

# WAR

# For Anarchism

# COMMENTARY

Vol. 2. No. 10

SUPPLEMENT

15th AUGUST, 1941

ONE PENNY

## NO SHORT CUTS TO SOCIALISM

**T**HE Labour Party and other Left Wing politicians represented the war as a magnificent opportunity for establishing socialism. It was to bring about in a few months an era of equality that decades of struggle and negotiation (mostly the latter) had failed to achieve. It was with these trumpet calls that Bevin, Morrison, Attlee and Greenwood entered the Government a little over a year ago. They were going to see that sacrifice was shared by all. Bevin aroused special hopes; he was the strong man who was going to make Big Business tremble.

This facile optimism left us cold. It was obvious to us that Labour leaders would only be allowed to enter the Government as junior partners, not to say conservative stooges. Their lack of fighting spirit, of real desire or ability to defend the interests of the working-class would prevent them from conducting any real battle against the privileged class. But it was enough for them, merely to have a post in the Government. They thought they had won a battle when in fact they had only become instruments in the hands of the ruling clique.

For those who still claim victories for the Labour Party and for those who still hope for them, let us review the results.

### Results Reviewed

**H**AVE inequalities disappeared? Are capitalists in retreat? Do Labour ministers show any sign of taking the leadership? Is the Labour Movement stronger and better organized, better able to threaten the position of the bourgeoisie?

The answer to all these queries is no. Inequality of sacrifice is obvious, not only to those who look at company reports; it is manifest in the contrast between the food queues and the meals served in smart restaurants, bus queues of tired workers and thousands of expensive cars at race meetings. Propaganda is served up to the workers claiming that income-tax falls heavily on the rich, that rationing affects rich and poor alike; but they are not so blind as they cannot see that black markets are very soon established for those who can pay.

Can one say that the capitalists are in retreat when they can abolish or modify the Excess Profit Tax, when they can apparently delay indefinitely the closing of unnecessary factories? Nor does it look as if Churchill and his Party are very much terrified of the dynamic secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Churchill

cannot only dismiss any criticism in the House with a few sarcastic words or a joke, but he is able to appoint his own henchmen to important posts. When urged to appoint sub-dictators—e.g., the "superman" to co-ordinate production—he asks where he is to find him. And no-one answers. Nobody thinks for a moment that Greenwood could abandon his post-war planning or Attlee leave his onerous task to take on some more pressing job.

Far from strengthening the position of the Labour Party and Trade Unions the war has weakened them. Participation in the coalition government has paralysed the Labour Movement. The fear of displeasing their powerful allies makes it impossible for them to put forward any bold suggestion, even if they wished to. At the Labour Party Conference even such a mild reform as family allowances has to be abandoned for lack of Trade Union support.

In production and distribution, control of prices and wage increases, the Labour Movement is incapable of imposing even a semblance of socialist policy. Far from being a champion of democratic liberties a Labour minister takes upon himself the suppression of the liberty of the Press, and leaves to the Beaverbrook papers the role of defenders of civil liberties. Labour influence in the Army is nil. Even the Home Guard, which was to have been a "people's militia," is left to the control of the usual Blimps. Needless to say, the war has confirmed the Labour Party reactionary colonial policy. Loudly calling for the liberation of Europe, they are unwilling to give freedom to India. Their demand for war and peace aims was never pushed home, and is now evaded altogether.

**E**VEN on this short statement of results, the Labour Party leaders are seen to be completely bankrupt. In spite of their presence in the Government, the ruling class still continue to dominate the workers and completely manage their lives, with the workers themselves exercising virtually no control at all. And this although, in some respects, war weakens the capitalist class. It is apparent that in spite of that and despite the workers' "representatives" in the Government, a threatened ruling class is not any more lenient or less oppressive towards the working-class. Nor is the present position of labour due essentially to the feeble character of the present leaders. The workers will be no better off if they put in more able or more "sincere" labour politicians or Trade Union leaders into the coalition cabinets of those ruling class, nor with or without the collaboration of the workers' representatives, must, in order to maintain itself, take away their liberties and means of defence, and depress their economic standards.

The workers must learn the lessons of the Labour Party's record of compromise and failure. They must learn that their self-defence is only to be maintained by fighting the possessing class and the Government by striking at their essential weapon—the control of the country's economy, of the means of life. It is no use to send "representatives" to Westminster to "look after their interests." The workers themselves are the only people who can look after their interests; they must fight in the places where they work, and must take the initiative themselves instead of

Continued at foot of column 1 page 2.





## OUR NEW VENTURE

From time to time we have received from readers of War Commentary a request to bring out the Paper at more frequent intervals. It has been suggested that the Paper deserves a fortnightly appearance, or that even a weekly production would be justified. Now nothing would please us more than to be able to put the Paper on the streets every week, but although we have often contemplated the attempt, the difficulties in the way have so far proved prohibitive. Quite apart from the restrictions now in being regarding paper supplies, and all the irritating difficulties connected with wartime production, the great obstacle to a weekly or fortnightly appearance has been the lack of finance.

War Commentary is a paper produced for the purposes of Anarchist propaganda, and is entirely dependent upon the good offices of comrades and sympathisers. All the work in connection with the writing of articles, editing and publishing is done by voluntary unpaid labour, and the only funds available to pay for printing and distribution are those secured from the sale of the journal and those contributed by the comrades and sympathisers. The life and size of the Paper, therefore, is entirely dependent upon the good wishes of our readers.

After much thought and discussion, however, the editorial board has decided to attempt the issue of a *monthly* *paper* *regularly* *with those topics* *social interest to which the larger paper has necessarily been compelled to restrict space.* We intend to produce this supplement to appear mid-monthly and to sell at 1d. At this price we hope it will achieve immediate popularity, but we must point out that it is an uneconomic price. We are hoping that the deficit will be made up in future months by special contributions from readers and comrades.

It is sometimes asked why anarchist ideas incorporating as they do so all that is fine and noble in men's aspirations, make so little headway in the world. The answer is surely not difficult to give if one looks around at the power and affluence which is behind the disseminators of authoritarian doctrines. We are a small band, comrades, we must therefore be a determined band. The time is coming when our voice will be heard among the disillusioned masses. To that day we must work and propagate our ideas. And money is needed, lots of it. The better and wider the ground is prepared so the better and stronger shall we be able to resist the tide of reaction which will sweep upon us as a result of this murderous war. Give, therefore, to our new venture with generosity and faith, not out of the abundance of income, but out of its poverty. If we could see a steady stream of small sums arriving at our office daily it would indicate that our propaganda was taking root in the homes and hearts of those to whom we wish mainly to appeal, for on them devolves the task of anarchism. That task is the struggle to inaugurate an era of liberty and free development for humanity.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### WEST INDIAN LEADER ARRESTED

NEW YORK, June 23—The arrest and internment of W. A. Domingo, President of The West Indies National Council, by the British Government in Jamaica, B.W.I., became known here to-day through a cablegram from Mr. N. W. Manley, Chairman of the People's National Party of Jamaica and was confirmed through other sources.

The cable read in part: "Domingo arrested and detained under defence regulations stop Communicate with all interested persons and organizations stop We are taking all available steps."

Immediately upon the arrival of the S.S. Veragua, Mr. Domingo was arrested and interned without any opportunity to communicate with attorneys or friends and without the formality of any charge.

Mr. Domingo has been an outstanding advocate of self-government and self-determination for the Caribbean peoples and active in efforts to prevent the spread of racial discrimination in connection with the bases recently established by the United States in the West Indies. Following a request from the People's National Party of Jamaica, Mr. Domingo left New York for that island on June 13. A testimonial dinner was tendered him on May 26 at the Harlem Y.W.C.A. by outstanding leaders and representative organizations who thus attested to the unimpeachable integrity and standing of this stalwart champion of democratic rights.

The Council decided to send a cablegram of protest to the Governor of Jamaica, to inform representative individuals and key organizations of this flagrant denial of democratic rights and to take a number of effective measures to mobilize wide-spread and powerful pressure for the release of Mr. Domingo.

The text of the cablegram to the Governor of Jamaica follows:  
His Excellency Sir Arthur Richards  
King's House  
Jamaica, B.W.I.

The Council is astounded and indignant at the arrest and internment of our President, Mr. Domingo, a man of pre-eminent integrity and outstanding activity for self-government self-determination Caribbean peoples stop Impossible reconcile arrest by government which proclaims war for democracy of this stalwart advocate of democratic rights stop We demand his immediate unconditional release.

West Indies National Council

### OLD MILITANT GIVES HER SUPPORT

Dear Comrade,

The root of all evil is ignorance, therefore I am sending a mite (not of ignorance!), wishing it might be mightier—to help you keep on dispelling that ignorance.

As you wrote on page 1 in the July "War Commentary," it is still the same old war for us—only more so. Stalin showed the cloven hoof and became suspect when he drank the King's health with Eden ages ago. Since then we have had the Russian pact with an imperialist France, followed by Litvinov on the League of Nations. Only by coming out from amongst them can we keep a clean slate.

Roosevelt is a second Wilson, posturing as an upright man of the people behind a pure white flag, and meanwhile doing his utmost to keep an evil system running smoothly by any dirty necessary means. Wilson told the strikers in the last war that if they didn't go back to work he would put them in the army. I think Roosevelt has done more harm to himself than the workers by showing his cruel autocratic arm too plainly—it will never be forgotten!

One more word re Gandhi. He downed his flag to further the last war and helped in, or believed in, punitive expeditions in order to recruit Indians. Directly he works up a crisis he capitulates or betrays the workers to orthodoxy.

When Saklatvala, with whom I was working some years ago in the "Workers' Welfare League of India," got into Parliament, I commiserated with him instead of congratulating him, to his astonishment. "Now we have lost you," I said.

These few remarks will show you that I am on your side during your difficult and lonely fight.

Clara Cole.

### A PROTEST

THE Society for the Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Racial Superiority would like to draw the attention of the readers of War Commentary to the shamefully pretentious claim of the German Ministry for Propaganda that Adolf Hitler originated the theory of Racial Superiority. This false claim is supported by no other evidence than the barbaric policy of the extermination of the Jewish Race, which itself displays the weakness of the German title to Racial Superiority.

In his Last Will and Testament, that great British Empire Builder Cecil Rhodes attested: "If there be a God, then what he would like me to do is to paint as much of the map of Africa British-red as possible. The Government of the world by its finest race is the aim I have in view." Long before Hitler came to power the British had recognised and put into practice the Theory of Racial Superiority, and the extravagant claims of Nazi-Germany are the sorriest plagiarism. Another great British Statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, declared: "The Anglo-Saxon race is infallibly destined to be the predominant race in the history and civilisation of the world." That our race has so far successfully prosecuted its historic mission is borne out by the sacred hymn of the Zulu Regiment in the Imperial British Forces:—

"You had the Bible, We had the land,  
Now we have the Bible, You have the Land".

We are, however, distressed to notice that your journal appears to labour under the grievous misconception that there is no difference between the Anglo-Saxon Racial Superiority Policy and the Nordic-German theory of Racial Domination. This latter, however, is very unscientific and odiously immoral, for it seeks to subjugate Europeans (white men) to German Imperialism, whereas the Anglo-Saxon policy applies only to subject-races (coloured men). Mr. Neville Chamberlain made this very clear when he said on 29.11.30: "If imperialism means the assertion of racial superiority, the suppression of economic and political freedom of other PEOPLES, if it means the exploitation of the resources of other COUNTRIES for the benefit of the imperialist country, then I say that these are not the characteristics of this country." You will observe that Mr. Chamberlain referred to PEOPLES and COUNTRIES, and not to "natives" and "territories," thus clearly demonstrating the difference between the British and German designs.

The British Racial Policy bears no resemblance to the cruel and despotic German overlordship of civilised nations. As Lord Halifax very truly remarked 20.3.39: "Wherever we have been in the world we have left a trail of freedom," and this is proved by the fact that all Britain's Dominions with a predominantly White population are now self-governing.

S.P.A.S.R.S. (Secretary)

## Receive War Commentary Regularly

Subscription Rates:

WAR COMMENTARY AND  
SUPPLEMENT (post free)

6 months, 2/6; 1 year, 5/-.

Special terms for quantities.

All subscriptions and inquiries should be sent to:

FREEDOM PRESS,  
27, Belsize Road London N.W.6.

Published by Freedom Press, 27, Belsize Road, London, N.W.6, and printed by C. A. Brock & Co., Ltd., 463, Harrow Road, London, W.10.



# THE FOOD SHORTAGE AND CLASS DISTINCTIONS

One of the results of this war that has received plenty of attention from the daily Press is the shortage of food supplies that has arisen in certain areas. During the last six or seven months, the problem has been particularly acute, and I should like to shed a little more light on the question than is given by the dailies. Owing to the class structure of society and the function of the national Press in the state machine no section of that Press gives a clear idea of the nature of that apparent shortage. I say apparent shortage because my observations lead me to conclude that in many cases it is only artificial.

Let us take, for example, the case of eggs. For months now eggs have been very difficult to obtain for the ordinary householders, and now that they are rationed we are getting even scantier supplies; yet egg rationing was introduced with the alleged intention of easing the situation. You know that your "shop around the corner" has been unable to supply you with eggs for a considerable period, yet I know of cafes and hotels that are using hundreds of dozens of eggs per week. Now who gets all these eggs? The idle rich. And how are they obtained? They are obtained by the hotel managements who go direct to the farmers and buy up the eggs at fancy prices which their rich patrons are well able to pay. And no amount of rationing silliness, price controlling or anything else will "ease the situation," for the rich are still paying bills of from £100-£200 per week the hotel managers will ignore the controls and buy on the black market.

That, comrade, is why you have to go without valuable nourishment while your rich masters have plenty.

And what goes for eggs goes equally for potatoes. A few weeks ago potatoes

(continued from page 1)

"fighting" by proxy through a group of place-hunting officials and politicians. When such people fail of their avowed Socialist aims, they are merely concerned with keeping their jobs and maintaining the standard of life which their new-found positions have accustomed them to. If the politicians fail, who will the workers have to fight for them? They have—through their leaders—abandoned their most powerful weapon, the strike; and unless they look alive their workers' organisations, the trades unions, will crumble without being able to strike a blow in self-defence.

The way of self-reliance, of fighting at their places of work with economic instead of political weapons, and with solidarity with their fellows, of keeping the class struggle always in front of them, has always been the way of the anarcho-syndicalists. Let the workers learn their lesson now; by wishing to take a short cut to socialism they find themselves with bare hands. We urge them to put no trust in any leaders. Our road towards equality and freedom for all may seem longer and more arduous, but we shall not betray our aims and our comrades.

were non-existent in the shops up North, and even now the customer is allowed only about a pound of potatoes and is often obliged to buy something else at the same time or go without, regardless of whether that something else is wanted or not. Yet the big hotels have always had ample supplies of potatoes, as they have of everything else. The petty bribery of buying something else you don't want in order to get some essential has been a rampant market for months past.

So much for eggs and potatoes, which are but two examples of the wholesale robbery of vital foods now being carried out by the rich. There is, I maintain, plenty of all the essentials for everyone to have a fair ration, plenty in spite of the fact that £12,000,000 are being spent every day by this country alone on destruction, yet the worker has to tighten his belt in order that the parasitic evacuees of Mayfair may live in luxury and safety in Harrogate and elsewhere.

On the other hand, the apparent shortage of many foodstuffs is to be explained by the sheer lack of intelligence of the officials concerned. In Harrogate, where these words are being written, the population has been almost doubled by an influx of civil servants and refugees from the "blitzed" areas, notably, London and Hull yet the allowance made to the latter by the Ministry of Food is only 75 per cent of pre-war rations.

tion. Three-quarters of the food previously consumed by 40,000 has now to make do for something nearer 75,000.

The scarcity of smokes and beer, which may be termed "necessary luxuries," is notorious all over the North. All tobacconists have been making the rule of opening at specific times once or twice a day, when stocks are generally exhausted within ten minutes. Beer is so short that most public-houses open for only two or three nights a week and then the hours are shortened. Yet there is no shortage of cigars and choice wines for the rich.

And in the midst of this shortage, which I am convinced is in the main an artificial creation, we see the drive for profits going full speed ahead. Price controls were introduced for numberless commodities, fish, onions, tomatoes . . . all of which disappeared from the shops as soon as the control was introduced. Why? Because there exists besides the ordinary market the black market, where high prices are still charged and profits maintained. The public-houses, owned by the big Northern breweries, close the public bar, opening only the saloons and lounges where higher prices are charged.

From the evidence before us, the conclusions are evident. That the capitalist class in wartime, as in peace time, is securing ample supplies for its own parasites, while the working-class wife has to stand for hours in food queues, often getting nowt for her pains, and profits are maintained by selling on the black market behind the official smoke-screen of rationing and rationing schemes.

J. R. H.

## OUR WORK

A PUBLIC meeting was held at the Co-op Hall Peckham on July 28 when Fredrick Lohr spoke on "Anarchism, the War and Social Reconstruction." Laurie Hislam, the chairman, opened the meeting, and stressed the need of an understanding of the issues at stake for the workers in the present war. Comrade Lohr dealt with the origins and reasons for the war, and showed how the economic forces at play within society would eventually force this country to go totalitarian. He dealt briefly with the aims and objects of anarchism, and explained how the workers, through the medium of anarcho-syndicalism, could build up here—as the workers of the CNT did in Spain—the framework of a libertarian society within the capitalist state. The aim of the syndicates would be to force concession after concession from the ruling class—at its weakest during a war period—until the breaking point was reached. The workers would then expropriate the owning class through the syndicalist stay-in-strike, and would fight relentlessly against any political tendencies. Control of society would be in the hands of the workers themselves, and it would be their job to rebuild society on the basis of freedom and equality.

Fredrick Lohr addressed the Horsham PPU Group on Anarchism on August 2nd, and obtained a very favourable reception.

Comrades interested in the various aspects of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism should attend the weekly lectures and discussions held at Freedom Press Rooms, 27, Belsize Road, Swiss Cottage, on Friday evenings, at 7 p.m., instead of, as previously announced, 7.30 p.m. On August 1st, Tom Brown dealt with "Anarchism and Industry." He spoke of the function of the syndicates before, during and after the revolution, and explained how society would be built up on the basis of the free co-operation of the workers, co-ordinated in industrial syndicates by means of workers' committees which would, in no sense, hold any coercive or

political power. The following week John Hewetson spoke on "Anarchism and the Land." He pointed out that the land question was an exceedingly important one in a social revolution, as there was the probability that foreign capitalist and authoritarian powers would impose a boycott on imports of food, etc., and as Britain had been largely dependent on food supplies from abroad, it might be possible to strangle the revolution by external pressure. It was not widely enough known, however, that this country could quite easily support her own population comfortably by putting some of the land now lying fallow under crops. Comrade Hewetson explained how the agricultural workers would be organised in an anarchist society.

Outdoor propaganda in London has been very successful this summer. Meetings are held each week at Hyde Park (Wednesday, 7 p.m.; Saturday, 3 p.m.; Sunday, 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.); Lincoln's Inn (Wednesday, 1 p.m.); Tower Hill (Friday, 1 p.m.); and Kingston Market Place (Saturday, 6 p.m.). The largest meeting is the one held in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoons and evenings when Anarchists from all over London rally to the anarcho-syndicalist platform. One of the features of our meetings is the way in which organised provocation is indulged in by the members of a certain political party which has—in the past—professed to be revolutionary, but which, in fact, has only been concerned with carrying out the dictates of the so-called "Socialist Fatherland," the Great Imperialism of the East. Tom Brown, Mat Kavanagh, Laurie Hislam, Fredrick Lohr and Ken Hawkes speak regularly at our open-air meetings, and teams of literature sellers organise the sale of "War Commentary" and Freedom Press pamphlets at the meetings. We need, however, more sellers at the meetings, and any comrades or sympathisers who wish to help us in this way should get in touch with us at Freedom Press Offices, or see the sellers at the meetings.



# Anarcho-Syndicalism v. Trade Unionism

**A** SHORT report of the Biennial Conference of the National Passenger Workers' Union appeared in the August issue of War Commentary. We are reprinting below the text of a leaflet, which includes that of the resolution submitted by the Kingston Branch. This resolution called for a clear recognition of the class basis of society; it therefore logically demanded a drastic reorientation and reorganization of the existing structure of the Union, so as to render it effective for carrying on the class struggle. Comrade Frank Soden, in proposing the adoption of the resolution, pointed out the series of compromises which had led the reformist Trade Unions on the continent into the jaws of fascism without striking a blow. The Anarcho-Syndicalist workers of Spain provided the only welcome exception. He urged that recognition of the grim nature of the workers' struggle against a possessing class driven to extremes by its own internecine competition for control of world economic power, and by its own internal contradictions, was long overdue. In the present epoch the rise and spread of fascism clearly demonstrated the brutality of reaction in its conduct of the class war. In such an era unions organized merely as bargaining counters are hideously inadequate and anachronistic. The reorganization of the workers to meet this culmination of class violence must not be deferred a moment longer. Delay and inaction betrayed the workers of Germany, and then those of France; the British workers must learn from these betrayals.

**S**UCH is the warning of Anarcho-Syndicalists; organization of the workers to defend themselves and develop their own initiative freed from all bureaucratic or political restraint. At the Conference support for this resolution was slight, and the carefully prepared opposition of the Platform was able to save the out-moded structure of the union for another two-year period. Yet the march of events will not allow the matter to rest there.

## Conscription Used Against Militant Worker

**A**NARCHISTS have often pointed out some of the ulterior purposes behind conscription: how it is used not to increase the effective fighting power only, but also—and this is its real object—to break up workers' organizations of resistance, and to reduce wages. A clear instance of this is reported in the "Apprentice Mag." for July 10th, regarding Johnny Moore, a militant in the Apprentices' movement:

On the 4th of June he received calling-up papers. These informed him that he had to report to the Marines at a certain Naval Barracks. At first sight there is nothing unusual in that. What was unusual was that the shipyard in which Johnny is employed was working at full pressure. (The country needs ships, and the skilled men to build them, we are told.) More than that, the day after the calling-up papers were received seven dillutees of military age started work in his department. What seemed to be of most importance was that Johnny had led a successful wage action of some 16,000 apprentices a few weeks ago.

It is, therefore, clear enough why the call-up papers had been sent out! Fortunately, in this instance, the solidarity of his fellow-workers was able to defeat this attempt to get rid of one of their militants. The report continues:

Naturally, when Johnny's fellow-apprentices heard the news they were up in arms at once. Within 48 hours nearly a thousand lads in the shipyard had declared for action unless the calling-up papers were cancelled. The men in 10 departments pledged support for any action taken by the apprentices. Everyone agreed that this was a case of victimisation of a popular apprentice leader.

Shop Stewards who saw the management were politely told that they had better tell it to the marines! However, when the growing resentment of the shipyard workers became more and more apparent, a change of heart was noticeable.

Eventually the papers were withdrawn, and the military authorities, the Ministry of Labour, or somebody unknown, discovered that a mistake had been made. It was mere coincidence that Johnny Moore was involved.

The problems which the war has raised before the workers have created a dissatisfaction with the Trade Unions; a dissatisfaction born of a suspicion that their structure is out of date and inadequate to meet the menacing problems of which fascism is the overt expression. It was this unrest that made the Kingston comrades' resolution favourably received by the delegates of many of the branches, and so made it possible to bring the question of Anarcho-Syndicalism before the conference at all.

In the face of the opposition of the union officials on the platform, however, the sense of dissatisfaction was lulled, and support fell away. In spite of the feeling that something is wrong with the union structure and aims, the hope that the same old methods may still be efficacious once more saved the old form of union organization from encountering a serious body of criticism. It is the same uncertainty of a dissatisfied left minority which has played into the hands of Bevin and defenders of the

Trade Union status quo on previous occasions. ...A less clear-cut statement of the issues than that made by the resolution of the Kingston Branch might perhaps have gained more votes at conference; but it would have been correspondingly easier for the union officials to side-track and crush. Anarcho-Syndicalists know the truth of this; that is why the Kingston comrades struck their demands at the root of the problem.

Transport workers should not forget this resolution, for events will make its demands increasingly insistent. Its appearance at this time indicates a growing realization of the necessity for the workers to reorganize their forces—a necessity that derives from the fact that the war is laying bare the fundamental class antagonisms. If the workers are to defend themselves against increasing reaction, they must quickly recognize the central issues and build for themselves effective weapons of class struggle. The Kingston resolution points the way.

## Kingston Branch Resolution to N.P.W.U. Conference

**T**HAT this conference accept and refer back to the members of "National Passenger Workers' Union," the following declaration:—

This conference recognises the class basis of society and the consequent necessity for active participation in the class-struggle.

The conference declares that the complete economic emancipation of the working-class is realisable only by the expropriation of the capitalist or owner class; and that, therefore, whilst continuing the day-to-day struggle for easement of working conditions, such struggle shall no longer be considered as an end in itself, but as a preparatory manifestation of the intention of the workers to assume complete control of all productive and administrative components of society.

Such control shall be wielded to the benefit of society as a whole, and that no absolute power shall be delegated to those serving in an administrative capacity.

It declares that such control cannot be realised through the medium of political action, and states its intention of wielding Direct Action, i.e., Conscious Organisation For Control of ALL Living Potentialities.

The conference further declares itself the active enemy of each and every attempt at the perpetuation of the capitalist exploitative system, and recommends that the strike weapon in its many forms shall be used, not only as a means of obtaining "concessions," but as being demonstrative of working-class power against particular inevitable manifestations of class society such as war, unemployment, etc.

To the end that the working-class shall become the instrument of its own emancipation the conference recommends that the existing organisation shall become Anarcho-Syndicalist in its totality, and that therefore its present Rules, Constitution and Schedule shall be meticulously examined and amended to conform with the principles contained in this declaration.

The conference hereby expresses its solidarity with the workers all over the world and pledges itself to fight unceasingly for their liberation from the yoke of "Nationalism" and the removal of national barriers to working-class co-ordination of effort.

The problems of the Passenger Workers can no longer be visualised as concerning themselves alone, but must be seen clearly as the problems of the community as a whole. Therefore, when the brothers of Kingston Branch decided to put before conference a resolution inviting recognition of the class basis of society, they were conscious of the fact that they were putting before conference a most serious invitation.

What are the implications of the phrase "The Class Basis of Society" and what are the implications of the resolution to conference?

The proposition is a simple one enough. The Union as at present constituted has, as its main object the following:

"(1) The principal objects of the Union shall be the regulation of the relations between workmen and employers, between workmen and workmen, and the provision of benefit to members."

The simple facts are that between employer and employee there can be no "regulation" of relationship. Between the working-class and the capitalist class there exists a class struggle for existence, or, in other words, a struggle for control of the means of existence. No Trades Union can bridge that struggle by organising to "regulate." No glib tongued Trades Union Leaders can gloss over the fact that the life and death struggle can only be ended by the abolition of the capitalist class. We witness today in Germany and in Europe generally, attempts to subjugate completely the working-class, and active assistance in this direction has been rendered by Trades Union Leadership.

Any battle, any strike for the purpose of bringing agreed relations between those

control the means of life on the one hand, and the non-owning working-class on the other hand, are useless, since only hostile interests can exist between master and slave.

You alone can alter your own condition. The working-class fashion every conceivable commodity and like fools turn them over to their masters.

There are three factors necessary to the production of wealth.

The Land, containing the raw materials.  
The Tools, which you yourselves fashion.  
The Labour, which you yourselves wield.  
Production without either of these three factors is impossible. But the Land and the Productive Machinery is owned and controlled by the ruling class.

Therein lies your slavery for they own and control the means whereby you live. ...

It is this division of society into classes with opposing interests, a class that owns and does not produce, and a class that produces but does not own, and the consequent production of goods and services for sale with a view to profit, which gives rise to the social evils of war, unemployment, intensification of working conditions, etc.

Employer and employee. Controller and controlled. Master and Slave

That is the class basis of society, and that you must organise to alter

In order that free access to the means of existence shall be denied to no one, it is necessary that the working-class shall consciously organise for the destruction of the property relations of existing society.

Trades Unions, organised to "regulate" conditions between employer and employee, exist to preserve these property relations.

Anarcho-Syndicalist organisation alone exists for the purpose of destroying them.

Such organisation recognises the blunt fact that the only condition which is desirable is where master and employee do not exist as such and wherein there are no classes and therefore no owners of the lives of others.

Organisation for the accomplishment of a "decent standard of living" is bound up inseparably with organisation for control of the means of life itself.

Anarcho-Syndicalist organisation means all power to the branches

All power to the branches means control of the funds by the branches.

"Leadership" means the inevitable betrayal of your interests.