1s. (postage 1d.)
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA M. L. Berneri 1s. (postage 2d.)

FREEDOM PRESS 27 BELSIZE RD., LONDON, N.W.6.