

WAR *For Anarchism* **COMMENTARY**

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TWOPENCE

GONE WITH THE WIND

Funeral of the Communist International

AT LAST THE putrescent corpse of the Comintern has been given a pauper's funeral in a corner of the international graveyard. To judge by the steadily increasing stink which has been associated with its name for the twenty odd years of its existence, this indecent interment has long been due. Indeed, so far as the interests of the workers were concerned, the Comintern was a stillborn monster, and its putting under the ground is likely to be attended by very few tears, either among politicians or people.

This nominally colossal organisation, pretending to represent many millions of members in almost every country in the world, has been ended by a recommendation signed by a dozen people, and probably on closer examination, if the matter were worth it, we should find that the idea came from the head of one man, our poor old Uncle Joe. This, of course, is fully in accordance with the theory of 'democratic centralism' which was enunciated in the early days of the Comintern as a means of imposing a hierarchical structure and has persisted ever since. It was, of course, also laid down that no alteration in the constitution could be made without a world conference of all the constituent parties. The excuse given now is that it would be impossible to call a world conference under war conditions. But the bosses of the Comintern have never been very conscientious in carrying out the rules, for it was also laid down that there should be a world conference every two years, whereas in fact there have been only seven conferences in well over twenty years of life. And there was no open war for most of that period.

The constituent parties do not appear to have been consulted, and only a few of the national parties are represented among the signatories. There is, for instance, no signature of a representative of the C.P.G.B., although Harry sits on the Presidium and

Wullie is a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The parties were indeed given the opportunity to ratify the decision, but there was no suggestion that any difference would be made if they decided against dissolution. Probably that would be regarded as sinning against the democratic centralist principle, and would involve expulsion in any case, so one can understand why the well tailored gentlemen who arrived at King Street on Monday did not think it worth their while to show any fight.

Does this shabby funeral of a somewhat inefficient servant mean that the Kremlin will in fact remain without some kind of international tie-up among its various fifth columns. We should indeed be very ill-advised to take the dissolution at its face value. The Bolsheviks have always upheld enthusiastically that 'A rose by any other name would smell as sweet (?)', and the history of their regime in Russia is full of instances where they abolished the name of an institution while retaining its substance. The Tcheka got a bad name for itself, so it was dissolved and the OGPU appeared in its place. The OGPU stank even more, so it in turn vanished from Russian life—to be replaced by the new Commissariat for Internal Affairs. There is, however, every evidence that, under whatever name it chose to operate, the Bolshevik political police has acted exactly the same filthy role. There is no reason why the Comintern should not survive similarly in a *de facto* manner, although its name and outward constitution have been destroyed for the benefit of outsiders. We have already examples of Communist party organisations which have lost their apparent connection with the source and yet have continued to behave according to the dictates of the Kremlin puppet-master. During the Spanish War the Communist Party in Catalonia appeared to lose its iden-

tity in a fusion with the Socialist Party from which was born the P.S.U.C. (United Socialist Party of Catalonia). In fact, by this clever manoeuvre the Communist Party merely extended its influence, and the new organisation came completely under the domination of the Comintern representative in Barcelona, Antonov-Ovseenko, Russian Consul-General (since liquidated). In a similar way the American Communist Party was more recently disaffiliated from the Comintern, but this was obviously merely a trick to facilitate friendly intercourse between the Russian and American Governments, for the American Party has ever since followed the same line as any affiliated party, and Browder's statements obviously come from the same gramophone factory as Harry Pollitt's.

In reality, the Comintern will be effectively abolished only when the national parties cease to receive money and instructions from Moscow. We shall believe it as a fact only when we see frayed cuffs in King Street and find the *Daily Worker* beginning to utter criticisms of the policy of the Russian Government.

The speculation remains as to what will happen to the now nominally independent parties in the various countries. One of the reasons given for the dissolution was that the International was only useful during the period of tutelage of the various parties, and that now they have reached maturity and responsibility it is no longer of any value. This is of course in direct contradiction with the early statements of the Comintern, which proclaimed the in-

ternational nature of the working class struggle and stated categorically that it could not be carried out effectively by independent national parties, but that all such distinctions must be sunk in the international movement. There also seems something peculiarly insulting in the suggestion that the great Communist parties of such countries as Germany (with a voting power of six millions) and France (with a voting power of two millions) were merely in their childhood. But there seems no limit to the extent to which Communists are willing to act as doormats to their superiors in the organisational hierarchy.

In England it will be interesting to see what will be the effect of this event on the question of the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party. The principal objection of the Labour Party in the past has been that the C.P. takes its orders from Moscow. This, however, is now rather more difficult to prove, although probably just as true, and it seems that the Labour Executive will be in a somewhat embarrassing position when faced by the arguments of its own affiliationists. The Labour Party, however, know well enough the role the Communist organisations in the past have played in hindering the activities of working class parties and, if only to preserve their own standing, are likely to remain cautious towards the blandishments of the Comfats.

In laying our wreath of dandelions at the graveside, we would conclude our funeral oration by a tribute to the unexampled record of the Comintern in the history of the working class movement. No organisation has been more efficient in sabotaging workers' organisations, in wrecking revolution, in persecuting and assassinating revolutionary militants, no organisation has left behind it a blacker trail of villainy and treachery. Even its tutor, the reactionary international of the Society of Jesus, has in all its centuries of existence contributed no more to the cause of reaction than the Third International in its two decades of life.



**The International which
never! dies!**

AMERICAN COAL STRIKE

As anticipated in the last issue, John L. Lewis is endeavouring to strangle the coal strike by delaying tactics. The miners have not won their demands, though the 15 days' "truce" is now up. That the need for strike action still exists is shown by the fact that several thousand miners have come out again in defiance of Lewis.

ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

GERMAN FLOODS

WHEN they occur from natural causes floods destroy more human life and produce more human misery than almost any other disaster with the possible exception of earthquakes and major epidemics. Such catastrophes immediately bring to the surface the instincts of mutual solidarity men always feel when confronted by hostile natural forces. Even as far away as China the floods of the Yang Tze and Hwang Ho call forth generous responses to relief fund appeals. And in the U.S. where floods are common in areas where capitalist greed has produced widespread soil erosion, the plight of the homeless and bereaved excites tremendous sympathy in every American.

By contrast, how repulsive has been the Press gloatings over the numbers killed or rendered homeless in the floods caused by the R.A.F.'s breaching of the Ruhr dams! This exploit, a logical outcome of war needs, exposes once and for all the myth that the "R.A.F. does not kill women and children". The people, needless to say, who will chiefly have suffered from these man-made floods, are the poorest workers, those least able to get away.

SOUND AND FURY

CHURCHILL'S speech to the American congress was one of the noisiest and emptiest he had ever made in his life. By now we are used to the heavy boasting, the disgusting delight in bloodshed and the fundamental ambiguity which characterise most of the effusions of this demagogue, but this time he seems to have exceeded himself in presenting very little with a big noise. The cheap triumph in Tunisia caused by the virtual military strike of the German and Italian soldiers is made the subject for much felicitation, and the rest of the speech consists almost entirely of windy threats of dire revenge on the Axis powers. More than once, however, he showed the unsure basis of his assertions, as when he said:

"I do not intend to be responsible for any suggestion that the war is won, or that it will soon be over. That it will be won by us I am sure. But how and why and when cannot be foreseen, still less foretold."

There is an interesting contrast between this speech and that a few days before to the Home Guard, in which he adopted a tone of calculated caution and attempted to resurrect the stinking myth of the German invasion. This time he was superficially confident throughout, until the last few words in which he mentioned the grave danger of 'the undue prolongation of the war'. It will be remembered that not very long ago we were being told that the

Allies were much more fitted than the Germans for a long war, yet now Churchill tells us that a long war may, by causing the Democracies to become 'tired or bored or split', militate in favour of the Axis. The suggestion that the Allies might be 'split' shows that Churchill sees in the back of his mind the falseness of the unity that exists between them and the probability of an irreconcilable clash of interests among the United Nations if the war lasts too long.

But probably the most significant thing about the speech is that it is almost entirely about the war. What will happen after victory or 'peace' is not mentioned. This is typical of the present Conservative tendency to soft-pedal talk of post-war improvements, and reveals the secret hope of such people as Churchill to get as near to the *status quo* as is possible. One has only to read this speech to see how little the workers can gain from the war or from the peace Churchill envisages after it is over.

SPANISH MUTINY

THE news of the destruction of the Spanish naval base at Ferrol is scanty, and part of what we have is in the form of unconfirmed reports. What is certain is that fires have swept the depot and that explosions have caused great damage to buildings, dock structures and ships. What is reported is that when Franco ordered the fleet to the Balearic Islands and the Canaries, the sailors mutinied and that the damage to the naval base and shipping was caused during the mutiny.

There is no doubt that the Spanish government and their many sinister friends in England will persist in their denials of the reports of a mutiny. Yet it is evident that a destruction of such thoroughness cannot have been the result of mere accident, nor does any theory of small scale sabotage fit in with the circumstances. Thus we are driven back by what circumstantial evidence there is to accept the report of mutiny as giving the only really satisfactory explanation of the incident.

If indeed a mutiny has taken place, it is an indication that the revolutionary mood of the people of Spain has not grown less since the days when the workers' achievements of the civil war sank under the reaction, betrayed by the authoritarians within and crushed by those without. It may also herald a wider action among the Spanish people, for the sailors of navies have a traditional and honourable role in the revolutions of the past. The sailors of Kronstadt in Russia and those of Kiel in Germany were foremost in the struggles that led to the overthrow of the German and Russian empires.

An interesting sidelight on this news is the report that one of the destroyed ships was the cruiser *Canarias*, which was used by Franco in the civil war, both for ordinary naval operations and for the bombardment of coast towns, including Malaga. There is an ironic touch in the idea of the Spanish naval men themselves destroying the warship which was thus used against their fellow workers.

RUSSIA'S LEBENSRAUM

FEARS that Russia may occupy a too prominent position after the war begin to manifest themselves in the American Press. The magazine *Life* whose editor H. R. Luce created a scandal some time ago by denouncing Britain's Imperialist policy now turns a worried look towards Russia. In the Editorial of a special issue dedicated to the U.S.S.R. (29/3/43) it expresses cautious regrets at the U.S.S.R. "realistic policy":

"The process of integrating our future with the U.S.S.R. is bound to be a slow one. Though we both have the same aims—the advancement of our peoples—the methods we employ are in many cases diametrically opposed. One thing we can count on in the light of the record is that the U.S.S.R. is 'realistic'. For instance, before Munich, she had been the greatest advocate of collective security, but when she saw that the democracies would not support that policy, she turned completely around and gained time to prepare herself by signing a pact with Hitler. Conceivably, having been forced to play a lone hand, at terrible cost in Russian lives, she will find it realistic to go on playing it in the future. Such a decision would doubtless lead to claims on nearby territory, such as the Baltic nations; to the annexation of strategic areas and the setting up of satellite states—all in the name of security. And however this might violate our ideas of a just and stable peace, there is little we could do to prevent it."

Ambassador Davies's answers to some questions by the Editors of *Life* on Russia's territorial demands can only increase their apprehension about "Russia's realism". Joseph Davies cannot be accused of viewing Russia with suspicion; he has not only in his book *Mission to Moscow* but in articles since then expressed his faith in Stalin's regime.

About Russia's territorial demands he declared:

"It would be natural for them to demand what any other people would, under similar circumstances. First, they would naturally want that back which had previously been taken away from them by force after the last war. After that, it would be natural for them to require any such territory as that which they considered to be vital to their security in the event of possible future European attack.

The probable extent of Russia's territorial demands will therefore depend, in my opinion, upon what conditions are when peace comes and upon what kind of a world they think is going to come out of the peace. It should be remembered that the Baltic States were all carved out of, and taken away from Russia, after the last war. It is also the fact that the very Germany, which they are now fighting, in 1917 and 1918 took away from Russia nearly all of the territory gained westward since the accession of Peter the Great, including the Ukraine and White Russia. It would be only natural that they should want to get it back from a defeated Germany. Five million Ukrainians were arbitrarily converted into Polish

citizens after the last war. Bessarabia, which was taken from Russia at about this time by Rumania, had been Russian for 100 years. The United States refused to recognize Bessarabia officially as a part of Rumanian territory. It could be contended with much force that Soviet claims to all of this territory would not be "territorial aggrandizement" and would not be inconsistent with pledges made by the Soviet Government either in the treaty with Britain last June, or with the covenants contained in the Joint Declaration of the United Nations made in January 1924, in Washington. It could be contended that the acquisition of such territories did not constitute aggression, but simply the restoration to the Soviets of that which had been taken from them by force and the rectifying of previous wrongs.

Further, if the Soviet Government believes that it is confronted with the same type of world which existed before this war, they will undoubtedly require that which self-preservation demanded in this war, namely, a sufficient extension of territory on its western frontier to make itself secure against possible European attack. That would mean a part of Finland and, possibly, a part of Poland up to the Curzon line. That, it will be remembered, was the line determined by the Curzon Commission under the Versailles Treaty as the line of racial demarcation of the Polish and Russian nationalities.

Asked what does Russia regard as her proper spheres of influence? Davies replied:

"That would again depend upon the character of the world which the Soviet Government would confront at the conclusion of the war. If the post-war world can be assured of the enforcement of one principle, to wit: that military power cannot be used by any nation to enforce its will, then these questions of vital interest can be determined on the basis of equity and decency. The Soviets, I believe, would go as far as any nation to bring that about.

To answer the question flatly, however, there is no doubt that there are certain matters in which Russia has a vital interest. There is the matter of access to the sea and warm-water ports. That, particularly, affects the Pacific and the Mediterranean. Russia has always been concerned with the ports of Port Arthur and Darien on the Pacific side, of which she was deprived in 1905. Again, the use by her and other nations of the highway which the Dardanelles affords for shipping and an outlet from the Black Sea, and through the Mediterranean to the oceans, would naturally and rightly be a matter of concern. Also, realistically, in a hostile or an anarchic world, self-preservation might demand the thrusting forth of their defences against a possible repetition of German attack through the territory of smaller states adjacent to Russia, which are not strong enough themselves to prevent a strong Germany, or other aggressor, from making a highway of these smaller countries to attack the Soviet Union. To illustrate: The great sea base of Kronstadt, and the city of Leningrad, are only 25 miles from the Finnish border and within easy reach of German long-range guns. The Soviet Union made a very strong effort to come to an agreement with the Finnish Government, whereby the Soviets could compensate them for concessions of territories which were vital to Soviet defence against German attack. These the Finnish Government, in fear of Germany, was unable to concede because, obviously, they were under the German gun and, unfortunately, still are.

Presumably, all of these vital interests and others, such as fair access to raw materials, the common use of the seas and the air as highways for all of the nations in the world community, and similar matters, must ultimately be adjusted on a basis of reciprocity and a fair balancing of the interests of the various states, if there is to be a stable peace."

TRADE UNIONS and the SERVILE STATE

"MORE LABOUR MEN into the Government" is the present Communist slogan, and they publicise it in the *Daily Worker*, by a very expensive poster campaign and, chiefly, by sticky-backs, furtively licked and put up in popular places. It is difficult to understand how the aim is to be accomplished by such methods, for ministers are selected by the Prime Minister—unless Mr. Churchill receives his political inspiration from studying lavatory walls. Still, let us consider the activities of the Labour men now in the Government that we might know the effect of augmenting them. Three Labour men sit in the Cabinet, Attlee, Bevin and Morrison. Little can be said of the colourless Attlee, the Deputy Prime Minister; small publicity comes the way of a man who deputises for one who demands all the limelight.

The record of the others does not inspire confidence in the slogan; both Morrison and Bevin, it seems, have been chosen to do the most dirty work of capitalism. Morrison imprisons men for their political convictions, suppresses newspapers and initiates blackleg fire-watching. Bevin (and here we are most concerned with Bevin for he is the representative of the trade unions rather than the Labour Party) suppresses strikes and imprisons latecoming workers, forcibly transfers workers from their homes, forces down wages, introduces labour conscription and the Essential Works Order. It is foolish to say, as many Labour apologists do, "These men are only individuals", for they sit in the Cabinet as representatives of the trade unions and the Labour Party. Churchill formed his government on May 10th, 1940, and invited the Labour leaders to join it. The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party agreed and on Whit Monday, May 13th, the Annual Conference of the Party endorsed the decision by 2,413,000 to 170,000 votes. All this was to be expected, for war-time legislation in general, and the actions of Labour ministers in particular, are but the fulfilment of the Socialism of the Labour movement. Not the Tory Party, but the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress are the vanguard of the march towards the totalitarian state.

The chief difference between Tory and Labour leaders is that the latter want all war-time restrictions to continue after the war, and even to be extended. Almost every week Morrison and Bevin make speeches urging the post-war retention of rationing, the Essential Works Order and other horrors.

That the worst measures aimed against the workers by these ministers are not accidental or personal is proved by the constant chorus of praise sung to such Acts by Labour propagandists and journals. Let us consider the worst of these Acts, the E.W.O. This Order ties the worker to the job, thus removing competition among employers and keeping down wages, and in other ways strikes at the worker's free-

By
Tom Brown

dom and pay packet. On the other hand it is supposed to prevent employers dismissing workers, except by permission of the National Service Officer. This is a sugar coating to a very bitter pill, for the Order adds "except in case of serious misconduct". It is largely left to the employer to decide what is "serious misconduct" and if it has been committed; no definition is given in the Order. Dismissed workers may appeal to an Appeal Board, but rarely receive the support of that tribunal. If the tribunal does support them, the National Service Officer may over-rule the Appeal Board. If he does not, and the employer chooses to ignore the decision he may be fined a paltry sum and allowed to have his will. If the worker defies the E.W.O. he is imprisoned. All this does not prevent the Labour movement singing praises to the Order. Here is Arthur Deakin, Acting General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, writing on the Essential Work Order in *Tribune* (14/5/43):

"The unhindered freedom of the individual to sell his labour freely, or to buy the cheapest labour in the market for his service, can be in some degree restricted without violating any essential liberty of the subject; in fact it is already restricted, and has been ever since trade boards were set up.

Surveying the probable structure of the immediate post-war years, I am convinced that it may be necessary for existing restrictions to be retained, and even expanded, if progress towards a universally higher standard of living is to be maintained.

I, in common with every other responsible trade union leader, welcomed the Essential Work Order.

For the Essential Work Order is, I believe, with us for some years to come, and I imagine that its removal will be gradual rather than sudden and complete. Employers and workers will have to co-operate in making it workable as something very like a permanency, and that should not be an impossible task.

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If a system could be devised whereby workers could leave their jobs if they wished, but only after consultation with a disinterested official of the Ministry of Labour; and only if he was assured that the resignation would harm neither the worker himself nor anyone else (think of this in connection with young workers eager to throw up steady, progressive jobs for the glitter of evanescent high wages) it might not be a bad price to pay for a guaranteed wage and indemnification against unfair dismissal."

(Note; the "guaranteed wage" of the E.W.O. is much lower in buying power than the pre-war wage).

The retention of war-time legislation is not the only trend or aim in modern trade unionism. Another marked tendency is towards the creation of permanent officials and the increase of centralisation and bureaucratic control. Indeed, great strides have been taken in that direction since the war. The Societies (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1940, which the Government had passed, after consultation with the General Council of the T.U.C., allows the unions to relax their rules as to the holding of branch and other meetings and conferences and the election of officers upon receiving consent of the Chief Registrar. With his support the T.U. officials may at any time declare a dictatorship.

A third tendency is towards compulsory trade union membership. This scheme is pushed forward in a furtive way by the *Daily Worker*. The idea is to have an Act compelling recognition of trade unions by employers (scarcely necessary now) and to compel all workers to become members. Perhaps the contributions will be stopped from their wages as in the case of health insurance. Compulsory trade union membership was operated by the employers for many years in the case of the Shipping Federation and the National Union of Seamen. Before joining a ship the unhappy seaman was forced to sign a form, the notorious P.C.5, consenting to have stopped from his wages all arrears of union contributions. While at sea he ran up a debt of one shilling a week to the union, a debt safeguarded by P.C.5. When he paid off his ship he ran into arrears again and on signing on again was met by P.C.5 and a bill of arrears. The seamen hated this and tried hard to break the combination of employers and trade union officials. Several rival labour outfits attempted to exploit the discontent of the seamen by setting up in business themselves. Shinwell formed a seafaring union and failed. The Communist Party started a red seamen's union and did even worse. Bevin started a seamen's section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, but it was almost limited to fishermen, and Bevin soon made peace with the N.U.S. It was no question of principle that caused these rivalries, it was only a problem of whose racket it should be.

The tendency of the Labour movement is towards the corporate state. In his latest pamphlet

Morrison states that the real post-war question of the Labour Party "is the great issue of the relationship between the State and industry". But what the Labour Party calls Socialism we prefer to call State Capitalism. Morrison calls the London Passenger Transport Board Socialism. Perhaps it is, but it bears no resemblance to the common ownership and workers' control of the means of production advocated by the Anarchist Federation. Public corporations of the Labour Party type solve no problem of the workers. Under the L.P.T.B. the busmen are more exploited than ever. Nor do the passengers get a better service, "public service" is anything but service for the public. I have before me a pamphlet of the L.P.T.B., *Public Co-operation in Transport* in which the writer, J. E. Cowderoy, suggests making the passengers fit the bus service, instead of the other way about.

"It follows, therefore, that the maximum transport required should be reduced and that the workpeople ought to travel when accommodation can be made available. A partial compromise may be secured by the following:

- (a) The abolition of special or workmen's fares, which have a time factor towards the end of which they tend to encourage heavy flows of traffic;
- (b) A partial adoption of a 9-hour day;
- (c) The adoption of two or three shifts a day."

(page 6).

This is known as *public service*, and to Mr. Morrison and the Labour Party it is practical Socialism.

We might fill the paper with examples of the Labour movement's journey to the corporate state, but for these we recommend you to your own experience—you will have plenty of it. And for the Syndicalist alternative to decadent trade unionism there is the pamphlet *Trade Union or Syndicalism?*

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA

By ANTON CILIGA

WAR COMMENTARY readers who have read Ciliga's pamphlet "The Kronstadt Revolt" should not miss the opportunity of reading a major work by the same author. Freedom Press offer this 300-page book, originally published at 7/6, for

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Freedom of the Air

THE PROCESS OF war has brought about major technical changes in the Transport Industry. This developments will necessarily bring changes in other spheres which will adversely affect all existing interests.

Naturally, there is alarm and anxiety among the victors of to-morrow. "Business," as the General Council of British Shipping in their recent report pointed out, "wants Freedom and Efficiency, therefore, Britain must not be afraid to say to her Allies that a strong mercantile marine is as necessary to her as her Army, Navy, and Air Force".

History does not make jokes! Facts speak for themselves; the manufacture of aircraft is to-day, the largest industry in Britain—it is mainly concentrated on fighters and bombers, leaving the building of transport planes to the American factories. The trouble is that at the end of the war the U.S.A. will inevitably possess the bulk of the Allied productive capacity for transport aircraft, as well as merchant shipping. The power who rules the air and sea will rule the world. That is precisely why even the present "Allies" cannot agree. They may argue about a "lasting peace", which in capitalist society means the peace of the grave yard—or even argue that "adequate opportunity must be left for private enterprise to serve the nation and the world, alongside the greatest possible measure of freedom from restriction and bureaucratic control". But they will never agree on questions concerning the biggest profits, sole possession of the richest resources of raw material, or the control of the greatest number of workers. Nevertheless, the latter is the soul of capitalist imperialism.

Meanwhile, the Joint Air Transport Committee which represents the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of British Industries, and the London Chamber of Commerce has published "Air Transport Facts" which claims to aim at freedom of air passage, freedom of air facilities, freedom of air trade, and, "in the true spirit of the Atlantic Charter" explains what these freedoms really mean.

(1) "... would permit airworthy aircraft registered in any State to fly over any other sovereign State without let or hindrance, provided they did not land." (2) "... would permit any airworthy aircraft registered in any State to utilize the airports, weather reports, radio controls, and other auxiliary services of all other States without let or hindrance, provided that such aircraft do not

engage in any trade or commerce arising from or in relation to such landings." (3) "... would in its widest sense permit airworthy aircraft registered in any State to operate for hire or record into, out of, or within any other sovereign State"—and, adds the writer of the *Chamber of Commerce Journal* whom we are quoting, "it (freedom of the air) is certainly not a nostrum to be included without thought among the freedoms for which we fight".

The issue is clear; authoritarian control of the whole means of transport, world-wide unrestricted freedom for the victorious imperialist capitalist class, and a well-armed all-embracing police force to circumscribe the "freedom" of the working-class.

Capitalism is not capable of mastering its own contradictions. Events, however, are happening fast; they do not wait. It is not what the Imperialist powers wish to do, but—no social phenomenon commits suicide—what they, on the ground of class interest, are forced to do. History proves that a revolutionary development in transport cannot remain isolated from other technical and social factors. Thus, the workers have no choice. They must fight, in a revolutionary way without compromise as a class, against capitalism and nationalism, or they will be driven into a new, hitherto unknown, slavery by one or other imperialist group.

To be sure, the major development in transport is symptomatic of the new transformation in the foundations of society. Authoritarian capitalist slavery, or free workers-communities, that is the question. Freedom of the air and sea is possible only when the self-acting fighting units of the working class, the workers'-councils of the entire Transport Industry take over Air and Sea transport.

ICARUS.

WAR COMMENTARY SUBSCRIBERS

A considerable number of Subscriptions expire this month, and we would ask all readers who receive a green renewal notice to send us their subscription for a further period, or if they no longer wish to subscribe to WAR COMMENTARY (which we hope is not the case) to return the renewal form marked accordingly.

There are a number of readers to whom renewal notices have been sent several times without response. We reluctantly strike off subscribers from our lists because more often than not we receive a belated renewal of their subscriptions, with apologies. Will those readers please save us extra work and expense by renewing their subscriptions when they receive the first notice and not after the third or fourth?

HOW OUR LEADERS EAT

"Marshal Stalin entertained Mr. Joseph Davies, President Roosevelt's personal envoy to Russia, at an 18-course dinner in the luxurious Catherine Room of the Kremlin.

He proposed a toast to the 'United Nations' and another to 'Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt'.

The 18 courses consisted of 11 courses of hors d'œuvres and seven main courses. It took the guests 4½ hours to eat it."

Evening Standard, 24/5/43.

★

"Mr. Churchill, entertained to luncheon after his Washington speech, had items of food such as neither he nor we can taste at home.

The menu started with segments of succulent American pink grapefruit, which Mr. Churchill thoroughly enjoyed. This was followed by celery, radishes, onions, olives.

The main dish was that great Washington hot weather favourite, creamed chicken on white toast, with salad of fresh lettuce hearts and Wisconsin red cheese.

The sweet was a deep-dish black cherry pie—a separate pie in a small container for each guest—and New York State cream cheese. No alcoholic drinks were served—nothing but coffee, limited to a single cup for each person, tea or milk.

Mr. Churchill's appetite was noticeably good."

Evening Standard, 20/5/43.

★

"To-morrow the United Nations food conference—43 nations represented—opens at Hot Springs, Virginia.

And here, according to the U.S. Press, are the items on the menu for the opening dinner:

Crab-Meat Cocktail

Cantaloupe

Cream of Celery Soup and Consomme

'Mushroom Omelette. Lobster Newburg

Shad Roe and Saute of Spring Chicken

Carrots in Butter. Chips Gauloise,

New Potatoes and Salad Lorenzo

Peach Pie. Wine Cake. Cherries. Ice-Cream

Cheese and Coffee.

There will be no wine, since the liquor ration in Virginia is beer and one pint of spirits a week. However, the visitors are being allowed to bring in one gallon of spirits for themselves."

News Chronicle, 18/5/43.

★

"The British delegation to the United Nations conference on food and agriculture . . . rejected the Russian argument that the question of more food for the Red Army and the Russian civilian population should be discussed at these sessions."

Evening Standard, 24/5/43.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST FEDERATION MEETINGS

Brunswick Street,
every Sunday 3.30 and 7 p.m.

ANARCHIST BOOKSHOP

127 George Street, Glasgow, C.1

TSARIST POLICY

"'Old Bolshevik' Litvinoff (Russian Ambassador to America) and his Revolutionary painting serve notice on all visitors to the Russian Embassy that they are dealing with a Revolutionary government. Yet the foreign policies which the Embassy reflects to-day are not wholly different from the policies it reflected when the Czars reigned in their palace. Ambassador Litvinoff must present the same case for Russia's need of territorial security that the Czar's ambassadors presented and must quiet the same fears of Russian expansionism."

Life, 29/3/43.

Through

INEQUALITIES IN THE RED ARMY

"How does the Red Army man get on for leave, for letters from home, for pay, for rations?"

He gets no leave at all. Once he is in the Red Army he is in until demobilisation. 'Other ranks' are not allowed in cities. Officers come in only when they are on a special mission.

Letter and parcel service to the Red Army sometimes works very well, sometimes not at all. You might get a letter from your man delivered in a week, or it might be three months. One big snag is the shortage of paper at the front. The men have nothing to write home on.

There is a very great division indeed between rates of pay for officers and men of the Red Army. The men get ten roubles a month. That is about 6d. of my money.

An officer of field rank on active service in the line earns up to three or four thousand roubles a month. I have met Red Army officers in Moscow on missions with 20,000 roubles (£50) in their pocket, and nothing to spend it on. Members of Guards divisions—they win the honour of calling themselves guards on the field of battle—get double pay.

The Red Army man's family is not officially notified by the Government if he is killed, although the man's commissar is expected to write a letter. Sometimes he does, often he doesn't.

The Red Army man thinks he is well fed if he gets 2lb. of black bread, one bowl of sour cabbage soup, one bowl of buckwheat porridge a day. If he is within 10 miles of the line he gets a tot of vodka. His iron ration is a bag of dried bread, which he considers a luxury."

Paul Holt in the *Daily Express*, 24/5/43.

WHO IS THE DONKEY?

Mr. Churchill at a White House Press Conference defined the policy of the Allies towards the Italian People in the following terms:

"Of this you may be sure, we shall continue to operate on that donkey at both ends, with a carrot and with a stick."

Evening Standard, 26/5/43.

REMEMBER ROTTERDAM!

"The results of this first effort in the history of war to flood a country for offensive purposes are certain to be devastating to considerable sections of Nazi war production. A disaster, hitherto unimaginable, has overtaken a large civilian population which includes thousands of Germany's skilled key workers. These skilled workers are as much a military objective as the coke ovens they feed and the machines they operate. Nazi Germany is beginning to gulp large doses of the misery her Luftwaffe inflicted on Warsaw and Rotterdam and sought to pour on London."

Evening Standard, 18/5/43.

the Press

MODESTY

"Speaking at a dinner in New York, Mr. Wendell Willkie (quoted by Reuter) said: 'We must enlarge the orbit of nations participating in the leadership of the world.'

Britain and the United States alone' he said, 'would be unable to rule the world. Russia, China and other nations must be permitted to have leading parts.'"

Evening Standard, 19/5/43.

ANOTHER GLORIOUS DUNKIRK

"The German Press calls the defeat in Tunisia 'a six months glorious defence,' says the *Basle Arbeiter Zeitung*, quoted by the Exchange.

'We neutrals are delighted,' it adds, 'that both sides are satisfied at the outcome of the African campaign.'"

Yorkshire Evening Post, 12/5/43.

THE NEW TAMERLANE

"It is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war to overcome at the earliest moment the military, geographical and political difficulties, and begin the process so necessary and desirable of laying the cities and other military centres of Japan in ashes, for in ashes they must surely lie before peace comes back to the world. (Loud cheers)."

Churchill's speech, *News Chronicle, 20/5/43.*

35s. FOR INJURED MINER

"Mr. Will Lawther, president of the Mineworkers' Federation, disclosed in an interview that last week members of the T.U.C. representing the miners, railwaymen, engineers, transport workers, and seamen saw Mr. Herbert Morrison to press for increased compensation rates for injured workmen.

Mr. Lawther said he feared that coal production would be impeded by the knowledge that miners if injured would not receive adequate compensation. Miners at present received a 37s.-a-week war addition to their ordinary wage, but the most an injured miner could draw for himself, whether married or single, was 35s.—two shillings less than the war addition."

Manchester Guardian, 18/5/43.

THE COST OF THE WAR

"Since 1941 violent death has come to 10,000,000 of Russia's People."

"Life", 29/3/1943.

WHAT IS THE D.W. DOING ABOUT IT?

"The so-called Polish Royalist Association,' says Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, in a written reply 'is an imaginary projection from the brain of an individual.

He styles himself King of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Silesia and the Ukraine, Hospodar of Moldavia and High Priest of the Sun.

Needless to say, there is no connection between this eccentric and our Polish Allies."

Evening Standard.

BAD C.P. BOY

"Back from Belfast, Jack Owen told me another story showing the Communist pull in the production drive. The Communist Party organiser, William McCulloch, is known in every shop and shipyard.

In one of the biggest shops, a young engineer, known to the management as a Communist, left his work one evening recently with a job, which would take some time to finish, already set up.

Arriving in the morning he found his job taken down and replaced by some smaller work. For various reasons he was annoyed about this, and demanded that the original piece of work should be restored.

Argument ensued, until the manager was brought to the scene. 'Now come,' he said, 'do the job or I'll tell that fellow McCulloch about you!'

Walter Holmes in the *Daily Worker, 21/5/43.*

C.D. MEN STRIKE

"The first strike of Civil Defence men started this afternoon at Greenwich, when heavy rescue workers returned from the blitzed sites on which they were working and formally asked for a hot meal.

They were refused anything cooked, and decided to wait, if necessary, all day, without doing any more work. They emphasised that they would go into action if called out during a raid.

The men complain that a change in their mealtime, from midday to evening, to save a journey, means that they have to work from 8.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. without anything substantial to eat."

Star, 17/5/43.

VANSITTARTISTS ON BOMBING

"Consider the effect upon morale. Westphalia has already been bombed on a scale unknown outside Germany. Not even at the height of the blitz against Britain has the misery of our people compared with that of the Ruhr. Now comes a new terror—the devastation of scores of thousands of homes by flood.

It is in no gloating spirit that we contemplate the sufferings of the German people. But they have brought it upon themselves. Total war is Hitler's devilish invention, and it is only in terms of total war that his subjects can be brought to their senses."

News Chronicle, 19/5/43.

RECORD OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

AFTER THE COLLAPSE of the Second International at the outbreak of war in 1914, but before the Russian Revolution, Lenin had suggested the formation of a new International of the revolutionary socialist groups who opposed the war on grounds of class struggle but it was not till 1919 that the Third International was formed in Moscow. From the start it was made clear that the new International was to be dominated by the Bolsheviks, and for this reason it was opposed by many among the Marxists including Rosa Luxembourg. She sent Eberlein as German delegate to the preliminary conference with instructions to vote against the formation of such an International. But before the conference began Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht had been murdered and Eberlein, under pressure, withdrew his opposition.

Affiliation to the International was conditional on absolute acceptance of the famous 21 points. These made the 3rd International the most centralized authoritarian body ever formed. Every party which joined had to submit its programme to the approval of the Executive Committee in Moscow (Point 15), while Point 16 laid it down that decisions of not only world congresses but also of the Executive Committee, should overrule decisions of the national parties. Furthermore the internal structure of the national Communist Parties was prescribed. Hence by its very constitution the national C.P.'s were absolutely tied to Moscow. Right from the beginning the Bolsheviks would draft decisions for these parties and require their "leaders" merely to sign on the dotted line.

MOSCOW'S DICTATORSHIP AT WORK

That absolute control over Communist Parties in all countries was Lenin's aim is shown clearly by this constitution. But it was also shown in practice. Independent revolutionists who refused to submit to the dictatorship of Moscow were discredited by all kinds of calumnies, while the Comintern welcomed all kinds of servile place hunters. One of the most glaring examples is that of the French Communist Marcel Cachin. His case also shows to what extent the securing of power in Russia had made Lenin modify his original aim of an international of revolutionary organisations which had opposed the war.

In 1914 Cachin had been one of the most violently patriotic of the French Right Wing Socialists. He had acted as agent of the Allied governments in making overtures to Mussolini to make him come out in the Socialist paper *Avanti* in support of the Allies. Later, Cachin had been sent by the French Government to persuade the

Russian workers to continue the war. Cachin was nevertheless made a leader of the French C.P., and in 1921 was made a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The authoritarianism of the Comintern and the dishonest methods it employed, not only attracted the most servile and careerist elements in the working-class movements but thoroughly disgusted the genuine sincere revolutionaries. The Italian socialist Serrati refused to commit the Italian Party to the decisions of a handful of Russians in Moscow: he was vilified with every kind of calumny. In a letter to Lenin, written in 1920, he declared:

"Your party has six times as many members now as before the Revolution, but notwithstanding the strict discipline and frequent purges, it has not gained much as far as the quality is concerned. Your ranks have been joined by all the slavish elements who always serve the powerful. These elements constitute a blind and cruel bureaucracy which is creating new privileges in Soviet Russia. Those elements which became revolutionary on the day after the Revolution have made of the Proletarian Revolution which cost the masses so much suffering, a source of enjoyment and domination".

(*My Life as a Rebel*, by Angelica Balabanoff).

The effect of this extreme centralization coupled with attacks on all independent revolutionists who refused to be dominated by the Bolsheviks, was to demoralize the revolutionary movements all over the world.

Lenin justified the structure and behaviour of the Comintern on the grounds of the "necessity for stern discipline for the bringing about of the revolution". A brief survey of its activity during the major revolutionary crisis of the past two decades will suffice to show how it worked in practice.

CURBING REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

In 1923 German capitalism was tottering from the repercussions of the war and the inflation. In this most important of potential revolutionary situations the policy of the Comintern was expressed in Stalin's letter to Bukharin and Zinoviev: "*In my opinion the Germans must be curbed and not pushed on.*" The Executive committee ordered the German Communist leader, Brandler, at this time when Governmental authority was held in contempt by the German workers, actually to enter the Social Democratic Government of Saxony. The behaviour of the C.P. in the Hamburg insurrection will be described in an article to appear in the next issue of *War Commentary*.

In 1927 revolutionary feeling was so high in China, that the peasants in many districts expropriated the land and formed peasant soviets. At the same time the industrial workers carried out the most militant strikes in the principal cities. The Comintern ordered the Chinese Communists to discourage the formation of soviets, and to bury their arms. In this way it disarmed the revolutionists and threw them over to Chiang-Kai-Shek to be literally massacred. These moves of the Comintern won the approval of the capitalist countries and offered prospects of fruitful collaboration with Stalin. The ex-

Ambassador to Russia, J. Davies, declared recently:

"As far back as 1938, I was reliably informed in Moscow that the Soviet Union was most helpful to the Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in that it exercised its influence on behalf of the Chinese Government to prevent communistic activities which would impair the common defence against Japan. That is indicative of the kind of decent co-operation which, in my opinion, can be expected from the Soviet Government in the interests of a peaceful world."

But in 1936 a far more important situation arose. On July 19th the Spanish workers organized the armed resistance to Franco. Here, surely, was the opportunity for a so-called revolutionary International to show its capabilities. What happened? The Russian Government, as Gide showed, gave the minimum of publicity in its papers to the fact that the Spanish revolution had ever occurred. Russia was the first power to sign the non-intervention Agreement. Meanwhile the national sections of the Comintern were unanimous in declaring that so far from a revolution having taken place in Spain, the Spanish workers were fighting for bourgeois democracy! Later the agents of the Comintern devoted their energies not to fighting Franco at the front, but to assassinating revolutionists behind the lines, while Communist Brigades destroyed the work of the peasant and workers collectives. The Comintern in Spain acted as the instrument of counter-revolution and devoted its energies to demolishing the work of the Revolution.

ALLIANCE WITH CAPITALISTS

In every revolutionary situation which confronted it the Comintern managed to destroy the revolutionary forces and demoralize the working class. Have they any better record in the day-to-day resistance to the class enemy?

Quite early in its history, the allegedly revolutionary aims of the Comintern stood in contrast to the diplomatic relations of the Soviet Union with other countries.

Thus the Bolsheviks entered into commercial agreements with Mussolini's Fascist Government soon after it assumed power in Italy. On the morning after the murder of the Socialist deputy Matteotti the Soviet Ambassador called on Mussolini. At the very same time when the German Communists were planning the overthrow of the State, the Russian government was not only making Trade agreements with the German capitalist Government, but even making secret arrangements whereby the Germans could evade the military terms of the Treaty of Versailles by establishing arms factories and training its armies on Russian soil. Wherever a clash occurred the claims of Soviet foreign policy prevailed over the needs of the revolutionary class struggle.

The clearest example of the ineptitude of the Comintern is to be found in its attitude towards Nazism. As long ago as 1929 they were declaring that as compared with the German Social Democracy Hitler's National Socialism was the less pernicious. At a session of the International D. Z. Manuisky (whose name appears on the document dissolving the Comintern) declared that "*Fascism of the Hitler type does not represent the chief enemy*". In 1931 the German C.P. actually joined in a campaign to overthrow the predominantly socialist democratic government of Prussia. Even when Hitler came to power in 1933 their slogan continued to be "*After Hitler, our turn*". When Stalin wished to form a treaty with France, the Communist parties were ordered to carry out a Popular Front programme of unity not only with social democrats (formerly stigmatized as "Social Fascists") but with liberals as well.

In 1939, failing a pact with England the Soviet Union made an alliance with Hitler, and the constituent

parties of the Third International opposed the war. On the dissolution of that pact in June 1941 they swung to an extreme social patriotic position.

RUSSIA'S FIFTH COLUMN

The Comintern has almost from the beginning served primarily, not as an instrument for World Revolution, but as an instrument of Russian Foreign Policy. The rigid control over the national communist parties by the Moscow committee has made these parties in effect a powerful Russian Fifth Column in all countries. An important aspect of their functions was the supplying of military information to the Russian Government. In most European countries, Communists have served terms of imprisonment on this kind of charge.

Control over the constituent Communist parties was established in the constitution of the Comintern as laid down by Lenin and Trotsky. Infractions of this discipline resulted in a summons to Moscow and subjection to the supervision of the foreign sections of the GPU. The fate of Willi Muenzenburg, Trotsky and many besides must have had the effect of "encouraging the others". But the Comintern also established a financial stranglehold upon its national parties which were made absolutely dependent upon Moscow. How far this principle was carried is shown by the following example, cited by Jan Valtin. The Swedish C.P. by means of an efficiently run system of seamen's hostels was able to make itself financially independent. The agents of the Comintern therefore set to work to break up this system and so force the too-independent party into dependence on Moscow.

The Comintern therefore has never been an instrument of revolution. Throughout the last twenty years it has passed through the most bewildering changes of policy and political somersaults. Yet throughout this apparent diversity there has remained one consistent thread by which the most contradictory attitudes can be explained. At every turn the Comintern has counted out the needs of Russian foreign policy in relation to capitalist governments.

While cringingly following the commands of the Soviet government, the most brutal and long-standing tyranny of our era, the Comintern throughout its inglorious history has never at any time served the interests of the working class.

LECTURES

EVERY FRIDAY EVENING

7.30 p.m.

JUNE 4th

The Communist International

JUNE 11th

Lecture to be announced

QUESTIONS — DISCUSSION

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GODWIN on LAW

Law is merely relative to the exercise of political force and must perish when the necessity for that force ceases, if the influence of truth do not still sooner extirpate it from the practice of mankind.

* * * * *

Law we sometimes call the wisdom of our ancestors. But this is a strange imposition. It was as frequently the dictate of their passion, of timidity, jealousy, a monopolising spirit, and a lust of power that knew no bounds.

* * * * *

In reality, whatever were the original source of law, it soon became cherished as a cloak for oppression. Its obscurity was of use to mislead the inquisitive eye of the sufferer. Its antiquity served to divert a considerable part of the odium from the perpetrator of the injustice to the author of the law, and still more to disarm that odium by the influence of superstitious awe. It was well known that unvarnished, barefaced oppression could not fail to be the victim of its own operations.

* * * * *

Whatever inconveniences may arise from the passions of men, the introduction of fixed laws cannot be the genuine remedy. Let us consider what would be the operation and progressive state of these passions provided men were trusted to the guidance of their own discretion. Such is the discipline that a reasonable state of society employs with respect to man in his individual capacity; why should it not be equally valid with respect to men acting in a collective capacity? Inexperience and zeal would prompt me to restrain my neighbour whenever he is acting wrong, and by penalties and inconveniences designedly interposed, to cure him of his errors. But reason evinces the folly of this proceeding and teaches me that if he be not accustomed to depend upon the energies of intellect, he will never rise to the dignity of a human being. As long as a man is held in the trammels of obedience and habituated to look to some foreign guidance for the direction of his conduct, his understanding and the vigour of his mind will sleep. Do I desire to raise him to the energy of which he is capable? I must teach him to feel himself, to bow to no authority, to examine the principles he entertains, and render to his mind the reason of his conduct.

The habits which are thus salutary to the individual will be equally salutary in the transactions of communities. Men are weak at present because they have always been told they are weak and must not be trusted with themselves. Take them out of their shackles, bid them enquire, reason and judge, and you will soon find them very different beings.

PRESS FUND

We publish below the contributions to the Press Fund for March and April which we were unable to publish in previous issues of War Commentary for lack of space. We said our thanks to all those who have sent contributions and we remind them and all those who have not sent anything yet that the need for contributions is urgent. We want to be able to continue to bring out new pamphlets and books; for this all your help is required.

MARCH, 1943.

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Glasgow: J.W.	6		Bewdley: B.H.	4	0
Glasgow: Collection, Central Hall (per F.L.)	1	6	London: F.C.D.	2	0
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Stroud: L.G.W.	1	0	Manchester: J.E.B.		8
S. Francisco: Comrades, per L.N.	12	8	Bournemouth:		
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London: K.I.I.	12	6	London: F.C.	2	0
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Derby: A.W.	5	0	Kingston: J.B.	2	0
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London: K.H.	1	0	London: A.W.	2	6
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£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
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London: L.B.	1	4	Wigan: W.H.	2	9
E. Kirby: C.C.	9		Greenock: S.M.	2	6
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Swansea: R.R.	11	3	London: G.W.	1	0
Glasgow: per F.L.*	5	6	London: A.M.	1	0
Glasgow: "Hillingdon Comrade" per F.L.	2	6	Stroud: L.G.W.	1	0
London: L. (per V.R.)	10	0	Stroud: P.P.	2	6
Braintree: T.McC.	1	0	London: R.K.	5	0
London: F.C.D.	2	0	Manchester: N.L.	4	6
B'ham: H.T.	2	0	Bradford: N.N.	5	0
Halifax: H.S.	4	0	Halifax: A.G.	4	0
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			Total to date	£128	13 2
			*Proceeds of Social organised by the Glasgow Anarchist Federation.		

PATRIOTISM WAS NOT always existent; certainly the type of patriotism known to-day (loyalty to the nation's government—expressed "the country" but covering empire too) is quite recent.

Since the growth of nationalist movements in Europe during the last century, nationalism has grown to a formidable menace. We doubt, however, if it can outlast this war.

It is in the nature of imperialism to contradict the old-fashioned type of local patriotism, because if one is asked to love the green fields of one's homeland one may well ask why one is sent to conquer a few miles of arid desert a thousand miles away.

PATRIOTISM

Imperialism therefore produced the Kipling type of patriot, who borrowed the crusading myths of the "Lord of Hosts" in the Bible, and worked up a fairy tale of our mission in the world ("Take up the white man's burden, Send forth the best ye breed").

This of course has been directly copied, and worked upon to fantastic limits, by Hitler and Goebbels. In Japan the Emperor utilised the feudal religion of a century ago, to serve the same purpose in modern Japan, which industrially had advanced five centuries in the meantime. This is perhaps the best example of how the modern industrial state can make use of the myths of the dark ages; essentially, the idea was the same that inspired the Kiplings and the Hitlers.

Kipling (and the type of imperialist typified by Rhodes), made a virtue out of the sordid necessity that Britain had to conquer the "backward countries" in order to protect the trade routes her merchants had established there. In India, the British Government took over long after the East India Company was a flourishing concern, with despotic powers of its own. In Africa, she took over to protect her traders. "Trade follows the flag", it was said; actually, "the flag" followed those who were trading, in their own interests.

Germany came in late in the greedy scramble for colonies to exploit. She became a nation in 1870, when the British Empire was already in being—she had first to conquer in Europe before she could put in her ignoble contribution to conquest in the rest of the world; hence, the struggle for empires, that had previously been between England and Spain, England and Holland, England and France, became between England and Germany, and England, replete with an early start in colonising while the rest of Europe had been hamstrung, made a satisfactory alliance with the other great colonising power, France, in order to keep Germany out of further conquests.

In this tale there is nothing about conflicts of peoples with different "missions" in the world; the stories of capitalist propaganda were far more content to explain how the other country mismanaged its colonies and how its peoples were oppressed. There was plenty of scope for truth on both sides.

Hitler, representing the revived German imperialism, has utilised the old myths of a superior race leading the rest of the nations; his conception of the master-people ("Herrenvolk") is that of the old imperialist.

Because imperialism is concerned with adding to territory, and defending territory already con-

quered, and only in times of danger with the patriotic idea of "defence of the homeland", it is killing patriotism in the old-fashioned sense.

Some diehards claim indignantly that the term "quisling" is nothing but the old word "traitor" and that word was more expressive. This is not quite so in France—we see there that the traitors are the most extreme "patriots"; in every country, in fact, they come from the Right Wing, which has always claimed to be loyal, nationalist, and conservative. The quislings, in fact—referring to such as Pétain rather than the opportunists such as Laval—don't feel they are traitors to their country, because they believe their country can only be preserved by accepting the "New Order"; in other words, to put it in realistic language, what the Right Wing means when it says "country" is in fact, "ruling class", and Pétain believed the ruling class of France would only stand to lose by a protracted war as it could only mean defeat or revolution; he preferred defeat.

This is the case in occupied Europe, where the bulk of the Nazi administrators are the conservative and Catholic, fascist and Royalist, elements which are the most patriotic in the old sense. The Quislings are in bulk the Right-Wing of pre-war Europe: Austrian Monarchists, Belgian Rexists, French Royalists, the Croix-du-Feu and the so-called Radicals; Russian "White" aristocrats, Dutch Nazis, Italian Fascists, legitimists and Royalists; the Catholic clerical-fascist movement everywhere; the Spanish Falange and officer caste; Norwegian business-men and Civil Servants; all of them patriots in the Conservative Party sense of the word.

THE MILITARIST LEADER MYTH.

Having seen the effects of this out-moded belief in Europe, let us not encourage the same fate to ourselves here. We saw how Pétain was built up as "the hero of Verdun", and he appealed to that militarist myth to help create a fascist state in

France. And yet, knowing what became of the "old soldier, Pétain" we build up a militarist myth about General Montgomery! The halo round Montgomery's head may not be used for reactionary purposes; that does not make it any the less dangerous. We presume it will not be because heretofore Montgomery has not been a politician; yet British history teaches us that the Duke of Wellington rose to glory in just such a way as did Montgomery, and he used his prestige to push on to the people of this country an unmitigated despotic and reactionary government, until at last the policies of Sidmouth, Castlereagh and Wellington infuriated the people against even the "hero of Waterloo"; and he lived long past his popularity.

While, because Montgomery has been heretofore a military man we do not know if this will be his case, we have not the least doubt that this will be Churchill's case, since his record throughout his political career has been one of reaction; in particular his role in the General Strike, his diehard attitude to India and the Empire, and towards revolution in Europe. Because this war has made him leader of a Coalition that flirts with the labour leaders, makes "conciliatory gestures" to India while declaring flatly that it will not part with India, and encourages Hitler's subjects to throw him over and accept instead double-double-crossers of the Darlan type, none of this proves that Churchill has changed. His prestige, gained solely because the political parties have assigned to his leadership and hence anything done by anyone does to his credit, will certainly be used to enhance his reactionary policies when the leader of the Conservative Party returns to solely Tory politics.

"Loyalty to the leader", "honour to the victorious general"—these are slogans leading to disaster now or in a dozen years' time. Patriotism, militarism, blind loyalty, these have been held up for our adulation by those who scorn "treason in war-time", and we have seen that that is just exactly what they have come to. Not deliberately, but in an attempt to maintain the ruling class structure which they are put up to camouflage.

Much though it may disappoint the readers of Phillips Oppenheim and the Sunday People, the Fifth Column is not composed of mysterious spies, glamorous ladies, or gentlemen with square heads drawing maps on the top of the Monument. This present war is a war between the dynamic Imperialisms as to which Imperialism shall dominate. "Which shall guide the New Order," "which shall reconstruct under control". Therefore patriotism as a vital force is finished: the struggle is not between one nation and another—people are fighting against their own nations, nations are divided amongst themselves: De Gaulle, Giraud and Pétain represent "France",

William Joyce broadcasts to England and Thomas Mann to Germany, Gandhi, the Aga Khan, and Subhas Bose have not identical opinions as to who should defend India.

The choice to the peoples of the world is not the feudal choice of patriotism, but the choice of which Imperialism they want to be dominant. Against that is our own choice, *the rejection of all Imperialisms, and the taking over of the world by the free workers.*

A. M.

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ARMS and LEGS

Cut - Price List

NOW THAT THE bell-ringing, the praying, and the general celebrations over the Tunisian victory are concluded, the grateful British Government has issued the price-list for wounded men. It turns out to be a *cut-price list*! The value of a man's legs, arms, eyes, etc., have been duly assessed at the rates shown below. It is interesting to compare it with the "compensation" paid out after World Blood Bath No. 1.

	Per week.
Loss of both legs	37/6d.
Loss of both arms or hands	37/6d.
Loss of sight	37/6d.
Severe facial disfigurement	37/6d.
Loss of sight of one eye	11/3d.
Loss of all toes on both feet, up to	11/3d.
Loss of all toes on one foot.	7/6d.
Loss of right arm at or below shoulder	30/-
Loss of right thumb	11/3d.
Loss of four fingers on right hand	15/-
Loss of three fingers on right hand	11/3d.
Amputation of leg at hip	30/-

A lower percentage of disability has also been placed on various types of wounds.

Loss of vision in one eye	Disability 30%
	Last time, 50%
Loss of all toes on both feet.	Disability 20-30%
	Last time, 20-40%
Loss of right thumb.	Disability 30%
	Last time, 40%

The assessment for total deafness has been raised from 70% in the last war to 100% in this.

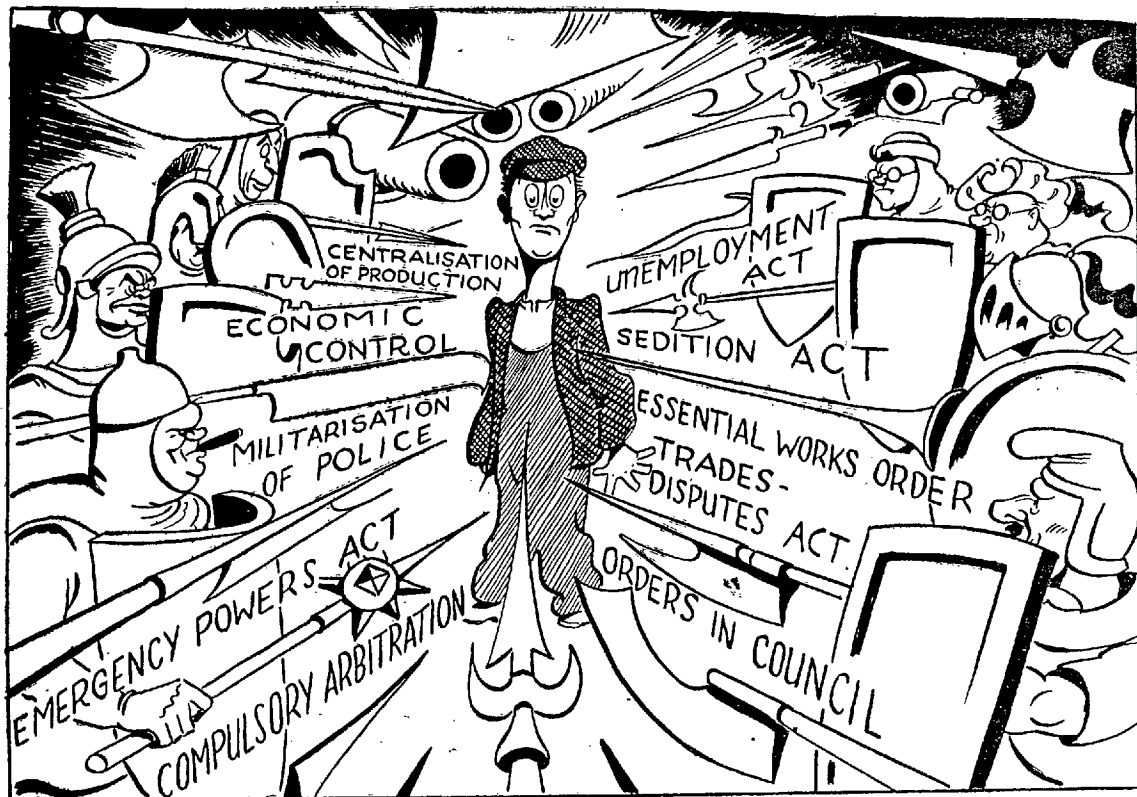
From the above price-list we see that the generous government rated a man's body as being worth about £8 (2 legs, 2 arms, sight and face), whereas under the new rates it would appear to have dropped to about £7 10s. od.! Compare this with Churchill's salary of £200 per week, Morrison's £100 per week, Labour-Front leader Bevin's £100 per week, Food Fuehrer Woolton's £100 per week; these are the leaders who lead from the rear.

Now let us compare the treatment meted out

by the British Government to British soldiers, with the treatment given by the British Government to German officers.

General von Arnim, who was captured in the Tunisian battle, has been brought by air to Britain. Says the *News Chronicle* of May 17th, 1943: "He will be treated in captivity in accordance with the courtesy due to his rank. His 'accommodation' will be more comfortable than that of lower ranks of prisoners-of-war, and his pay will remain the same, as if he were still serving in the German Army." According to the *Daily Express* of the same date: "While he is our prisoner we shall have to pay him £2,694 a year, about £6 a day—at the present war exchange rate." On May 18th the *Daily Express* explained what von Arnim's 'accommodation' was like. "It is a pleasant country house with fine gardens, and a swimming pool, and von Arnim will have for company there, General Ritter von Thoma." Von Thoma, it will be remembered, was captured by Montgomery, in the early stages of the North African campaign. All the newspapers of that time carried a charming photograph of him receiving a genial handshake of welcome from Montgomery. The German general "dined with the British general, and had breakfast in his mess". Later, we were told, the two generals discussed the battles, which had just been fought out. Oh, so friendly! It was the same when Arnim was captured. He was served with a meal which included "steak, potatoes, spinach, white bread, butter, marmalade, and peaches, with coffee . . . One general said, 'This is a gentleman's war in Tunisia'." *Daily Express*, May 11.

These are a few of the privileges made to "Enemy" ruling class leaders, while British workers, taken into the armed forces, are beaten to death in the "glass house" or made to lose their self-respect by "Hi-da-hi's." And what of the claims made by the British Government that all "German war criminals will be put on trial"? Have the German generals no responsibility in the war? Then how does this friendly treatment fit in with the treatment that is supposed to be meted out after the war? It must be obvious that such "war guilt" trials are merely propaganda sop to keep the people under the impression that the British Government is in earnest in its intention to defeat the German ruling class. These captured members of the Prussian Junker clique are being kindly treated, so that they can be used as Anglo-American Gauleiters after the invasion of Europe. These Fascists and militarists will be loosed upon the revolutionary workers in Germany, and will act as the counter-revolutionary Government.



The Crusade for "Freedom"

(continued from p. 15)

Even Mr. Churchill himself has praised and admired Adolf Hitler. "Those who have met Herr Hitler face to face in public business, or on social terms, have found a highly competent, cool, well-informed functionary, with an agreeable manner and a charming smile." (*Great Contemporaries*, p. 268.) "The Fuehrer, the great leader of the country, (Germany) who has raised it so high, and I admire him for that." (*Step by Step*, p. 296) "I have many friends in Germany, and I have a lively admiration for their splendid qualities of intellect and valour." (*Step by Step*, p. 270). "One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our country were defeated I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations." (*Step by Step*, p. 170). We have no reason to believe that Winston Churchill has altered his opinion or his admiration for Fascist methods. Time and time again, we anarchists have warned the workers that "democracy" will join hands with Fascism, rather than allow the workers to achieve the social revolution. These straws in the wind must be heeded by all conscious people, and their true meaning given the widest publicity.

T. W. B.

WAR COMMENTARY

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