

The
Daily Worker
and
The War

A reprint of thirty selected
leading articles from June 15,
1940 up to January 21, 1941

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from June 15th, 1940, up to
January 21st, 1941

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Introduction

The **DAILY WORKER**, first published on January 1st, 1930, was suppressed on January 21st, 1941, under an Order issued in accordance with Defence Regulation 2D, which empowers the Home Secretary to close down any newspaper which, in his opinion, is systematically publishing matter in opposition to the war.

The **DAILY WORKER** was not tried in a court of law. Neither was it granted the right of appeal.

The suppression of the **DAILY WORKER** has become a matter of wide public interest and concern. It was the occasion of a Parliamentary Debate and division, and a large number of Labour and democratic organisations have demanded the lifting of the ban in the name of the freedom of the Press.

This collection of leading articles, covering questions of war and peace, of foreign policy and home affairs, is therefore published for the enlightenment of public opinion and in order to show what the **DAILY WORKER** stood for during the critical period that began with the fall of France.



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The Fall of France

Saturday, June 15, 1940

THE German army has entered Paris, the population is in flight. A sad, terrible moment this. Our hearts are heavy for our French brothers.

Proud, defiant Madrid held the enemy at bay for nearly three years. But Paris was not defended. Not that the Parisians lack the courage of the Madridenos. They come of a mighty revolutionary stock, these Paris workers. Their forefathers stormed the Bastille in 1789 and mighty armies defended the great French Revolution.

“ They marched and sang
Without fear in their hearts,
without shoes on their feet.”

Seventy years ago they stormed heaven and set up the immortal Paris Commune, which was destroyed by the joint efforts of the French and German ruling classes who united their forces against the revolutionary masses.

Five years ago, on July 14, 1935, half a million Parisians marched from the Place de la Bastille through the streets rich in revolutionary memories and acclaimed the People's Front and its slogans of peace, bread and liberty.

To-day the Germany army is marching through Paris.

The French people have been betrayed. Their courage, devotion and self-sacrifice has been mocked. They have been betrayed by the two hundred ruling families, whom Daladier himself once described as “ the undisputed masters, not merely of French economy, but of French politics.”

The front was opened at Sedan in May. It was opened long before that. It was opened when Madrid was left

in the lurch; that is why Paris cannot fight to-day. It was opened when Czechoslovakia was betrayed, when the Peace Front with the Soviet Union was spurned, when the planes so sorely needed to-day were sent to Finland.

Above all, the front was opened when the French friends of Fascism outlawed the great French Communist Party and imprisoned and tortured its Parliamentary Deputies. Nothing has contributed more to the Hitler victory than the destruction of democracy, this wilful crushing of the independence and initiative of the people.

A British Government declaration states that the conflict will go on until France "again stands safe and erect in all her grandeur." But the old France of the 200 ruling families can never be erected again. Let them go to their colonies as they already promise. Out of this struggle must come a new France, a France of the people, that will bring peace to the country, restore its independence and end the power of those whose greed of profit brought ruin and defeat upon the people.

The Armistice Terms

Tuesday, June 25, 1940

THE rulers of France have made their peace with the rulers of Germany. France ceases to be a great Power, it becomes a vassal; degraded and subjected. But the majority of its ruling class appear to have no qualms or misgivings. On the very day that the shameful armistice terms are signed Marshal Petain broadcasts that France "feels that she has earned the respect of the world."

National independence and honour have ceased to have any meaning to the two hundred ruling families of France. They gambled with the lives of millions of

simple workers and peasants and they lost. They did not even play to win, they deliberately handed the trump cards to the opponents.

“The collapse came from the top,” wrote the former Paris correspondent of *The Times* yesterday. Remember those words, they sum up everything. All the newspaper correspondents are telling the truth now—when it is too late. They are bewailing the wasted years, pouring scorn on that drunkard Daladier and the decrepit Petain.

The DAILY WORKER has good cause to castigate these gentlemen of the Press, who wrote lies to order and also demanded our suppression because we told the truth about the war and the ruling classes responsible for it. But we are concerned with bigger matters, although it is well to remind the public that because we turned the spotlight on France, especially on the foul suppression of the working class, we were abused and threatened.

France collapsed because its ruling class has become counter-revolutionary and degenerate, prepared to sell the people into servitude rather than permit them to come to power and to build a new order of society. These rulers prattle about patriotism and the fatherland, but they worship at the shrine of Capital, a monster that knows no country or decent human feelings.

The French ruling families prepared for this day over a long period of years. The only victory they desired was a victory over their own workers and peasants. And for this they held in reserve the riffraff politicians who now creep out of their kennels.

Daladier and Blum prepared the way for Laval, Chiappe and Marquet, just as Hindenburg and the German Social Democrats opened the gates to Hitler, Goering and Himmler. In the pervert Laval and the criminal Chiappe, Hitler will find men of his own kidney.

This is the historical lessons of the collapse of France

and the shame of the 24 articles of Compiegne. And it is a lesson that applies to the rulers of all imperialist countries to the rulers of Germany who have forced this degradation on a nation and the hunting-fishing-shooting oligarchy of Britain who together with the two hundred ruling families of France carried out the policies of Munich which led to the war and the crucifixion of the French people.

Such rulers have forfeited all claim to rule. They must make way for the real leaders of the people, the future masters of the world.

The DAILY WORKER takes up the cry of a People's Government to defend the people and to bring about a People's Peace. We point day by day to the continued presence of the men of Munich in the Churchill Government as a threat of future disaster. We urge the restoration of the independence of the Labour movement.

Three Words

Monday, July 1, 1940

THREE words to the whole nation—Chamberlain Must Go!

Those who had any doubts about the necessity for getting rid of the Men of Munich will surely have had them dispelled by the Chamberlain interview to the American Press. Nothing more calculated to cause alarm and despondency has ever appeared in print.

Every word bristled with a cold contempt for the working class. Even the fatuous slogan "Time is on our side" was repeated. Probably next week we shall be again told that Hitler has "missed the bus."

Last September, Chamberlain plunged the people of this country into an unwanted war. For eight months he

gave full rein to the profiteers and incompetents who basked in the sunshine of the Ministry of Supply. Suddenly there is an eruption. The scandal is revealed. What has happened to the £2,000,000,000 spent on armaments? ask the men of the B.E.F.

Chamberlain answers. It was necessary to bomb the British worker in order to get him to increase his output. The insufferable, unspeakable, insulting impudence of this man, who heaps the misdeeds of his own class on the heads of the workers.

For eight months Chamberlain led what was universally described as a "phoney war." His public utterances consisted of forecasts of victory plus bitter complaints that Hitler had renounced his divine mission as the destroyer of Bolshevism. Chamberlain displayed his greatest energy when it came to the war in Finland, which he hoped might lead to an imperialist front against the Soviet Union.

And this is the man who blames the workers!

Chamberlain assures his American readers "that no section of the Conservative Party wants peace." We can well believe that. Indeed, no real peace is possible unless it is made by the people over the heads of the imperialist rulers. But are there no sections of the Conservative Party that would like, are actually working for, a deal with German imperialism? That is quite a different matter to peace.

Certainly, there is something in the air. Careless talk, maybe. In these days it is better to believe nothing unless it is officially denied.

There is, of course, one simple way of dealing with the rumours and that is by clearing out the Men of Munich. The greatest source of public disquiet is the continued presence of Chamberlain and his friends in the Government. But they will never go until they are thrown out. In fact, Chamberlain expressly stated in his

interview that he had no intention of resigning either from the Government or from the leadership of the Conservative Party.

So now the workers of Britain know definitely where they are. The gloves are off. The man who says that they must be bombed in order to get a 100 per cent. output, the man who by carving up Czechoslovakia prepared the carving up of France has thrown down his challenge.

There are many British imperialists who are for carrying on this war in order to secure a better position for driving a hard bargain with their German rivals. Talking big is always part of bargain driving. These imperialists would be quite happy to appease Hitler with the body of France and its Colonies, and having saved the major portion of their own colonial swag, then to return to the old, old game of building the united imperialist front against the Soviet Union.

These are the gentlemen who learn nothing and forget nothing. They are the most deadly enemies of the British people.

All their venom is turned against a real People's Peace that would banish war and its horrors.

They must be driven out of public life before it is too late.

Three Appeals

Wednesday, July 3, 1940

MUSSOLINI does not speak for Italy, he speaks only for the corrupt warmongers and imperialists. To-day we give space to the voice of the other Italy, the Italy that wants peace and freedom.

This declaration of the Italian Communist Party comes quickly after those issued by the British and French Communists. All three breathe the same spirit; across

the warring frontiers there still sounds the call of virile internationalism—workers of the world, unite!

Only the **DAILY WORKER** has printed these declarations. The capitalist Press tries to keep its readers in ignorance and to conceal the rise of those forces that are struggling to banish war and to achieve the victory of Socialism and Peace.

But the Press will no more succeed in this than with the suppression of the slogan that “the men of Munich must go,” which echoes right throughout the country in spite of all bans and threats. Let the workers read and think over these declarations.

The Italian Communist Party says:—

“The Italian people want to live in peace with the French, British, German and other nations; they want to be masters of their own fate and establish close and amicable collaboration with all nations.”

The British Communist Party says:—

“The interests of the people require the speediest ending of the war, not by surrender to Fascism at home and abroad, but by the strength of a free people organising their own defence and leading the way to peace and unity with the working people of all countries.”

The French Communist Party says:—

“As ever, under all conditions, so in present days of severe trials, horror and boundless calamities, we Communists have been and remain with our people. Their fate is our fate. We profoundly believe in the future and strength of our people, in the future of France. Our people will not perish. Their will and their freedom-loving spirit are not to be shattered by the dark forces of traitors, exploiters, plunderers and conquerors.”

There is no mistaking the meaning of these calm, confident words. Despite the intrigues and bloodthirsty plans of the imperialist rulers, the working people continue their strivings to end the horrors of war and to establish unbreakable bonds of international friendship. The international fight goes forward.

France and Britain

Saturday, July 6, 1940

FRANCE and Britain. How often has the unbreakable unity of the "two great democracies" been extolled, how often have our poets acclaimed the valour and virtue of the French people and acclaimed a "France beloved of every soul that loves its fellowkind."

Now all this is ended. To-day the French count their dead in hundreds, killed by British guns.

A sudden, ugly twist in the life of nations and the allies of yesterday become the enemies of to-day. The men who but a few weeks ago were heroes together on the beaches of Dunkirk, who forgot nationality in a common effort to save life, may to-morrow find themselves pitted against one another in deadly struggle.

There is tragedy and sorrow in these events. The common people are only the pawns in this game of war. If they were the masters of their fate, these things could not be. Let the rulers explain what they will, let them bewail their regrets, the common people know that capitalism creates these horrors and will continue to repeat them.

The *Daily Herald* weeps crocodile tears over the dead bodies of the French sailors, but proclaims that "it had to be." It calls for war and yet more war. It blames the "perfidious clique in France who staged the miserable deal with Hitler."

And so our Labour leaders wash their Pontius Pilate hands. For them there is no searching of the heart, not even the thought that perhaps their own policies have helped to inflict these tragedies on the people. The matter is ended. The sailors are dead and their ships sunk. Let us get on with the war.

But there are many people in this country who have other thoughts. Their hearts go out to their French comrades in this sad hour and they anxiously seek a way out of these torments.

Let the harsh realities be faced.

The "perfidious clique" is the ruling class of France, the same class that began the war, made defeat certain by oppressing the working people and then sold them into national servitude.

This class was supported by the Labour leaders of France and of Britain, who licked their boots up to the last moment and encouraged the profiteers and swindlers, and the destruction of democracy and trade union rights.

That same class is still in control, and even some of the "perfidious clique" is just the same. There is, for example, M. Pomaret, who retains the post of Minister of Labour. He is the same M. Pomaret who wined and dined the members of the Anglo-French Trade Union Council after he had imposed a series of decrees directed against trade union rights and standards.

After the Petain surrender when the French Communists declared "we will fight against the enslavement of our people by foreign imperialists" the Labour leaders of France and Britain remained silent. From the British Labour Party there came no word of solidarity. They speak only when the French sailors have been killed and then to affirm complete agreement with their ruling class and its future war plans.

"We assure the French working people of our solidarity," wrote the British Communist Party on June 21, "and action in their present and coming struggles against those who have betrayed France and those who have conquered France through that betrayal.

"We recognise the heavy responsibility of the British Government, the Fifth Column and Munich men for the

present position in France and the sufferings of the people. We shall fight side by side with you against our common enemies.”

That fight goes forward. The men of Munich are still in control and with the help of the Labour leaders they are even trying to dig themselves deeper in. They are still pursuing tortuous policies with the object of imposing a dictatorial regime on the British people, strengthening class privilege and profiteering, and preparing an imperialist carve-up of the world.

The country is aflame with indignation against them. Masses are awakened to the lesson of France, the imperative need for clearing out the enemies of the people and the establishment of a People's Government. It is the only path to follow.

The Freedom of the Press

Monday, July 15, 1940

THE letter of the Home Secretary stating that he has had under consideration the issuing of an order suppressing the **DAILY WORKER**, comes at a time when the Press in general is gravely concerned with the threat of new restrictions.

The establishment of a censorship board with powers to exercise a daily control over both news and views has already been officially mooted and there are other suggestions that all newspapers should close down and be superseded by a Government controlled British Gazette.

Mr. Shinwell's speech at Hanwell on Saturday, when he urged the Government not to interfere with the

freedom of the Press, is therefore welcome and to the point.

The case of the **DAILY WORKER** has already aroused considerable feeling among our own readers and a concern and interest far outside our own ranks. There is, of course, a big difference between the **DAILY WORKER** and other newspapers; we are a people's paper and our only capital is our Fighting Fund, while the other papers are all bound up with various capitalist interests.

But the **DAILY WORKER** is an established national paper and although our circulation does not run into millions, our following among the active men in the Labour and trade union movement and factories and among the progressive thinkers of the professions, arts and sciences shows that what we lack in quantity is made up in quality. (If the wholesalers' boycott was withdrawn we would be able to face the other papers in the sphere of quantity also.)

Governmental action against the **DAILY WORKER** would therefore be a threat to the entire Press. It would, indeed, create a very grave precedent. From the Home Office letter to the **DAILY WORKER**, stating that "the suppression of a newspaper is a step which any Secretary of State would desire if possible to avoid, even in times of grave national emergency," it is clear that Sir John Anderson is himself conscious of the grave implications of this step.

We hope that these implications will not be lost on the proprietors of the Press; they are certainly clear to a large number of journalists and printing trade workers. At the conference of the National Council of Civil Liberties next Sunday, it is expected that prominent representatives of journalism and printing will be present to exchange views on the question of defending democratic rights and the freedom of the Press.

Another important aspect of the **DAILY WORKER** case

is the content of the Defence Regulations and the manner of operation. A paper proceeded against has no opportunity of defending itself, it cannot argue its case before a court of law. Moreover, there is no grading of the punishment corresponding to the degree of guilt and the circumstances of the case.

Dictatorial power rests in the hands of the Home Secretary and there is only one punishment, suppression.

Arising from the Home Office letter to the DAILY WORKER, Professor J. B. S. Haldane has inquired, on behalf of the Editorial Board, as to what items Sir John Anderson had in mind when he gave instructions for the letter to be sent. The extremely ambiguous character of this Regulation places on the Secretary of State the responsibility of an interpretation. The reply is awaited with interest.

In the meantime we would like to point out that the attitude of the DAILY WORKER to the war has been known for a period of nine months. No new discoveries have been made about that by Home Office officials during the last few weeks.

But they have discovered a growing mass movement throughout the country demanding the removal of the Men of Munich, an upsurge of popular opinion that does not die down and cannot be held in check. Resolutions have poured in to the DAILY WORKER. As a paper of the people we have done our duty to the people by opening our columns to this great movement.

The legal phraseology of the Defence Regulation is Greek to most people, but the intention of those who wish to operate it against the DAILY WORKER is not so difficult to understand. It would appear the DAILY WORKER is threatened because it advocates the removal of the Men of Munich and the establishment of a People's Government.

Bevin and Long Hours

Saturday, July 20, 1940

MR. BEVIN, who began by saying work like hell, now says work like the Factory Acts. "Production is on the decline rather than the increase," he states. So this is the real outcome of all the go-to-it hullabaloo.

This is just what the **DAILY WORKER** said would happen. Under the headline "The Seven Day Week Will Reduce Production," Professor J. B. S. Haldane, basing himself on scientific facts, expressed the following conclusions:—

"Those trade union leaders . . . are not only giving up the rights which the workers have won in a century of struggle. They are taking a course which will, within a few weeks, slow down the production of munitions."

This was on May 30. Mr. Bevin ignored this advice. Six weeks later he is compelled to state that production is on the decline. In the meantime, the **DAILY WORKER** has been threatened by the Home Secretary for impeding the successful prosecution of the war!

It would have been more to the point if Bengal Anderson had served his notice on work-like-hell Bevin and go-to-it Morrison.

The **DAILY WORKER** will fight, as it has always fought, for the interests of the working people. We opposed the reckless speed-up because we knew that greedy profiteers were anxious to use the war as an excuse for smashing down working-class standards. Production might go down, but profits would go up, and that's all that matters to the employers. We have been proven correct.

There are also certain other conclusions that Mr. Bevin might well draw. The Factory Acts are to be re-established as from August 1. What about all the other

Acts which have been wiped out by E.P.A.? The abolition of democratic rights has had as much effect in the slowing down of production as the mad speed-up.

It is no good telling the workers that the war is for liberty and democracy when they find their own rights taken away as a result of the war. No good telling them to work like hell when many factories are nothing but havens for corrupt and incompetent capitalists. No good telling them to trust the Government when the Munich men whom they hate and detest are running the show.

Think it over, Mr. Bevin, and remember that the DAILY WORKER'S views about this war are shared by a growing number of workers in the factories.

The "Interim" Budget

Thursday, July 25, 1940

THE Budget is the clearest indication yet seen of how the real intention of the Ruling Class in this war is not to defend the people, but to rob them of their hard-earned wages, and to lower the standard of living.

The attacks on free speech, Press, the curtailment of workshop customs; the prohibition of strikes; the sharpest rise in the cost of living in a single month since the war began, is now followed by a Budget, which is the most brazen expression of the rule and power of the millionaires, that the people of Britain have yet seen. And it is described as only "an interim Budget"!

More taxes are coming and inflation also threatens.

While Bevin exhorts the workers at dinner hour concerts "to go to it in song," the rich go through the workers' pockets.

While Halifax comes out with his appeals for more slaughter, the hard-faced men of the Tory Party go full

steam ahead with their plans to tax wages and to fasten the Keynes Plan on the workers.

Lloyd George once introduced a Budget which the rich said, "Robbed their hen roosts," and they organised a tremendous campaign against it. The workers, now that they see they are being robbed, need also organise their greatest campaign against this millionaires' Budget.

For it is their Budget. The Budget of the rich class that wages war for markets, Empire and profit, and at the same time seeks to place the whole burden of its cost on the shoulders of the poor.

For the Tory Party, whose Budget it really is, is the party of wealth, privilege and reaction; the party that never has, and never will, have anything in common with the common people.

It is a lie that the rich have been taxed to the limit. Never were profits so high, corruption so rampant. Never were the luxury hotels, shops, night clubs doing such a roaring trade as at the present time.

While in the homes of the common people—the majority of the workers, the families of the men in the armed forces, the unemployed, and old age pensioners—there is never-ending anxiety, worry and penury.

While there is a West and an East End, the rich can pay. While there is first class and third class, the rich can pay. While there is a mansion and a cottage, the rich can pay. While there is a Dorchester Hotel and a coffee stall, the rich can pay.

While Cabinet Ministers draw their thousands a year, and the workers exist on a mere pittance eked out by overtime and week-ends, the rich can pay.

But they do not intend to pay while they can get away with Budgets like this under the screen of "the need for common sacrifice."

It is the workers who are being forced to bear the burden. It is their wages that are to be taxed, and com-

pulsory deductions made at the week-end. Their food that is the most heavily taxed, and long ago was rationed by the amount that low wages can buy. No Cabinet Minister's wife has to queue up for eggs, or pour out tea as thin as water.

It is the workers' table, clothes, tobacco, pictures, beer and essential household necessities that are the subject of the robbers' handiwork.

Millions have already been spent on armaments. But every member of the British Expeditionary Force who was in Norway and France, every member of the Home Guard, have their views as to what happened to all these millions.

In very truth it is time the people did act, and act now. Time they exerted their power. Time they ended the deceit and fraud of a so-called "national unity."

There is no equality of sacrifice. Only the workers are forced to pay through the nose.

All the talk about the millions the rich have to pay, should not deceive a single worker.

Let this "Interim Budget" be the last danger signal that is needed to rouse the utmost resistance to the whole policy of the wealthy and privileged class that rules Britain to-day.

Forward in a great united campaign for the conscription of wealth; the nationalisation without compensation of the key industries, banks, land, and the elimination of profit from the production of the people's requirements.

The mass opposition of the people has forced the withdrawal of the Sixth Column of Tory Party spies. Your mass opposition can force the withdrawal of this millionaire's Budget, it can enforce your demands to make the rich pay for their war, it can lead the way forward for the coming to power of a new People's Government, that can really defend the common people from all their enemies, within and without Britain.

On the Home Front

Friday, August 9, 1940

THE Parliamentary debate on economic policy turned into a fiasco, and between Labour members a somewhat painful scene was enacted which ended with Conservative compliments to Mr. Bevin.

Mr. Greenwood, who spoke for the Cabinet, had nothing to offer the people. A singularly empty speech which also emptied the House. He chose to ignore the hardships of wartime economics as they affect the working class of this country and harped on the familiar Government theme that Hitler's victories would be his own undoing.

Only in this case it can hardly be called a "sunshine" speech, as the expected Hitler difficulties could only arise out of the starvation of millions of people on the Continent. It appears that after losing a whole string of allies that the Churchill Government has now called a new one to its aid—Famine.

Thanks to the intervention of Mr. Shinwell, attention was drawn to the other blockade, the one directed by the British ruling class against its own people. The facts he gave are well known to the workers in the factories; growth of unemployment, non-utilisation of plant, gross inefficiency, etc. A valuable statement that brought the House to earth, but enraged Mr. Bevin, who spoke about "my people" and "my army" in a truly regal style.

King Ernest claimed to rule his Labour army with a rod of iron. He sent them hither and thither. In a month he had set up labour supply boards in 26 centres. The trade unions far from interfering had shown a "voluntary restraint."

We are not quite sure what Mr. Bevin wanted to prove. But one thing was quite clearly established. The workers are fast in the dictatorial grip of the State.

But while Mr. Bevin boasts of his power over Labour, Mr. Morrison announces that his Ministry has no right to interfere with capital and finance. Heckled by Labour members over the Sir William Firth case, Mr. Morrison blandly stated that he could not go on "pursuing disputes in the capitalist world."

To this spectacle of three Labour Ministers prostrate before capital must be added the words of a fourth, Mr. Alexander, who told a luncheon party that "hard knocks, stern trials, grievous tribulations lie ahead."

True enough, Mr. Alexander, if the policy of this Government and its Labour Ministers is allowed to go ahead.

The Labour and trade union movement is now facing the turning point of the war on the Home Front. All the forces of capital are mobilised for a slashing offensive.

Unemployment is going up. Mr. Bevin talked about "pockets of unemployment" and airily dismissed the increase. Taking into account the dependants of the workless there are at least two million men, women and children affected. A rather spacious pocket!

The cost of living is going up. Even according to official figures it is up by 21 per cent. Wage increases lag far behind.

Now comes the Purchase Tax, which will result in another huge increase in the cost of living, stop the production of goods and consequently throw more people out of work.

Lurking in the background is the threat of another Budget which will go much further than the present one.

And while the sacrifice talk continues without end the capitalists refuse to make even the mildest type of sacrifice. They are all for the conscription of life and labour, but not the conscription of wealth. The taxes they pay they take back in armaments profits and interest on the national debt.

The raising of war loan has now become such a sorry farce that Sir Robert Kindersley weeps bitter salt tears on the radio at the ungrateful attitude of his fellow capitalists and publishes advertisements (which they cheerfully ignore) appealing for the money to be disgorged by the banks.

Big Business is not alarmed. It is muscling in on the golden racket and lowering the living standards of the people while Bevin is busy bellowing at Labour, and Morrison apologising to Capital.

Three months have passed since the Labour leaders entered the Government. A short period, but sufficient to divide and confuse the movement, sufficient to provide a screen behind which the capitalists have prepared their offensive.

Nominally, the direction of economic affairs is in the hands of Messrs. Greenwood, Morrison and Bevin. In practice, they do only what they are told. Labour "partnership" in the Government has turned out to be submission to the dictates of Big Business and the Tory Party machine.

Wednesday's Parliamentary debate with its hopelessness and sordid squabbling between Labour members has, however, shown to the Labour movement that coalition and loss of independence leads only to disaster. Now is the time, especially in view of the threatening attacks, to turn to new policies and to escape from the stranglehold of coalition with Toryism.

Famine Over Europe

Wednesday, August 14, 1940

FAMINE over Europe, famine over the world. As the war intensifies so does the blockade weapon come into more decisive operation. World economy breaks down. Rationing becomes more stringent in the

belligerent and occupied countries and a crisis breaks out in Latin America and Africa which are unable to dispose of their surplus wheat, rice, cotton, coffee, cocoa, palm kernels, etc.

It is a terrifying picture. But the imperialist rulers of all countries watch it with satisfaction. They hope that starvation war on the weak will bring them victory. They have little concern that for the innocent it means hunger, disease and death.

The mass raids by German aircraft on this country, on the ports and shipping are partly designed to increase Britain's food difficulties. During recent weeks rationing has become stricter and some accustomed foods (eggs, etc.) have largely disappeared. The people of this country are moving towards a grim winter.

The British naval blockade has also been extended to nearly all the countries of Europe; it is world-wide in its scope. It has even been set in operation against national China, although it is difficult to pretend that the closing of the Burma Road at the behest of Japan is directed against Fascist aggression.

Thus the world is being driven with great rapidity to the situation foretold by the Soviet Government last year when it protested against the blockade weapon on the grounds that it—

“Inevitably leads to the most profound disorganisation of the supply of articles of prime necessity to the peaceful and civil population, creates a serious menace to the health and lives of the peaceful population, and holds in store countless calamities for the masses of the people.”

This statement is backed by the full weight of scientific and humanitarian opinion. It is estimated that more people fell victim to the epidemics that followed in the wake of the last war than were killed or wounded on the field of battle. The ghastly physique of the peoples

of Central Europe as a result of the blockade will never be forgotten.

Nevertheless, the imperialist rulers of all countries are intensifying the blockade. Millions will pay the price.

War has its own logic, and the advocacy of humanitarian rules of warfare seems almost fantastic. But wanton destruction, the murder of women, children and the aged has always been declared contrary to international law.

But the capitalist Press lightly throws this humanitarian consideration on one side—in the name of revolution! Looking up their history books the top-hatted rebels of *The Times* discovered yesterday that—

“‘Bread and Freedom’ has been the motto of more than one revolution. It should become the watchword of the revolt of Europe against Nazi domination.”

These words are the measure of the desperation, reckless inhumanity and colossal stupidity of our ruling class. Do they really think that peoples can be starved into revolting on *their* behalf?

There is nothing more calculated to strengthen the position of the Nazis in the occupied countries than this cynical declaration that Britain is deliberately blockading the French, Belgians, Dutch, Norwegians, Danes, Poles and Czechs in order to get them to revolt.

One can well imagine the effect in France, where resentment over the destruction of the French Fleet still smoulders, when it becomes known that the former partner of the Entente Cordiale has undertaken the duty of starving the French people in order to make them revolt against the German imperialists. Such statements are a gift to the Goebbels propaganda machine.

Also, *The Times* should devote a little more study to the technique of revolution.

The revolts will come sure enough. But when people revolt they do not choose one set of starvers as against

another—they will not grasp the hand of the British blockaders in preference to the Nazi requisitioners. Revolution is a serious business, and those who risk their lives in it will seek a lasting reward: freedom from the Petains, Wilhelminas and Leopolds, freedom from all forms of imperialist domination.

From the present plans for blockade and counter-blockade no good can come for the people. Those who sow this seed will reap a harvest of disease and hate.

The liberty, peace and security that all people desire can come only through the international solidarity of the peoples, not through the unleashing of the most extreme forms of warfare against entire populations.

The River Rolls Along

Thursday, August 22, 1940

“The Prime Minister said we were a united nation. When I heard that I had two reflections. One was that the people of this country are united in the hatred of this terrible war, that the people of this country are united in their desire for a lasting peace at the earliest possible moment.”—(W. Gallacher, M.P., in the debate on the Prime Minister’s speech.)

READ the cold print of the orator Churchill, strip the speech of its boisterous phrases, examine its meaning in the cold light of reality. And what have you got?

A declaration that the war shall go on, and on, and on. Peace failed to get a mention. Even the request for a statement of war aims was dismissed with the empty phrase that “we shall not be found unworthy of our victory.”

A long war. Prepare for 1941 and 1942, said Churchill. “Two or three years are nothing in the history

of a nation," he added. Mocking words. For a nation that still bears the scars of the last war, these years mean everything. If the Churchills, Hitlers and Roosevelts get their way they will be years of death, destruction, disease and blockade.

Well might Churchill close his speech with a reference to the Mississippi that just keeps rolling along. The song of despair sung by the enslaved Negro. Submit to the forces of fate which sweep mankind to its doom. This was Churchill's message as he surveyed the future and calculated on the agonies of the blockade, the devastation wrought by the bomber and world-wide extension of the war. It is a prospect that will horrify all thoughtful people.

The new phrase of the war is the alliance between British and American imperialisms. This was the highlight of Churchill's speech. But the orator deliberately chose loose and hazy words to describe its meaning. Bravado in plenty, but uneasiness as well.

A hard, brutal imperialist deal has just been struck. In reality, Churchill was as regretful over the loss of the air and naval bases in the Western Hemisphere as over the evacuation of Somaliland. Wall Street has won. Parts of the British Empire have gone into pawn for 99 years. And soon the broker will be demanding more.

Churchill called this getting "somewhat mixed up together for mutual and general advantage." The very inexactitude betrays the fear. The new ally is out to feather his own nest at the expense of his partner.

And so the river rolls along. Limitless war. Losing France, Britain turns to America, but only to find a Shylock waiting for his pound of flesh.

This river will not roll on to calm seas spelling peace and happiness for the people of Britain, but to a new cataract of disaster. The people must free themselves

from the engulfing floods of war, battle against the tide and strike out for bread, peace and liberty.

Tributes to the heroism and genius of the British people cannot conceal the mean, plundering tricks that are being played on these people by their own ruling class during this hour of crisis. Churchill had nothing to say about these things, although he must know that there is deep-rooted disgust with the shameless profiteering, the refusal of the rich to shoulder any sacrifices whatsoever and the endless demands on the workers; the Purchase Tax, rising cost of living, miserly allowances to dependants, etc.

This is what war means to the people. These are the realities that break through the pictures of glory and nobility painted by orators who are intoxicated by their own words and seek the plaudits of their own hangers-on instead of the judgment of the masses.

This is what the war means to the people of all countries, including those people whom we are called upon to starve, in the hope of revolution, while keeping food within their sight.

And the people who know these realities of the war and have to pay for it with lives and bodies have every right to be, and must be, the final arbiters. They cannot leave their fate to the statesmen who have plunged them into war for the second time in a generation.

The barren, hopelessness of Churchill's speech raises more sharply than ever before the necessity of the people themselves finding their own way out of the chaos of war. Against his call for the people to starve and murder one another must sound the call for the international solidarity of the peoples, the formation of people's government and the achievement of peace over the heads of the imperialist rulers, and based on no annexations, no indemnities and the freedom of all nations to decide their destiny.

The Two War Blocs

Monday, September 30, 1940

A NEW war front between the rival imperialist Powers is now being opened up in the Pacific. This is the real meaning of the military alliance between Japan and the Axis. The war has crept round the world.

The signing of this alliance was the expected reply to the unsigned alliance between America and Britain. The new pact is announced just as the first flotilla of American destroyers arrive at an English port.

The lines of the fight between the two war blocs for empires and world domination are now clearly defined.

Both sides attempt, of course, to conceal these imperialist realities behind vague and flowery phrases. For the Axis Powers the new pact is based on a "community of interests of three nations striving for the same social ideals." (Ribbentrop). For the Anglo-American capitalists their war bloc is "the age-old struggle of barbarism against civilisation, of darkness against light." (Sumner Welles.)

Make what you like of these words. For the working people the further extension of the war means death from the skies, poverty, misery and untold suffering. It is the determination of the capitalists of all countries to intensify the war regardless of the suffering caused to the people.

The DAILY WORKER has all along warned that the Anglo-American alliance represented no way out for the British people, that it would lead only to counter-measures, to the transformation of the war in Europe into a world war. That is now the reality.

Japan is preparing to follow Italy and to enter the lists

against British imperialism. More chickens are coming home to roost.

In return for Abyssinia, Spain and Albania, Mussolini was ungrateful enough to declare war on Britain. And now Japan, which, without the support of Britain and America could never have carried on its war against the Chinese people for all these years, is preparing to enter the war against these two Powers.

We are asked to be duly indignant about the wicked Japanese capitalists and to denounce their imperialist ambitions. But all through these years the Japanese drew the bulk of their oil supplies from British, American and Dutch sources and relied very much on America for the materials used in their munitions industry. Less than three months ago the Churchill Government, at the behest of Japan, closed the Burma Road in an attempt to deprive the Chinese people of the munitions they so sorely need.

There is no honour among imperialist thieves. Wall Street and the City have played a losing game with their Japanese confederates. The cut-throats have fallen out among themselves and it is the people who have to pay the price.

The stakes are very high, so why worry about the loss of a few million lives? Japan wants China, Britain wants China, and America wants China. The imperialist din is terrific, but above it all there arises the strong clear voice of the Chinese people, and there is no mistaking what they are saying—**THE CHINESE WANT CHINA.**

One day the people of Britain, Germany, America and France will take a leaf out of the book of the Colonial people, who to-day are fighting for China to belong to the Chinese, and India to the Indians. If Britain belonged to the British and Germany to the Germans and not to a handful of crooked imperialists there would be no wars for markets, colonies and world domination.

That war goes on and extends precisely because the people are not in control. It will become more desperate and bloody until the working people put an end to it in their own way.

After Four Weeks: The Next Round

Friday, October 4, 1940

THE air raids on Britain are extending and it is reported that the main German objective is now the attack on factories, harbours, docks and warehouses. The fight for air raid protection must no longer be regarded as a special London issue, it concerns every town and city, every industrial centre in the country.

Just as the aerial offensive enters a new phase so does the fight of the people against the Government. It is time for the working-class movement to take stock and to determine its next steps.

The concentrated bombing of the East End four weeks ago revealed that there existed practically no protection against the bomber and no plans whatsoever for aiding air raid victims. This was not the result of negligence, but of deliberate class policy. The Government to this very day refuses to construct deep bomb-proof shelters or to strike at property rights on behalf of the homeless. Working-class life is cheap.

For the first time in the history of Britain a densely populated area was ruthlessly bombed. Thousands were killed and wounded and tens of thousands rendered homeless. The country was horror struck, but the Government was quite unmoved. The usual routine was set in motion; the King and the Premier made the cus-

tomary tour and hordes of pressmen and photographers appeared on the scene.

Then the people acted. They seized the Tubes and occupied the Savoy. A deputation of the Communist Party appeared before Home Office officials and demanded bomb-proof shelters, the requisitioning of houses for the homeless and the opening of private shelters. The demand for deep shelters became so deafening that even the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mail* were compelled to reflect it, although only to drop it with the utmost speed.

Only to the extent that the people acted and agitated did the Government make concessions. This is the most important lesson of these historic four weeks.

The Government recognised the occupation of the Tubes because it simply could not get the people out. It extended the evacuation of mothers and children, housed a few thousand homeless, opened a number of feeding centres, promised a million bunks and the opening of private shelters.

Then there also appeared on the scene a lawyer, an admiral and a former Treasury official as special commissioners and what-nots.

An objective examination of all these measures shows that they represent only a tinkering with the great human problem of what to do with the bombed and those about to be bombed. In fact, the Government stands where it has always stood—opposed in principle to the protection of the people and convicted of callous, inhuman administration.

There are to be no deep shelters. The proposals of the A.R.P. Co-ordinating Committee have been once again rejected by the Home Office.

The bulk of the hundred thousand homeless have been left to fend for themselves, as regards both houses and food. The bunks are few and far between, and the large

private shelters in the City of London are still closed at nights. Most of the bombed areas are left derelict without any organised demolition work.

The articles on this page give some indication of the horrible conditions in the London shelters and the urgent social and medical problems that now arise. They concern the entire country, not only London. And in London they concern not only the East End, but almost every borough.

In this situation the Government is actually trying to hit back at the people. Already an attempt is being made to get them out of the Tubes; the purpose of the drive to keep out the men is to isolate and weaken the women. Yesterday the *Daily Herald* demanded that the Tubes "be restored to their utility," meaning that they no longer be used as shelters.

Plans are afoot to establish a dictatorship over parts of London by proclaiming them a Defence Area. Leaflet distribution and signature collectors are continually harassed by the authorities.

Aware of the growing anger of the people, but determined to carry through its outrageous policy, the Government has now passed the job over to Morrison in place of Anderson. A Labour leader has been entrusted with the job of deceiving and holding down the people as the new round of the fight opens between the people and the Government.

The reply of the people must be to agitate and organise as never before, for all to unite in the fight for deep shelters, the provision of amenities and medical facilities in the existing shelters, the opening of private shelters, homes for the homeless, immediate repairs and organised demolition, adequate and prompt compensation.

And in the fight for these things let it be remembered that it is action that counts.

Trades Unionism: What Next ?

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Is the president of the T.U.C. a live man or a ventriloquist's doll? It seems almost impossible that such a compound of stale phrases and tissue of absurdities could issue from the mouth of a living trade unionist.

To-day trade unionism is at the cross roads. Labour is controlled and handcuffed. Strikes are illegal. Wages and conditions are declining. The vigour of the movement is being sapped.

Mr. Holmes is quite happy about it. Was he not recently introduced to the King? He, a one-time agricultural labourer, actually crossed the portals of Buckingham Palace. Says Mr. Holmes:—

“I say to you frankly that I regard the year's work with pride and satisfaction. It has been a work of real statesmanship. We have surrendered or compromised no vital trade union interest.”

A good year's work. Sir Walter Citrine is in the Privy Council and John Mason, shop steward, is in a prison cell.

The president of the T.U.C. should look up the speeches of past presidents during the last war. Perhaps he has done so already. He will find them full of the puffed-up emptiness that characterises his own.

“Our lives and liberties are at stake . . . equality of sacrifice . . . none shall make profit . . . rebuilding the life of our nation after the war, etc.”

Ever since the last war the bondholders have drawn £250,000,000 every year as interest on the national debt. Every day the profits of the capitalists pile higher and higher. Taking the profits of companies declared in

April-June, 1940, the *Economist* announces that between 1939 and 1940 the total of profits has risen by almost 14 per cent.

None shall make profit!

Mr. Holmes has forgotten the days when he was a poor lad on the farm. The memories of his past are choked by shallow, empty phrases which have nothing to do with realities. He forgot even to mention the Purchase Tax and the renewed demand for compulsory deductions from workers' wages. Neither could he spare a word for the unemployed and the old age pensioners.

In the mines, the mills and the factories the trade unionists are struggling to defend wage-rates and conditions, to combat the iniquitous speed-up. They are holding high the banner as the Tolpuddle martyrs of yore. But the president of the T.U.C. can do nothing better than to pay a tribute to Mr. Bevin, whose Labour decrees have struck at the results of a hundred years of struggle.

"Dark and difficult years lie ahead," said Mr. Holmes. That, and a land fit for heroes to live in after the war, is all he has to offer trade unionists. A mere variation of Churchill's blood, toil, tears and sweat. And to where does this policy lead trade unionism?

Look at France for the answer. Mr. Holmes spoke about France, but not about French trade unionism and the Anglo-French Trade Union Council. Trade unionism has been destroyed in France and among the Minister of the Petain Government is one M. Belin, a former colleague of Sir Walter Citrine's on the Anglo-French Trade Union Council.

Trade unionism in France was guillotined by the very ruling class that up to a few months ago was proclaiming its devotion to a holy war against Fascism. And the murder was successful because the leaders delivered the movement defenceless into their hands.

Up to the very last moment the British union leaders

were declaring their complete agreement with the French leaders and the war government of French imperialism. In spite of the lessons of France they continue with this war policy. They fawn on Churchill, who boasts that he broke the General Strike and who is heartily detested by the rank and file everywhere. They sit in coalition with the Diehard Tories, whose avowed purpose is to end the independence of trade unionism.

Trade unionism is dead in Germany, it is dead in France and it will be dead in Britain if the policy of the gentlemen of Transport House continues unchecked.

In the name of a war against Fascism, that "evil thing" is spreading its wings in Britain itself just as it did in France. For Fascism is not something peculiar to Germany or to Hitler, it is a product of capitalism in decay, a method of violent and oppressive rule resorted to by the capitalists of all countries.

Bravo Berger!

Thursday, October 10, 1940

“**A** SOLDIER, Private H. Berger, Shop Assistants’ Union,” writes the special correspondent of *The Times*, “made one of the outstanding speeches of the Congress when he described Army conditions and appealed for generous treatment, especially in respect of cigarettes.”

No tribute was better deserved as every delegate to the T.U.C. can affirm. Private Berger spoke for millions of men and women and his words, simple and telling, will find an echo in every home and barrack. He has done well for his comrades and their dependants.

Following his speech the Congress unanimously passed a resolution demanding increased allowances. But is it to be left at that?

There is nothing more urgent to-day than to lift the dependants of the serving man out of their present poverty and to give to the man in uniform sufficient pay to meet his human needs.

The columns of the *DAILY WORKER* are witness to what the present allowances and rates of pay mean in terms of human suffering and distress. Day after day come letters from soldiers anxious about their families and setting forth their own personal needs, from dependants worried about their menfolk and desperately trying to make both ends meet.

In response to these appeals the *DAILY WORKER* has begun a fight which centres on the demand for minimum rate of 5s. a day for soldiers. If from this rate 2s. was allotted to dependants and the Government allowance for a wife raised to 26s. per week it would be possible for the wife to receive £2 a week and the soldier to retain 3s. a day for his personal needs.

For each child the allowance should be 8s. 6d. a week—what the Government itself pays for child billeting.

No one dare say that this is too much. It is, in fact, simple justice. Let all those who agree with Private Berger support his plea for a fair deal.

A Bigger Stick

Saturday, October 12, 1940

“**M**ORE outspoken than Sir John has ever been,” wrote the *Daily Telegraph* commenting on Morrison’s threatening outburst against the advocates of deep shelters for the people.

Anderson always fought against deep shelters, but he never dared to denounce the advocacy as a “foolish and wicked idea” and to suggest that the advocates were Fifth Columnists “liable to be helping the enemy.” Such

monstrous and shameless charges have been left for a Labour leader to make.

This impudent threat is the measure of Morrison's concern for the welfare of the people. The demand for deep shelters has long ceased to be only a question of the views held by the Communist Party and the DAILY WORKER. It has become the cry of the people everywhere, an anguished cry born of the suffering and sorrow such as our great cities have never known before.

Morrison hears the cry, he cannot escape it. So he threatens to call in the police. No wonder he insisted that the Home Office should not be separated from the Ministry of Home Security. His kind of A.R.P. can only be enforced with the aid of the police.

Now the people know the meaning of the Government changes, the many promises and the long procession of special what-nots, who were going to get things done. Not only is the most urgent demand of the people turned down, but a new category of crime has been invented. Deep-shelter advocates are Fifth Columnists.

For the rest Morrison merely paraded the stock-in-trade of his predecessor—bunks, ear-plugs and basements.

Using the time argument against deep shelters, Morrison nevertheless refused to put forward any kind of emergency programme in which the commencement of deep shelters could be combined with the digging of tunnels driven from the existing Tubes, the construction of Haldane bomb-proof shelters, the enforced opening of private, commercial and factory shelters, etc.

All that Morrison stands for is the same old Anderson policy, plus a bigger stick to enforce it.

The only way that the people can get protection is to organise and fight for it. These issues will be taken up at the Women's Emergency Conference in London on Sunday. We wish them every success.

Russia and the War

Wednesday, October 16, 1940

“The imperialist character of this war is obvious to anyone who wants to face realities and does not close his eyes to facts. . . . This war promises nothing to the working class but bloody sacrifice and hardships.”—
(Molotov, October 31, 1939.)

EVERY time the Government of this country brings a new disaster on the people it starts up a propaganda campaign that Russia must come into the war. It was done after Dunkirk and it is being worked again at this moment in the light of the Axis swoop on the Mediterranean.

What tender concern is displayed for the interests of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics! The very newspapers who but a few months ago were fomenting war against the Soviet Union, spurring on Finland to fight to the last ditch and promising a British Expeditionary Force for use against the Red Army, and boasting how easily Baku could be bombed, have now become the guardian angels of the Soviet people.

The *News Chronicle* solemnly warns the “Kremlin” that it may suffer the same fate as Poland if Germany succeeds in seizing the Straits. Mr. Bevin, with a majestic disregard for facts, declares that Germany and the Soviet Union were in the same camp, but that a “new orientation” is now visible.

These “arguments” are in such patent contradiction to the known facts that it is hard to believe that they are put forward with serious intent. Even the *News Chronicle* knows that Russia is not Poland. Even Mr. Bevin knows that the Soviet Government has pursued all along a policy of Socialist neutrality and that Molotov has expressly condemned this war as an imperialist struggle for world domination from which the Soviet Union stands apart.

Why then the repetition of this silly business of trying to frighten the Soviet Union with the Hitler bogy-man when everybody knows that Hitler was compelled to renounce his anti-Soviet plans because he was afraid of the Red Army and regarded the British Empire as easier meat.

There may be some diplomats who still think that the Russians can be used to fight for Wall Street and the City of London in the same way as the Poles, Czechs, Finns, etc., were used. We thought that this species of diplomat was now extinct, but there may still be some who do not remember Molotov saying that the "Soviet Union never has been and never will be a tool of the policy of others."

It is hardly feasible, however, that Downing Street and Transport House base their policy on such fantastic expectations.

If the Tory-Labour Government really wanted to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union it would surely make a genuine gesture indicative of a desire for friendship. It would release the gold that it has seized from the Baltic States, negotiate a trade agreement and give Cripps something to do instead of driving this unfortunate Ambassador to the extremity of sending telegrams to trade union branches in this country urging pressure on the Foreign Office.

If Churchill honestly intended to work in co-operation with the Soviet Union he would not have made his recent statement expressly refusing to recognise changes in Europe, including those which have brought twenty-three million Ukrainians, Latvians, Bessarabians, etc., into the bosom of the great family of Socialist nations during the last twelve months.

There is nothing solid behind the vapourings of the Press. Moreover, the remarks of Bevin are both insulting and provocative. It is certainly not usual for a Cabinet Minister to accuse a great neutral Power with

having been in the German war camp and to disregard its clearly defined neutrality in policy and practice.

The present campaign for Soviet participation in the war seems to be in the nature of an assurance against the effects of coming disasters. When in doubt blame the Soviet Union is the motto of our rulers, Tory and Labour alike. The war itself, brought about by the men of Munich, they blamed on to the Soviet Union.

At this moment, when the war becomes an open struggle for colonial swag and a fight for the gateway to Africa and India, the Tory-Labour Government, faced with new disasters in the Balkans, Egypt and the Mediterranean, is already busily preparing to blame the Soviet Union. To-day, the Press asks why does the Soviet Union not come in? To-morrow, it will be again the cry that the Soviet Union is in league with Germany and has betrayed the people of Britain.

Behind this new campaign is no desire for friendship with the Soviet Union. There is the desire to extend the war and to recreate the anti-Soviet front which Chamberlain so miserably failed to build. Above all, there is the desire to frustrate the peace efforts of the Land of Socialism whose mighty achievements are gathering around it the war-worn masses of the capitalist world and inspiring them to unite and organise in order to end the power of the imperialist rulers and to bring about a People's Peace.

There is no Morality!

Monday, October 28, 1940

THE Hitler-Petain agreement means that the French capitalists have finally made their choice. The last appeals of King George and President Roosevelt were in vain. The intrigues of the British puppet de

Gaulle have awakened no response. France passes into the orbit of German imperialism.

There are many who will assess these events in moral terms. But there is no morality in power politics. The European system has always been based on the balance of power, with France perched between Britain and Germany, the two stronger imperialisms. After their own military defeat and the virtual elimination of British influence on the Continent the French ruling class now enter the camp of their former enemy.

Capital knows no frontiers and the French capitalist cares but little whether he is the junior partner to the British or the German firm. He calculates on the union of French and German industry, on the maintenance of profits and class privilege and on keeping at least a part of his colonial spoils. Above all, he hopes that Hitler's "New Order" in Europe may serve to crush the democratic struggle of his own people.

What have such calculations to do with morality, with truth and justice, with the interests of the people?

The statesmen of all imperialist countries calculate in terms of power politics. The British and the American no less than the French and the German.

The big Powers are fighting one another to the death for world domination, but even as they fight international capital maintains its contact. All through the war the French supplied ore to Germany and to this very day Anglo-American capital sends oil to Japan. The Bank of International Settlements in neutral Switzerland provides a common meeting ground for all the leading imperialists. The British Embassy in Madrid is a clearing house for the exchange of views and terms between the rival Powers.

Now it is reported that Hitler will make a new peace offer and the British Press contains many hints to Germany that the Soviet Ukraine is a very rich prize. The

Tory "anti-Fascists" are still itching to switch the war and they would take Hitler into their arms to-morrow if only he would honour his promises of Munich. And so would the dollar capitalists of America.

But the Soviet Union is strong and its people are ready for any sudden changes in the international situation. More than a year ago Stalin warned the imperialists that the Soviets have straight jackets ready for any madmen who attack them.

The imperialist Powers will intrigue as well as fight, double-cross as well as shoot, strive to reach agreement both in order to crush their own people and the colonial masses and to create a common front against the Soviet Union. All this has been going on day in and day out for over twelve months, but the outcome is the world-wide extension of the war, the massacre of the civilian population and the destruction of the big cities.

It cannot be otherwise. According to the code of power politics conflicts can be settled only by means of superior force and violence. An imperialist peace, reached on that basis, could only lead to a third imperialist world war.

What is the Churchill Government going to do now? It must choose between Germany and the U.S.A. in the same way as France had to choose Germany or Britain. Either road means war unlimited, means blood, sweat, toil and tears for the British people. Agreement with America means a giant world struggle against the Axis plus Japan; agreement with Germany will mean war with America which already has parts of the British Empire under its influence.

This is the dilemma of the British ruling class, the explanation of their divisions. They may choose one or the other paths, but the journey's end is the same—the loss of world power and the passing into the orbit of the stronger imperialisms, Germany or the U.S.A.

These are uneasy days for the gentlemen of England. They fear their rivals and their friends, they fear their own people and their own colonial slaves. Let it not be forgotten that Churchill himself declared as far back as 1937 that:—

“I will not pretend that, if I had to choose between Communism and Nazism, I would choose Communism.”

But you are not going to do the choosing, Mr. Churchill. The people—always feared by the power politicians—have yet to speak. The rumble of their movement can already be heard in all countries, both in the East and in the West.

In Britain has come the call for a People's Government and a People's Peace and already a great movement has been set in motion for the People's Convention in January. This is our alternative to the imperialist blood and tears. Power in the hands of the people in order to end the war and to get rid of the causes of war. There is no other way forward.

Bomb-Proof Shelters

Monday, November 4, 1940

IN his broadcast yesterday Herbert Morrison promised his listeners more bunks and ladled out more bunkum. Morrison stands where he stood (or more correctly, where Anderson stood)—against the provision of bomb-proof shelters.

Morrison stands where he stood three weeks ago, but not where he stood two years ago. Out of office he was all for “a 100 per cent bomb-proof shelter.” In office, he denounces all those who remain consistent to his own policy as Fifth Columnists who play Hitler's game.

Yesterday, the public were treated to another dose of

this stuff and to the spectacle of a Minister vainly trying to answer his own words, which the DAILY WORKER has so inconveniently resurrected. This is not the first time that the DAILY WORKER has clashed with the present Home Secretary. The fight over working-class policy has been waged for many a year at Labour Party Conferences. But it is not a private quarrel; in the past it concerned the welfare and future of our people, to-day it is a matter of life or death.

Much of Morrison's speech was a political rigmarole which will cut no ice with the people. They want protection and know that it can be provided for them just as the rich have already provided it for themselves. Instead, Morrison re-hashes all of the stale Tory arguments that we have heard from Anderson in the past.

But these Tory sentiments on the lips of a Labour leader do at least throw some light on the reasons for the Morrison somersault. The Tories have always refused proper protection on the grounds that civilian casualties do not matter very much and that the workers would stay in bomb-proof shelters and lose interest in the war.

This has now become the keystone of Morrison's position and the so-called practical difficulties are dragged in chiefly as a pretext to justify the adoption of this Tory policy.

Morrison argues that the provision of deep shelters for the majority of the population is beyond the bounds of practical possibility. But no one has ever claimed, least of all the DAILY WORKER, that deep shelters are the only form of bomb-proof shelters. Mr. Morrison derided the experts of the A.R.P. Co-ordinating Committee, but why was he silent about their proposed bomb-proof surface shelters, popularly known as the "Haldane"?

His silence on this point was in marked contrast to his quite unbalanced enthusiasm for the utilisation of the lower floors, in addition to the basements, of modern

buildings. This was his only new proposal, the sole distinction between himself and his predecessor.

Such buildings, properly converted, may be better than the brick coffins which now dot the streets. They will be blast-proof, but not bomb-proof. They do not solve the problem of protection.

It can only be solved when the Government abandons the brick surface shelter for the Haldane shelter (reinforced concrete walls of 2 ft. 6 in. and roofs of 5 ft.) and fully utilises all existing deep shelter possibilities. In each area the form of bomb-proof shelter should be the one that can be most readily and rapidly constructed.

What this winter holds no one dares to foretell. But every moment to protect the civilian population must be utilised while there is yet time. The last word on shelters has yet to be said, Mr. Morrison.

Your threats cannot stifle this vital demand. And since you have chosen to refer to the "tragic story of France," let it not be forgotten that the cause of the French collapse was the policy of the ruling class, who silenced the voice of the people and crushed their democratic rights.

"No Flowers"

Thursday, November 14, 1940

"A three-line death notice of Mr. Neville Chamberlain includes the request: 'No Flowers.'"—The Press yesterday.

PARLIAMENT and the Press have pronounced their funeral orations on Neville Chamberlain. The accustomed perfunctory tributes have been paid and to the dead have been ascribed the virtues that were never discernible in the living. Such is the hypocrisy of our public life.

Among the common people his name will be remembered, but with hatred and contempt. From them he

departs unwept, unhonoured and unsung; an enemy of the people who brought shame upon us abroad and sorrow at home. The last years of his life were devoted to a policy which made inevitable the horrors which have now descended upon the people.

He promised peace, but brought war. No wonder that the rulers now plead that the bitter controversies associated with his name should cease. But they will not and cannot cease. Chamberlain is dead, but Chamberlainism still lives. His soul goes marching on.

It is said that we have no dictators in Britain and that Chamberlain was not a dictator. True enough, that we have no openly proclaimed political dictator, neither a Hitler nor a Mussolini. We have instead a Tory Party machine, where posts are handed down from father to son and where Big Business (the dictators of all capitalist countries) sits enthroned. The mantle of Chamberlain has fallen upon Churchill and the political machine run by the bankers, capitalists, landed gentry and military caste churns steadily on. Continuity.

Labour Protection

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, on the very day that Churchill devoted an oration to his predecessor, a lone Tory M.P., Vyvyan Adams, rose to attack the controller of this Tory machine, Captain David Margesson, educated at Harrow and Cambridge. The speaker told of the "evil, unhappy tyranny" exercised by the Chief Whip and his friends who had run our affairs for the last nine years. He spoke of the muzzling of Parliamentary freedom and ended his speech with the cry "In the name of God, go."

Adams' speech was both an epilogue to the oration of Churchill and an exposure of its humbug.

But Margesson and his friends will not go. The Tory Party will not go and Chamberlainism will not go. And one of the reasons they will not go is because they now

have the Labour leaders to protect them. The defence of Margesson was delivered by Mr. Attlee.

None of them will go, neither the Tory leaders nor the Labour leaders, until they are thrown out by the people. Time is on our side, but we cannot always wait for death.

“Off the Record”

Saturday, November 16, 1940

MR. JOE KENNEDY, U.S. Ambassador to Britain, will probably go down in history as the only diplomat who ever blurted out the truth. And for this ambassadorial deviation he will probably get the sack. In fact, a first-class diplomatic sensation has now blown up.

When Kennedy told the *Boston Globe* that the talk of fighting for democracy is bunk and that the result of the war will be National Socialism in Britain, he was only repeating the inner talk of the British ruling circles in which he had so freely mixed. But he made the mistake of telling to the newspapers what English gentlemen of breeding do not permit to be mentioned outside the club and the drawing-room.

London frantically demands a withdrawal, but Kennedy is peeved and refuses to play ball. He will only go so far as to admit that he was talking “off the record.” In other words he confirms his statement, but contends that it was not meant for publication.

Kennedy's sulkiness is understandable. Naturally, he has the feeling why pick on me for repeating what I was told by you London big-shots? Kennedy is quite happy at the prospect of the collapse of democracy, he has never believed in it and was cheerfully foretelling its approaching end. Talking aloud, so to say, and thinking what a lovely war it is for the millionaires.

He is one himself, a banker, capitalist and film magnate. In Britain he was under the wing of Cliveden set, and with them he did his utmost to bring about the defeat of democracy in Spain. So much for Kennedy, the loud-mouthed millionaire.

Ask yourself if what he says is true. What is happening to democracy in Britain? The country is ruled by emergency decree, Big Business runs the State in its own interests and the Parliamentary institution has become a mere mockery.

Even the attendance of members has fallen away to a shadow. The House of Commons meets but infrequently, many sittings are in secret and the Ministers disdain to conceal their indifference. Westminster has become another Reichstag. There is no Opposition (with the exception of a few independent spirits), but only a servile crew obeying the orders of the Tory machine.

A state of affairs that the people of this country have no intention of tolerating. The British Kennedy's are not going to get away with it. The great campaign now developing for the People's Convention in January is a sign of the people's determination to achieve the restoration of their democratic rights and to take the affairs of the country into their own hands.

Coventry and Hamburg

Monday, November 18, 1940

AFTER Coventry, Hamburg. Piles of dead and wounded in two cities. Both Governments boast of their exploits; the long hours of uninterrupted bombing, the widespread fires and the use of the biggest high-explosive bombs in existence. The people are dumb and horror-stricken. Which town will be the next victim?

The British radio describes the horrors that have

befallen the civilian population of Coventry and the successful destruction of military objectives in Hamburg. The German radio describes the successful destruction of military objectives in Coventry and the horrors that have befallen the people of Hamburg.

The propagandists on both sides cry out for more bombing and bigger bombs. The working people of Germany and Britain ask the same question: where will it all end?

Face the meaning of Coventry and Hamburg. These are isolated examples showing what colossal destruction is possible when both sides choose to intensify the attacks. So far the aerial war has been in the nature of a trial performance; after two months of so-called "blitz" both Germany and Britain are stronger in the air than when they began and have accumulated considerable experience for use in the future. The R.A.F. and the Luftwaffe are preparing for hundreds of future Hamburgs and Coventrys.

The DAILY WORKER has done its utmost to get the people to face these ugly realities, it has combated the official sunshine stories designed to put the people off their guard. To-day we repeat our warnings and to call to the people to renew their fight against this Government for real protection and for the proper care of the bombed.

Yesterday, it was Coventry. To-morrow, it may be Glasgow or Manchester.

Do not heed those who promise you security and welfare. Speaking in the House of Commons on November 5, Mr. Churchill mysteriously referred to new measures for dealing with the bombers. Did he know what he was talking about? Coventry is the answer.

Will you go to Coventry, Mr. Churchill, and repeat that story amid the ruins? Will you go to Coventry and tell the people there that "it's a grand life, if we don't weaken"?

Quite a lot of people have already been to Coventry. The usual dreary procession of "English worthies," who trail around saying the same thing and doing nothing. Mr. Morrison was also there, side by side with the King. Did he inspect the Coventry basements and the surface shelters?

Mr. Morrison, two weeks ago you made your radio attack on the advocates of deep and bomb-proof shelters. A servile Press boasted that you had "killed" the agitation. Now you are answered with one word: Coventry.

The people all over the country must take the lessons of Coventry to heart. It is another East End, this time in the heart of the Midlands. Many people speedily forgot the lessons of the East End, they allowed themselves to be deluded by Ministerial shufflings, false promises and soothing syrup. They must not forget Coventry.

They must not forget Coventry's immediate needs. To-day our correspondents tell the grim truth about the various services, the food supplies and the treatment of the homeless. What Mr. Morrison describes as "real triumph" is nothing but a sorry fiasco; bureaucracy and officialdom in action.

Stand by and help Coventry, but do not forget Hamburg. This war means blood and tears for the people of both countries.

Evacuation Scandal

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

THE evacuation scandal grows and spreads. With increasing ferocity of air warfare the matter becomes more urgent than ever. And it affects the whole country, evacuation areas and reception areas alike.

Yesterday *The Times* devoted its main leading article to the subject. It made some serious admissions. It attacked the Ministry of Health, declaring that it is almost

as though "the authorities lose interest as soon as the refugees are on the train out of London."

It also very broadly hints at the outline of a new policy. And what *The Times* is apparently after can be summed up in the one word: "Compulsion." The grave defects of the present scheme, says *The Times*, raise "the question whether same existing or new department should not be given larger and executive and administrative powers."

And earlier in the same article we read: "The arguments against compulsion are many and strong. But in the last resort nothing can override the necessity for disencumbering a great city of those who involuntarily impede its war effort, and for preventing large numbers of children from running wild."

The trick is a very familiar one. First the Government by its brutally callous policy produces an intolerable situation. Then the same Government, declaring "the situation is intolerable" proceeds to arrogate to itself even more dictatorial powers on the pretence of dealing with the position.

They did it in Stepney, where the first act of Mr. Herbert Morrison was to appoint a Dictator to supersede the Council. It is obvious from Mr. Herbert Morrison's remarks about Coventry that they are aiming to use the chaos which their own lack of preparation produced there as an excuse for "tightening up" the system of Regional Dictatorships.

In each case they are assisted by the policy of the official Labour Parties who, instead of leading the people in independent action, abdicate their own functions and flop feebly about "co-operating with the war effort."

The DAILY WORKER weeks ago exposed the real causes of the evacuation scandal. We have told in detail the situation as it is in the rest centres of London, and in the reception areas. We have shown just why it is

that many people prefer to face the bombing in the cities rather than face the horrors of their treatment by the Government in the reception areas.

Even *The Times* now admits how bad conditions are. It even goes so far as to support one of the principal demands made long ago by the DAILY WORKER. Unoccupied houses—advertised freely in its own columns—says *The Times* “should be requisitioned far more comprehensively.

“ . . . The larger houses should be staffed and equipped as distribution centres, as central canteens, and as communal living places.”

The Government has refused to taken even these elementary steps—in a country where everything and everybody are supposed to be “mobilised.”

The Times is forced to admit the ghastly badness of present conditions. The obvious answer to that is not more dictatorial powers.

The answer is: “Improve the conditions, take over the big houses, provide full and immediate compensation for the homeless, provide free transport for workers evacuated only a short distance from the main centres.”

It is because they refuse to do these things that the powers that be turn instead to talk of new Ministries, new powers. The simple fact is they have all the powers anyone could want already, and they use them against the poor in the interests of the rich.

The New World Order

Tuesday, December 10, 1940

THE Ministry of Information has now concluded its series of British Commonwealth advertisements, which have served the double purpose of deceiving people about the Empire and providing the newspaper proprietors with some £30,000 advertisements revenue.

The advertisements did not appear in the **DAILY WORKER**. They were neither solicited nor submitted. Likewise, the short-lived "Silent Column" never found space in our pages.

Duff Cooper's last effort presents the British Commonwealth as a genuine "New World Order," in which there are no conquered or inferior peoples, only free and equal citizens.

We wonder if these advertisements have also been reproduced in the colonial Press. It would be a pity to deny such a treat to the child slaves of Africa, the starving peasantry of India and the unemployed of Jamaica. But the expense would hardly be justified. Under beneficent British rule the overwhelming majority of the colonial peoples can neither read nor write.

Was a copy of this series sent to Nehru in his cell? Could not extracts be engraved on the tombstones of the copper miners of Rhodesia who were shot down last April? Has de Valera received a copy framed with the British Ministerial threats to violate the neutrality of Eire? And could not the series be revised so as to include Bevin's generous offer no longer to describe the underpaid Indian seamen as lascars?

From the Ministry of Information there oozes nauseating hypocrisy about everything, but most of all about the Empire. Why call this slave compound a "New Order"? It is an old, decaying system that condemns 500 million people to poverty, misery and war.

Now Hitler and Mussolini (and not forgetting Roosevelt) are out to grab parts of it for themselves. The imperialist orchestras are playing a dance of death for the enslaved nations to join in. But they have heard the tune before, from August, 1914, to November, 1918. The colonial peoples have learnt their lesson, they refuse to fight with Beezlebug for the casting out of the devil.

The new world order will come, but only when the empires are ended, when freedom comes to the oppressed of the East as well as the enslaved of the West.

Bevin and the War Cabinet

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

MR. BEVIN is a member of the War Cabinet. Therefore his speeches cannot be dismissed lightly as the vapourings of a vain trade union official. Sometimes he talks "off the record" and sometimes he blurts out much more than he intended. But all of this speeches have a basis—the discussions in the War Cabinet.

Viewed in this light his speeches in Scotland last weekend have a special significance. His main points were:

An admission that certain Nazi methods may be applied in industry.

A sharply hostile reference to the Soviet Union, made from the standpoint of "war strategy."

A threat to use special powers against "subversive elements."

Here is, indeed, an entire programme. Three lines of policy which fit closely together. A revelation of what is going on behind the scenes.

The basic idea is the threat to apply Nazi methods in industry, namely, industrial conscription. These ideas are being propagated outside the War Cabinet as well as inside. Strangely enough the organ of the mineowners recently used almost the same language as Mr. Bevin himself when it urged the desirability of imitating the Nazi system.

With these measures of imitation there naturally go the

special powers against "subversive elements." Everybody who objects to industrial conscription, every worker who stands up for trade union rights, automatically becomes a "subversive element." It is the new British-Nazi name for militant trade unionist.

Bevin and Morrison have already got one such man, John Mason, in their clutches. Soon they hope to get more.

But what has this Nazification of Britain to do with the Soviet Union? Obviously, it has some relation in Bevin's mind, because he directly accused the "subversive elements," who are fighting against Nazification, of being the agents of the Soviet Union.

None knows better than Bevin himself the absurdity of this accusation. He made it even more absurd by stating that these wicked subversive stirrers-up-of-strife represent only one per cent of the population, and that most of them are poor, misguided fools. The Clyde takes its orders from Bloomsbury! Tell that one to Willie Gallacher.

But Bevin went even further than the customary accusation that the Communists everywhere are the dupes of Moscow. He said that the British Government "has got to face the issue as a matter of war strategy," and that Russia has got to be taught that this method "does not pay."

Cabinet Ministers, even large-sized ones like Bevin, are not supposed to make insulting references to a great neutral power. Why was it done?

Clearly, the bewhiskered, discredited yarns about the "hidden hand of Moscow" can have nothing to do with war strategy. If Bevin is thinking over Anglo-Soviet relations from the angle of war strategy he must have something else in mind. What is it?

Does this statement mean that the Government are contemplating further acts of hostility towards the great

Socialist State? And is Bevin trying to cover up this move by threatening to put on an "hidden hand" act, thus imitating Joynson-Hicks as well as Hitler?

Whatever is afoot, the Bevin speeches are a warning and a portent. Oppression at home generally goes hand in hand with reaction abroad.

We Accuse the Labour Ministers

Friday, January 3, 1941

THE *Daily Herald* has at last discovered the industrial chaos, upon which our spotlight has been turned for weeks past. Yesterday the *Herald* declared that "there will need to be drastic purges among highly-placed personages." Well, things must be pretty bad for the *Herald* to notice them.

Who is to blame? Let the Labour Ministers answer. Eight months ago they entered the Government and promised the workers everything under the sun, including large, immediate doses of Socialism. Now their own organ admits that there is "gross failure" in the principal industries.

Perhaps Arthur Greenwood, who is chairman of the Cabinet's Production Council will explain matters. And what about the responsibility of Herbert Morrison, who up to recently was Minister of Supply and is now at the Home Office? He is possibly too busy signing warrants for the arrest of shop stewards to bother about dealing with profiteers. Then there is Bevin. He will solve everything by conscripting labour.

We accuse the Labour Ministers. They are not children. They know who runs the industries of this country. They are well acquainted with the big capitalists, bankers,

and stockbrokers. When the Labour Ministers entered the Churchill Cabinet last May they knew exactly what they were doing—acting as decoy ducks for the hard-faced gang for whom the present chaos spells huge profits.

There must be bread for all before there is cake for anyone, said Professor Laski at the Bournemouth Conference of the Labour Party. The presence of the Labour Ministers in the Government will ensure that vested interests will be swept away, added the *Daily Herald*.

Hypocritical words. In 1940 the clearing banks snatched an extra profit of £5,250,000. Quite a nice slice of cake—for bankers only. But for the workers, not even the guarantee of bread. The same Cabinet which hands out cake to the bankers has declared against wage increases in the “national interests.”

We accuse the Labour Ministers. Grenfell is at the Ministry of Mines, and Montague at the Ministry of Transport. They allow themselves to be run by the very vested interests that they promised to fight.

The Labour Ministers are responsible for the “gross failure” which is holding up the engineering and aircraft works, causing chaos on the railways and turning the coalfields into derelict areas.

And this gang of Labour Ministers, with their eight months ghastly record plain for all to see, have the brass face to accuse the Communist Party and the DAILY WORKER of “obstructing the war effort”! In that sphere we would not dare to enter into competition with such accomplished artists as these gentlemen.

No anti-Communist stunt, no matter how elaborately planned, can possibly cover up the guilty men who have permitted the Tory Party to get away with its policy of a free hand to vested interests.

The time has come for the Labour rank and file to call these Ministers to account and to fight unitedly against

the profiteers who are thriving on the present chaos, robbing the public purse and sucking the life's blood of the people.

The People's Convention, now only a matter of days, will provide a splendid opportunity for discussing these issues, the urgent character of which is admitted on all sides.

Woolton Must Go!

Monday, January 6, 1941

WOOLTON must go and with him all the representatives of Big Business entrenched in the Ministry of Food. The Ritzkrieg on the people's food must be stopped. Food supplies must be increased, prices reduced and all available food equitably distributed.

Yesterday was a meatless Sunday for large numbers of people. Matters have now come to a head and all the smarmy stuff in the Press about the people not caring cannot conceal the great wave of anger that is sweeping the towns and villages of Britain.

The DAILY WORKER is much closer to the people than the tame Fleet Street journals controlled by the Ministry of Information and we are not afraid to take the lid off the seething cauldron of discontent. The people are incensed beyond measure and all of Woolton's empty talk about a "flexible food policy" will not calm them down.

Listen to the talk in the homes, the shops, the pubs and the factories. It is all about food these days. Every housewife knows that she is a victim of the Ritzkrieg, directed by the rich against the poor. Equality of sacrifice? Bosh!

Rationing is still by the pocket and not by the coupon.

If there is no beef or mutton you can buy a turkey at 2s. 6d. per lb. If the butcher is sold out you can fill yourself up in a restaurant. If you have sufficient cash to get into the racket you can get all the meat you want.

Lord Woolton is responsible. And his solution? Eat more potatoes and prepare yourselves for a bread shortage. He also advises scientists to prepare new dishes. Grass cutlets, we suppose.

Lord Woolton lets prices rise and then announces a controlled price which is followed automatically by the disappearance of the goods concerned.

By continuing the restrictions on the import of feeding-stuffs, Lord Woolton has helped to bring about a shortage of milk, eggs and meat. He has raised the price of milk, thus causing additional hardships.

The rich are not going short of anything, and the food combines (well represented at the Ministry of food) are making bigger profits than ever.

Mayfair loiterers can stuff their capacious bellies, but the workers in heavy industry are going short of everything: of butter, meat, eggs fruit, cheese, tea, fish, tinned goods and biscuits.

The workers are going short not only because certain goods are unobtainable, but also because prices are going up and up. According to official figures, retail food prices are up by 25 per cent. Everybody knows that in reality these are much higher.

Woolton and the Cabinet cannot wriggle out of their responsibility for this situation. They talk vaguely about the lack of shipping space, but this does not explain the sudden, disastrous shortage of meat. This is due to incompetence, bad distribution, rotten transport and profiteering.

And does lack of shipping space account for the sharp rise in poultry prices and the vanishing of goods when prices are controlled?

Things are bad to-day. They will become a thousand times worse if Woolton is allowed to continue in office. A clean sweep must be made at the Ministry of Food.

The time has come for the people to act. They must stop the Ritzkrieg on food and fight for a People's Government that will feed the people and deal swiftly with the food speculators.

Red and Yellow

Saturday, January 11, 1941

THE TIMES is alarmed and the *Daily Express* is frantically abusive. Yesterday these utterly dissimilar newspapers both published leading articles denouncing the Communists; the gutter and respectability are united.

There seems to be a large streak of yellow in the millionaire Press. "Hitler and the Gestapo will get you," shrieks the *Daily Express* to those workers who are fighting in unity with the German people for a People's Peace. This quaking sheet builds up a terrible picture of what Hitler will do if ever there is a revolt against him.

You cannot frighten us with Hitler, my lord babbling Beaverbrook. We were fighting him when you were sending him birthday telegrams. Do you remember it? "We wish you many happy returns, and hope that you live the rest of your life in peace." That was on April 20, 1939.

The Communists are not afraid of the Gestapo. Tens of thousands of German Communists are working day and night against Hitler in spite of the Gestapo. Hitler is afraid of the Communists. He knows that in the end they will wipe out Nazism and leave Germany without a trace of its horror.

Hitler is not afraid of the snivelling *Daily Express*,

which by trying to terrify British workers with grotesque pictures of the power of Hitler is actually doing Goebbels' work for him. Hitler is not afraid of Beaverbrook. He remembers the birthday telegram.

The *Daily Express* is yellow. The DAILY WORKER is red. And the difference in colour means that we cannot be frightened off our course by *Daily Express* threats of what Hitler will do to us. Neither by the *Express*, nor by *The Times*, with its solemn menaces and laborious attempts to prove that we express the views of an insignificant minority.

If our proportions are so minute why then all the screaming and hullabaloo? It may be mentioned that the difference between the circulation of *The Times* and the DAILY WORKER is not very considerable.

Gentlemen of Fleet Street and of Downing Street, please restrain the knocking movement of your knees. It is undignified. You are demonstrating your own fear, not frightening us.

The Standard of Living

Thursday, January 16, 1941

IT has taken the Ministry of Labour well over two years to prepare the results of its inquiry into working-class budgets, and even after this long delay the facts are presented without any conclusions being drawn affecting the cost of living index.

Yet this is the vital question. The wages of millions of workers are based on a cost of living, sliding scale, the index is taken into account in all wages negotiations.

This index is notoriously out of date and unscientific. Now that new, extensive data is available there is no reason for delaying the revised index.

But the Government reluctance is understandable. An

index based on the results of the inquiry would reveal a rise in the cost of living since the war far higher than the present official figure of 26 per cent. It would provide more than ample justification for the demands for wage increases now being made by millions of workers. It would knock sky-high all of the Government propaganda against wage increases and expose the engineering employers, who are hypocritically pleading that wage increases are not in the "national interest."

The misleading character of the present index is shown by the fact that the proportions between the items of the household budget are quite different from those revealed by the new inquiry.

Not 60 per cent, but 40 per cent of the expenditure goes on food. "Other items" claim 30 per cent, not 4 per cent. It is precisely these "other items" (fares, household goods, tobacco, etc.), which have risen steeply. This is not shown in the present index.

The capitalist Press endeavours to get round this awkward fact by alleging that items apart from food, clothing, rent and fuel are luxuries, and that as these items have risen from 4 per cent to 30 per cent that the standard of living has gone up considerably since 1914.

The figures prove nothing of the kind. Indeed, they prove the very opposite.

The "other items," far from being luxuries, are in most cases absolute necessities. Is it a luxury to ride to work and to pay the doctor? Is it a luxury to wash and shave, to buy furniture and to pay insurances? Is it a luxury for "3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " persons to put aside 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a week on holidays?

People did most of these things in 1914 as well as in 1938. Why was this expenditure only 4 per cent then and 30 per cent now? The difference is utterly absurd, proving that the estimate of 4 per cent in 1914 was a ridiculous guess having no relation to the actual facts.

It is not working-class standards that have risen. It is the 1914 index that has been completely exposed.

So while the Government refuses to give us a new index the capitalist Press chortles about "the high standard of living disclosed by the inquiry" (*Times*). Look at what they call high standards:—

Weekly expenditure per person—food 9s., clothing 2s. 6d., Tobacco 10d., entertainments 5d., newspapers 4d., holidays 2½d., drink 3d.

What a riotous life the workers lead on these amounts! What gay times they have at the Savoy and at Torquay!

One conclusion will be drawn by the working class from these figures, the necessity of a stern and determined fight to force up wages and to raise the standard of living.

We Accuse the Government

Tuesday, January 21, 1941

WHEN in a mess blame the workers. This old motto of the employers has now been taken over by the Government itself. War production is in a parlous condition, due to the reckless profiteering and incompetence of the ruling class. So what is to be done about it? Compulsion is to be applied. Against the employers? Oh, no. Against the workers!

But the workers have no say in production. They control nothing—least of all profits. Years ago the engineering employers forced on the unions a document on managerial functions which made it almost a crime even to question a decision of the management. For the present chaos in industry the workers bear no responsibility.

Indeed, the workers have done their utmost to end the waste and inefficiency. Faced with the fact that in factory after factory thousands of labour hours are being lost every week due to the criminal neglect of the employers, the workers have made innumerable protests and have sent many deputations to managers and Ministers.

The workers have made many sacrifices, the employers none. Under the pressure of the Government and the trade union leaders the workers have been compelled to give up valuable rights. Just wage demands have been refused in the "national interest," dilution has been forced on the engineers, dockers have been summarily transferred, the right to strike has been banned, many shop stewards have been victimised and one has been imprisoned for many months without public trial or charge.

What are the results of this policy? Every sacrifice made by the workers has been grist to the profiteers' mill. This is now admitted because it can no longer be denied.

Nearly 17 months after the outbreak of the war *The Times* blandly records "that there is much reason to doubt whether all our resources are yet being fully used." A statement that revives memories of Dunkirk, of a badly equipped B.E.F. despite the fact that £2,000,000,000 was spent on pre-war armaments.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from the present crisis of production, which affects transport, coal and the consuming industries as well as the war factories, namely, that the Government and the employing class stand convicted of having placed profit before the interests of the people and are guilty of gross inefficiency and mismanagement.

This charge against the ruling class is so thoroughly grounded in the every day experience of the workers that the great People's Convention decided unanimously and

with acclamation to add as a further point to its programme that—

“Emergency powers be used to take over the banks, land, transport, armaments and other large industries in order to organise our economic life in the interests of the people.”

The Government answers this demand by threatening the workers and by declaring that police action will be taken against the Communist Party. Apparently the case against the Communist Party is the “fomenting of strikes” and the “obstruction of the national war effort.” This charge is a fake, deliberately designed to distract attention from the guilty men of capitalism.

The DAILY WORKER can prove that more working hours have been lost in certain factories as a result of mismanagement than in all the strikes of recent months. Further, there is the admission of the Minister of Labour himself that the excessive hours which he ordered last summer (“work-like-hell”) actually retarded production and had to be abandoned.

The charge that the Communist Party “foment strikes” is the phantasy of the employer who always blames the results which flow from his own grasping, inhuman methods on to the imaginary agitator.

If the Communists are strong in the factories it is certainly not because they are the apostles of strikes for the sake of strikes. Such feather-brained individuals would command neither respect nor influence. The Communists are the defenders of trade unionism, of the rights of the workers of established practices and customs. The Communists are opposed to industrial conscription because it will deliver the workers into the hands of the employers who have already demonstrated their utter incapability of organising industry, and who will use it in order to impose an industrial serfdom on the workers as was done in France with such dire results.

READ

THE CASE

FOR THE

DAILY WORKER

By

The Members of the former
Editorial Board :

J. B. S. Haldane (*Chairman*) ; Sean O'Casey ;
Councillor J. Owen ; R. Page Arnot

PRICE ONE PENNY

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READ

THE CASE

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World communism in the 20th
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J. B. S

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