-Domela Niewenhuis

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CAPITALISM

CRACKING

BRITISH

Basis of Parasitism Passing Away

spell of cold wind, frost and snow is not Monarchy, easily the most expensive in the cause of the present crisis, but only little finger or the batting of a princely its aggravation. Nor are they convinced eyelid can involve a public expenditure of by the long dismal howling of Tory mal- several thousand pounds. contents that the cause of all our troubles is the Labour Government. These flunkies' overseers and flunkies' flunkies snivellers, who howl at every chill wind and idle time wasting persons for them to and snow fall, do not convince the workers when they tell them how much better it was in the good old days of unemployment and means test. The workers know that their lot would be no happier under a Churchill government.

The crisis in Britain is not a political can be taken out of it.

the problem would be the same. Nor is it only a problem of coal, Coal investments. being the weakest and longest link in the British capitalist chain, the burst shows a vanishing economic glory is seeking to there first, but the crisis is one that prolong itself in full vigour upon a dying threatens the whole structure of capitalism body. here, especially at its base. British capitalism is seeking to maintain itself on

a basis which is rapidly passing away. British economy was built upon a system of world trade and exploitation, especially during the nineteenth century. Britain owned an empire covering one

fourth of the earth's surface, containing one fourth of the earth's population and more than a quarter of the earth's natural resources. From every part of that empire tribute and loot were sent to

other countries, such as the U.S.A., were and the least respected of Britain's people. forced to buy British or go without.

electric power in Spain, oil wells in of its snobbish caste system.

servants.

Most persons realise that the prolonged | Chief flower on this plant is the

No other nation has so many flunkies, hang about. But the economic basis of all

this is passing rapidly. Many parts of the British Empire are costing more public funds than can be extracted from them. India is becoming an example of that process. Palestine is costing the British Government more than

crisis, though it will have political ex- The supremacy of British trade with its pressions. It is a social and economic enormous profit is a thing of the past. problem. Whatever the party in power, The return on British investments abroad is shrinking even more rapidly than the

Yet, the system of parasitism built upon

Again, the best example of this is the Monarchy. Just a holiday to escape the parasites of various degrees, millions of

A larger share of this burden is being shifted from the shoulders of colonial workers on to the backs of Britain's productive workers. These workers are becoming weary of their increasing burden. Productive workers, miners, weavers, farm workers, builders and so on, are Britain built an enormous foreign trade; among the worst paid, the hardest worked More and more of them are refusing to Britain exported not only saleable goods, take up the burden of their despised

The menace will only fade from these Upon this system of world exploitation shores when the British workers and the was built the enormous parasitism un- system of parasitism to which private equalled in any part of the world, at any capitalism gave birth and which state Service heads were waited upon by hordes of the country and, socialising it, putting of clerks, secretaries, artisans and to useful work every able-bodied man and woman in this fruitful land.



"Don't worry chum-It'll soon be warmer."

Polish Syndicalists

Active in Warsaw Rising

was impossible for them to send any opposition. reports on the activity of the movement, In 1944, immediately before the heroic because of the strict Nazi censorship. At Warsaw rising, these two organisations the end of the war the situation continued linked up to publish an underground paper to be difficult, and free communication "Syndykalista". During the rising they between the I.W.M.A. and the Polish com- also published the paper "Iskra" (The rades has not yet been established. But Spark). the I.W.M.A. has received some interesting During the days of the rising the revoludocuments which give us an idea of the tionary syndicalists played a very imwork of the organisation and of the portant role. They participated not as struggle of the Polish revolutionary isolated individuals, but as an organised syndicalists during the war.

Before the war there were, in Poland, vention cost them great sacrifices in human two organisations of a syndicalist tend- life, as with all the other groupings. ency. On one hand there was the Polish It is interesting to study the content of Anarchist Federation, affiliated to the the revolutionary papers which the Polish I.W.M.A., and on the other the Z.Z.Z. syndicalists published during the bloody The latter was a syndicalist organisation struggle. with 130,000 members whose position was Under the heading "The consequences very close to the I.W.M.A. But for the of the rising", the paper "Syndykalista" outbreak of war it is certain that the writes (16.9.44): Z.Z.Z. would have become affiliated to the I.W.M.A.

(I.W.M.A.) During the war there was During the war, under the German very little news from the Polish revolu- occupation, there were also two revolutiontionary syndicalists. From time to time, ary syndicalist organisations in Poland. however, the secretariat of the I.W.M.A. One was the Polish Syndicalist Associareceived short personal messages of greet- tion, and the other comprised comrades ing, telling us that some comrades, at who belonged to different union organisaleast, were still alive. But naturally it tions in which they formed a syndicalist

and collective formation. Their inter-

" A new era is beginning in the public life of Poland. The masses are entering the political and social arena. They are led by their own reason and their own good popular instinct. All new thought, all the events are discussed with enthusiasm throughout the fighting city. A new and conscious public opinion is

"A new epoch is commencing for Poland" continues the article. "It is an epoch of direct actions on the part of the great masses. They are saying that when the rising ends social renovation will begin. If you like, they say, the social revolution. Our job as syndicalists is to express the popular will in an organisational form, and to bring about, with the help of that organisation, the great social renovation based on social equality and political liberty."

Since the Nazis were driven out Poland has regained a certain measure of indethat a contented staff means more and monopoly of clients are readily taken to pendence. But freedom is limited, a revolutionary syndicalist organisation is not allowed. All the workers are forced to belong to a "unified" organisation. But It will be seen that the Unions are quite in spite of that, the influence and organ-

Hypocrisy and

Misery

The Red Indians of America were an

intelligent and progressive people; they

studied leisure and not work, moreover

they were a peaceful race—scalping was

a commercial enterprise initiated by the

white colonists (vide "Conquest of

Violence" by Bart de Ligt). But they

had a disease which was later to cover the

whole world. This disease was syphilis.

the white man, to his misfortune, forgot

to learn. And so this disease, with its

happiness and misery to countless people,

and has spread to such a state that it has

For many years the government did

clinics, but during the last war they

JOHN ANDERSON

Monarchy. Just a holiday to escape the cold for a family of four involves an expenditure of millions of pounds. Of course, there still remain the others, Union Turncoats

Politicians Connive with Sweat Bosses

but also capital. Railways in Argentine, fathers. Britain is reaping the harvest the National Union of General and Municipal Workers does not think there should Rumania being owned by British capital. The melting of this winter's snows will be one. It is because only 15,000 of Britain was also the money market of the not dispel the menace to British economy. London's sixth of a million catering workers are in the Union. When that membership becomes a workable majority, we may expect the fascist method of the time in history. An enormous number of capitalism seeks to maintain. They "closed shop", with its bullying and capitalists, rentiers, landlords and Civil would do so by taking over the economy victimization, to be an order of the day.

ROLE OF ARTHUR LEWIS

From this it is easy to understand the incessant recruiting campaign of the Union. The Union leader, Arthur Lewis, sits on Wages Boards. What sort of bargain he has struck is not known, but it is known that there are waiters who receive no wages, such as those at Frascati's and Scott's; 2s. 6d. per week at the Café Royal; an average of 15/- per week at the Waldorf, Savoy, Russell, Piccadilly and the main hotels of London (in some cases this may be £1 per week). There are washers-up working 10, 11 and is 12 hours a day for £2 10s. per week upwards. Hundreds of chambermaids earn only £2 per week for their never-ending duties. There is only space here to deal generally with these matters. Arthur Lewis also sits in Parliament, that venerable institution of His Majesty which administers the infamous Shops Act of 1913, with its clause giving the employers the right to extract 65 hours work a week from their employees. At the Brighton Conference of the T.U.C. Arthur Lewis had not a word to say when strikes were condemned. All this suggests that Arthur Lewis thinks that a Union Its members do not possess sufficient which pays well and can appease both the bosses and the workers is much more imand name them, yet, between them are of the labour of others, but their economic portant than the organisation of the

SPIRIT OF HANNEN SWAFFER

In an ignorant exposition of hotel conphous mass usually called the middle political expression varies from being ditions, Hannen Swaffer, whose connections with Catering are limited to his consumption of spirits at the Waldorf, writes in the "Daily Herald" (10.2.47), that there Knowing Hannen Swaffer and his untied shoe-laces, I know he has never been down below stairs. As he takes his article from Hotel and Restaurant hours are long but later found to be hopelessly inefficient. from the outset, because of the total lack that report, but as a worker in Catering seldom, if ever, paid. In the busier perimenting with the woad plant, once used sible showed. The adverts in newspapers

COLLABORATION OF CATERING UNION

There is no "closed shop" in the "... the union is for the express purpose of J. Lyons & Co. Improvised, often damp better work." (Dorchester).

"... a serious position which arose when a shop steward was dismissed for allegedly intimidating people to join the Union [bas] been settled." (Savoy).

amicable." (Berkeley).

in this. . . . One girl . . . was given a The stay-in strike is most suited to hotels. part." (Russell).

more gestures of their good will and come of Anarchism applied to industry.

co-operation in the future." (Holborn). PRINCIPLES: two domestic issues . . . has done much to establish good relations so necessary between management and working staff.' (Oxford Street Corner House).

... this growing membership is due to the awareness of what collective bargaining can achieve." (Regent Palace

"Cumberland Hotel Management lauded . . . our management during the past difficult weeks have given magnificent co-operation." (Cumberland).

MILITANT WORKERS AT CLARIDGES

It is pleasing to report, however, that the waiters at Claridges, hotel of the Savoy ing and sympathy. Patients are treated become a very serious menace. In England group, are more militant and have a record as scum; all the so-called secrecy consists alone, the number of fatalities caused of Syndicalist Action. Using Direct Action of is in giving each patient a number and directly and indirectly by V.D. are second technique, Unionists and non-Unionists using that instead of his or her name. only to influenza. joined in solidarity to seize the Tronc Clinics, which should always be open for (tips-pool), and distributed it themselves. prophylaxis are often only twice a week, practically nothing about it, other than It was subsequently ascertained that the and those who come outside hours are setting up a few obscure and inadequate service staff had been defrauded of up to turned away. £100 weekly. Claridges waiters should The French government posters showed realised that something would have to be are "better days now below the stairs." now know they have nothing in common a better outlook when they said "Syphilis done, for with war there is always a with the boss.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

gained power, they used that power to Socialism, Communism, Anarchism or any be attained by "discussions with the exacting; absenteeism is the outcome of Why do we have these apparently con- The V.D. clinics are much as one would suppress their allies, the workers and other doctrine is seized by them, but, employers." The Union representatives long and laborious hours: it is reported flicting attitudes, on the one hand treating expect; inhuman nurses and doctors, and peasants and continued the exploitation of whatever the doctrine the aim of the at the various establishments largely to the Welfare Officer, who prys into the the subject as a national menace, and on lay staff who completely lack understandfollow this collaborationist idea as follows: absentee's affairs on behalf of the welfare

Catering Industry. This is not because of negotiating in an amicable manner and rat-infested staff living and dressingwith the bosses ... there are some bosses palatial luxury of the diners. Corruption decent and intelligent enough to realise and fraud, "fiddling", "narking" and from a fear of organisation and protest.

SYNDICALIST ALTERNATIVE

prone to the use of strikes in their own isational ideas of revolutionary syndicalism "So far the relations existing between interest; but collaboration with the sweat- cannot be eliminated. These ideas will the management and staff have been bosses is the main tenet of their school. triumph, they will find the expression The recent walk-out strike would have imposed by the circumstances. These "Many a grand thing has been done been a failure had it not been for the tendencies have already begun to show for the workers of this establishment . . . threat of Direct Action by the food sup- themselves. the management have played a great part pliers in Covent Garden and Smithfield.

week's wages and free board until she The organisational basis of Anarchist found another job—an action we con- Syndicalism has often been mentioned in sidered fair on the management's this paper. It will not be out of place to reaffirm it here. Anarchism declares that The management are very co-opera- employers and workers have nothing in tive and helpful, and we look for many common. Syndicalism is the historic out-

(a) Control of organisation by the members; control from the bottom upwards.

(b) No leaders; all delegates and committees to be elected, nonpermanent and subject to instant recall.

(c) Repudiation of political activity. (d) Development of Direct Action methods.

(e) Workers' Control of Industry. However they also had a cure for it which The study and development of these ideas is the urgent need of Catering Workers. companion gonorrhaea, has brought un-

FAYMOND UPTON

is Curable." But this was only a half- rise in venereal diseases. And thus they truth, no complete cure had then been started on their unsuccessful campaign

in Catering have not been materially hours take their toll of health, toilet certain and reliable remedy. He imme- Venereal disease has itself more mental facilities are inadequate. Food for diately submitted the results of his and emotional complications than any other workers who live in (who give up their researches to the government office con- disease, and the "Shadow on Your Future" Ration Books) is seldom above half the cerned where they have been filed and for- type of publicity has done nothing but normal ration. J. Lyons & Co. have gotten. I may also remind you, comrade increase them. Two cases of suicide In the Union's report for February, granted no more than the workers' right reader, that it is illegal for a pharmacist directly related to this government camthemselves with the workers who provided No social doctrine is safe from these Arthur Lewis himself states that the of Club facilities, but this is exceptional. to enlighten his customers as to what sub- paign have been reported in the press only the main force and dynamic. Having Colorado beetles of the universities. settlement of wages and conditions can best The Lyons organisation is militaristic and stances may be used as prophylaxes.

(Continued on Page 2, Column 1.)

(Continued at foot of previous Column.)

The Middle Class and theLabourMovement

problems of human conflict. It is so easy chief characteristic. Its main stem

Society, however, is not so easily hall artistes. divisible by a sharp line on one side of which fit all who are workers and proletarians, and on the other all who are capitalists and none left over. True, the working class and the capitalist class are the main classes in society and may be easily defined and easily recognised, but, if we look at light broken by a prism while we may readily recognise the colours capital to live entirely by the exploitation areas where it is difficult to say where one and social manner of life leads them to workers to revolt and gain their rights. colour, begins and the other ends. So, in scorn the hard work and "lack of culture" society there lies between the working of the wage workers. Their aspirations are class and the employing class an amor- constantly to become capitalists, but their class.

which began with the French Revolution, the enigma "Left." but, in order to do so, they had to ally falsified.

It is a popular weakness of mind which | The middle class of today is not so easily over simplifies all problems, especially defined, perhaps its lack of definition is its to divide all into black and white, good and made up of doctors, journalists, probad, we and they. So, the modern social fessional politicians, shopkeepers, teachers, problem is expressed in the phrase: professors, lawyers, small investors, "There are two classes in society—the hangers on of the B.B.C. (especially the working class and the capitalist class." Third Programme), managers and music-

more capitalist than the capitalist to being more revolutionary than the revolution-The French Revolution aries. The political aims of this amorphous group are themselves amorphous, In the early part of the modern period the favourite term of its "intellectuals" is

the middle class was the capitalist class, Having few ideas of its own (at least above them, politically, was the land-decent enough to make public) this group above them, politically, was the land-decent enough to make public) this group the "Catering Worker", I will deal with and wages generally low. Overtime is Recently a doctor, who had been ex- of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that those responsible to the contract of human understanding that the contract of the co workers and peasants. The French Revo-social aims of other groups. The lavourite nest of this social cuckoo is the working conditions in the dyeing industry, found it to be a social aims of other groups. The lavourite nest of this social cuckoo is the working conditions in the dyeing industry, found it to be a and on hoardings appeal only to fear. presenting it as a two class conflict makes not only supplied the "intelligentsia" with affected by the Union. the Revolution incomprehensible. The its dynamic, it has supplied it with ideas French middle-class (capitalists) wished to and social doctrine which these intellectual overpower the landowning aristocracy, parasites have immediately corrupted and

The Rise of Fascism in Austria

ation, viewing the resistance to fascism, control of the masses. of the working-class movement under the Schutzbund went into action—but paper rationing for all publications rests here. This is certainly true of the most paper rationing for all publications rests here. This is certainly true of the most paper rationing for all publications rests here. This is certainly true of the paper rationing for all publications rests here. This is certainly true of the paper rationing for all publications rests here. This is certainly true of the paper rationing for all publications rests here. Allied occupation.

and 1890's, Anarchist influence was fairly masses back to protect them from police strong. The first set-back in influence was attacks but at the same time they allowed caused by the persecutions undergone by the police to escape from the Palace of the Anarchists and by the legalisation of Justice. the right-wing parliamentary Social The fighting spirit of the workers was

the end of the 1914-1918 war, and ruled power by the workers. Social Democracy, political life through their strongly dis- faced with this situation, was only conciplined and centralised party and trade cerned to preserve the centralist power of unions. The Anarchist movement opposed the party. It consciously broke the will every practical form of organisation. Only of the workers, and in this way it helped loose groups were formed, without organ- prepare for fascism and to change the state isational co-ordination. They were known of the old reaction into that of the S.S. as the Union of Anti-Authoritarian Socialists (Bund Herrschaftloser Sozialisten, B.H.S.). The Anarchists differed from the rest of the working-class move- . Up to 1934 the Socialists never called on ment in calling on the workers to leave the people to fight, and then just the the centralist Marxist T.U.s. Such a pro- opposite occurred. Meanwhile, all will to paganda activity was doomed to failure, revolt was crushed with the warning that particularly as syndicalist organisation Italian fascism was waiting to march inwas never put into practice as an alterna- every revolt was suppressed, and then the come, "but" say the political lice, tive. The only attempts in this direction inevitable happened, the Party itself was "conscription must stay to secure an were without the support of the B.H.S. and suppressed and when they called on the in spite of the marvellous activity of the workers to fight they met with no real "democratically elected delegates" are comrades concerned among the waiters and response. chauffeurs, remained without significance. betrayed by its leaders, and with no real

The Workers' Fight

Austrian Social Democracy differed from could be seen from 1927-1934.

had murdered revolutionary workers, were acquitted by Viennese class justice. The enraged workers demonstrated spontaneously against their acquittal, and fighting broke out with the mounted police who were batonning and shooting the crowds. The workers fought back and stormed the Palace of Justice, occupied by the police the workers set fire to the Palace and Hitler fascists.

(Untinued from Page 1, Column 6.)

is passed on by a social act. The per- Austrian democracy. by two people to be infected is an obvious but it never reached the scale of that in man if he lives in the slums of Glasgow? example of the depraved bourgeois other occupied countries. During the war

forms are useless, we must go the whole world; it has proved a false picture. China, only this time the tyrants are the way. We will only have sympathetic Owing to the great number of fallen com- glorious allies, British, French and Dutch, doctors and nurses when these professions rades in all left movements, we Anarchists who are fighting the "despicable" rebels are no longer merely jobs for the middle also became obsessed with the idea of who demand their independence from class. Fear will only be overcome by the revenge. But more important to us was imperial domination. correct and gentle treatment at clinics, the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist If that is why young people are being and by an open and cognisant attitude society and the reconstruction of the conscripted, the fight against fascism was

We can only expect commonsense in a by international finance which would not Conscription is rotten and corrupt society based on commonsense. Until we tolerate a revolutionary ending to the war. throughout, and we ask you as workers must go to education; the basic causes of these evils are economic, and so this education must be part of our economic struggle. J. O. PILLING

Anarchist Publications in Spanish BLANQUITO

by Mariano Vinuales	6d.
HEREJIAS	
by J. Prat	6d.
ESB0Z0	
by Dedalo	6d.
PORQUE SOMOS ANARQUISTAS	
by Saverio Merlino	6d.
A LOS JOVENES	
by Kropotkin	6d.
LIBRO DE ORO DE LA	
REVOLUCION ESPANOLA-	
M.L.EC.N.T. in France	3/-
ETICA	
by Kropotkin	6/-
RECONSTRUCCION DE ESPANA	
by Eusebio Carbo	9/-
EL PROLETARIADO MILITANTE	
by Anselmo Lorenzo	£1.
From the:	

SPANISH LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT,

159, Ledbury Road, London, W.11.

Since the war Austria has become a fighting went on. Against the will of the buffer state between the different power Party leaders, and without their sanction, groups. An objective picture of the the workers called a general strike. This Austrian working-class movement can only action was later grudgingly accepted by be drawn by taking the past into consider- the leaders so that they could regain

they were armed only with batons. On During the old Monarchy, in the 1880's the one hand the Schutzbund pushed the

terrific, and according to Marxist ideology The Social Democrats came to power at the situation was ripe for the seizure of

1934

the struggle.

streets and factories in 1934, the Schutzthat in other countries in being doctrinaire bund retreated into the Party houses and Marxist, and it was revolutionary so long locals and the workers' flats. But their people. as the interests of the party were not supply of arms had already been betrayed endangered. The revolutionary spirit, into the hands of reaction. According to however, only extended to the formation its centralist Marxist ideology the Schutz-Schutzbund). How little effect this had they could only be obtained through the On July 15th, 1927, some fascists who the vital moment the leaders "weren't available".

If, even at that time, the struggle had been based on the clear demand for a free society there would still have been time to vin the masses over, but as it was, that most Christian of all Churches, the Austrian, triumphed and drenched the gallows with the workers' blood. All this who opened fire. Seeing no alternative power was soon to be handed over to the

most of all hating their Christian-Socialist of General Franco out of Catalonia and oppressors, many workers then hailed the Aragon. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. failed to the other refusing treatment and denying Nazis. At this time a favourite saying beat Franco's armies completely because preventatives? The reason is actually among the Austrian workers was, "It the lack of arms was too great a strain, simple; governments do not exist for the doesn't matter if the Nazis come as long as benefit of the people, and so such measures the blackcoats (priests) go." This frame as they do take are just a sop to popular of mind is more understandable when it is the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were aiming to smash opinion, and there is also the power of realised that the political persecution Franco and capitalism as well. It was not the Church, which is against cures and organised by the Christian-Socialist Party preventatives of V.D. because of the (Fatherland Front) immediately after the "moral" issues involved. These de events of February, 1934, began with the Communist and Republican supporters generate morals, which the common people construction of big concentration camps on say. have long since discarded—if they ever the German model.

the fathers shall be visited on the children, in 1938 did not seem strange, as the Social a man of you, and besides the war is over even unto the third and fourth generation.' Democratic propaganda since 1918 had What kind of a man does the army make We have not space here to discuss preached "Anschluss" (Union with of you? It may make you physically fit, morality; suffice it to say that the Germany). Schuschnigg's appeal to resist but at the same time it makes you mentally Anarchist viewpoint is based on good and at the last moment found no response, of weak. It teaches you to kill your fellow evil being equivalent to social and anti- course, and Schuschnigg himself can be worker who has done nothing to you, and social. V.D. is an anti-social disease which considered the Christian gravedigger of how to fight for "your" country, and

Mussolini and Hitler were put in power fought against the Germans and Japanese.

Allied Occupation

Austria was presented with a new form of posed of the very same people who democracy. Under the patronage of the opposed conscription in 1939. Red Army a government of the three legal Anarchist society is the only solution political parties was formed. The former to conscription and all evils of capitalism Christian Socialist Party (Homeguard and the state. Do not listen to the Clerical Fascism of 1934-38) now the politicians for they are your enemies. Austrian People's Party; the former Social Organise with other workers to establish Democratic Party united with various a system of society where there is workers revolutionary socialist groupings, now the control of industry and common ownership Socialist Party; and the Communist of the means of production. Party. . . . The uniting of the former yellow (Christian) and red (Marxist) trade unions in one popular front, with the proportional participation of the three parties, was mainly sponsored by the Com- London: L.F. 1/-; W.O. 5/-; F. 2/6; J.M. 1/-; munists. In spite of the reformist activity I.F. 1/-; 2/6; T.R. 5/-; K.H. 5/-; T.B. 5/-; Let us now turn from Social Democracy of this "front" the People's Party is J.M. £1; K.H 5/-; MH. 1/6; J.M. 1/-; K.H. to another brand of Marxism, Bolshevism. threatening to break away from the United 2/6, 2/-, 2/-; Abergavenny: J. & L.P. 5/-, 2/1; The Bolshevik leaders, including Lenin and Front, and by doing so shows up the Hastings: R.J.T. 10/-, 6/-; Eastbourne: R.H.U. Trotsky, were almost entirely middle class weakness of the Marxist Parties who £1; Dukinfield: J.Mc. 1/-; Glasgow: D.M. £1; although they called their party by a linked up with Homeguard fascism at the Sydney, N.S.W.: A.W. £2; Vista, U.S.A.: A.S. working class title—the Russian Social end of the war.

With the beginning of the persecution of the Socialist organisations in 1934 all activity and active propaganda of the Anarchist movement broke down as well.

revolutionary Anarchist outlook, which realised the necessity of syndicalist revolutionary Marxist groups. . . . Those Anarchists who were murdered in the concentration camps, and those who emigrated in 1938 have left a big gap in the movement which hasn't yet been

three-party system. . . . The publication paign of racial hatred. Britain being an shows tolerance. of printed matter is, in practice, dependent island country it may seem easier to proon the will of the government, as the mote such suspicion of the foreign worker OUTSIDE THE C.P. CONFERENCE

outside the three main parties is lifted, generous and tolerant towards people of Communist stewards who began to tear up and through this the reorganisation of the other countries, especially if they are the Trotskyist papers and tried (not too Anarchist movement made possible, the workers.

The war is over, the so-called peace has everlasting peace." These so-called telling you how to run your lives, and themselves democrats. Conscription in a Instead of carrying the fight into the democracy is a contradiction, for democracy should mean delegates elected to office to carry through the will of the

No worker was ever asked if he or she wanted conscription, it was thrust upon them, and any person who dares oppose of a small military defence corps (the bund had its arms in central depots and it is sentenced to imprisonment. Recently ranks a much higher born percentage of twenty-one men were prosecuted at the instructions of the leaders, and at Nuremberg for using such an act as part of their treachery. Call yourself a democrat and you can get away with it, or to quote William Shakespeare: "A rose

by any other name smells just as sweet.' The Anarchist Federation sees conscription as being purely fascist in principle. No person can be forced to fight for his own freedom, he can only do that of his own free will. A good example of a non-conscripted armed force were the brigades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. The Durruti column was the finest of these brigades. It was this column, fighting six Deceived by the Marxist Party, but men to a gun, that drove the fascist forces and because of the sabotage of the Communists and Republicans who knew that because of the lack of centrally imposed discipline by bureaucratic generals as the

accepted them—are such as "the sins of In reality the German fascist invasion scription is that the armed forces make The argument of the supporters of conrespect your King-who has done nothing nicious law by which a person can be The Austrian workers' active resistance for you. If they teach you to "fight for forcibly medically examined if reported only began with the war against Russia, your country", what can they say to a

The second argument of the conscriptionthe revolutionaries of all kinds propagated ist is a false one, because the war goes What is the solution to all this? Re- a new social order for Europe and the on in Greece, Palestine, India and Indo-

generally. And most important of all, the devastated European countries on a social a fight in vain, because the people you are stigma must be removed from those basis. We had forgotten that Schuschnigg, conscripted to suppress are the people who

> to oppose it because you are only conscripted to defend the interests of capitalism, and because the Government With the occupation by Allied troops, who are conscripting you now is com-

R. GRANT

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£2 9s. 4d.; Hyde Park sympathisers: 11/8.

Total ... £16 19 7 Previously acknowledged ... 32 14 8 ____ £49 14 3

Groups had already formed with a more revolutionary Anarchist outlook, which

activity. During the years of clandestinity, 1934-45, the active comrades were forced by circumstances to work together with revolutionary Marxist groups. Those

continued its campaign against foreign gusting to hear them shouting whom the Communist policy will appeal, skyists were offering for sale their paper, a view to membership, write to: Even if the ban of political activities but most British workers are polite and Suddenly out rushed two large bodies of GLASGOW:

lack of speakers and writers will only The reason for the Communist racial told that this had happened several times. permit activity on a small scale, and with- hatred- campaign is that most of these Next the Communist strong arm men out the active moral support of the foreign workers come from countries which turned their attention to passers-by who Anarchist International, is doomed to Russia has conquered and enslaved. They had stopped to look on with wide open dare not return. Russia regards all the eyes. I saw two ratepayers of Marylebone ANARCHIST GROUP OF VIENNA peoples of these conquered countries as grasped by Communists, pushed off the enemies or potential enemies, so, the pavement into the road and ordered to hatred of the Kremlin is echoed by the move on. Seymour Place was littered with Pollitts and Horners and the howling mob torn papers by them.

of red-white-and-blue Bolsheviks. TWO KINDS OF FOREIGNERS

The displaced persons whom the British Government wish to employ here are all The Press reported that 300 workers to be employed on useful manual labour and arriving a little late at Cammell Laird's "ODD MAN OUT" has its setting in finding-increasingly unpalatable; mining, being delayed by a snow storm were told brick-making, farm labouring, textiles and to "come back after dinner." amount they will receive in wages.

shouted its approval, for a very high pro- late, support from the workers, had to give up coercion. They have the cheek to call portion of these non-producers were Comwill steal your jobs."

> THE COMEDY OF RACIALISM Strangely enough the C.P. has in its away from shipyards.

The Communist Party at its annual con- foreign origin. Many of the most ardent ference in London a few weeks ago racialists of the C.P. are such. It is disworkers likely to get employment in "Englishmen's jobs", as though red-The small number of comrades remain- Britain. Horner and Pollitt were the white-and-blue blood flowed in their veins, ing are excluded from propaganda by the chief spokesmen in this disgusting cam- while the average British worker still

The freedom of the streets.

KEEP AWAY FROM SHIPYARDS

persons were imported (on a basis which chap! It is probably that many of them

to workers born outside of this "sceptred being one minute late. Shipyards do not class" howls about "foreigners" and by factories. The gate is shut as the starts a whispering war that "these people hooter begins blowing and you lose 41 or 8½ hours wages.

Since then Syndicalist has kept well

The Middle Class

(Continued from Page 1, Column 2.)

intelligentsia" is the same, to promote the economic and political welfare of the middle-class person and to replace the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist, by the exploitation of labour by the middle-

Of course, there are many middle-class persons who abandon their class interests and, accepting the aims of the revolutionary working class, work sincerely for those aims, but the majority of middle-class persons join a social or political movement to achieve middle-class aims.

The aims of the early working class movement were almost instinctive-social and economic equality, suspicion of all leaders, expropriation of the expropriators, liberty, brotherhood and communism (in its uncorrupted sense). It has been the hellish aim of the middle-class intelligentsia to take the name of these aspirations and corrupt them into class

Socialist Intelligentsia

struggle arise side by side and not one ship on behalf of the workers." out of the other; each arises under different conditions. Modern socialist "What is the consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for socialist producbourgeois intelligentsia: it was in the is a kangeroo?": minds of some members of this stratum that modern socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians who, in their turn introduced it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done. Thus socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without, and not something that arose within it spontaneously."

Thus, Kautsky witnesses, Marxist Socialism is a product of the middle class, not of the working class.

Democratic Labour Party. Lenin, the

"The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by trade union consciousness, i.e., it may itself realise the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism,

(Lawrence and Wishart).

The Bolshevik party was a party of the middle class using working class names and phrases to overthrow the capitalist class, deceive the workers and institute a dictatorship of the middle class party for the further exploitation of the workers.

of the Proletariat." When questioned, the sciousness is represented as a necessary ship means government by the minority. problem of it. and direct result of the proletarian class When it is pointed out that the proletariat struggle. But this is absolutely untrue, is the vast majority and that therefore Labour to conceal its aim of middle class Of course, socialism, as a theory, has its the phrase is a contradiction in terms, roots in modern economic relationships the Communists reply in this way: "Who just as the class strugle of the prole- are the proletariat? Not miners, dockers, tarian has, and just as the latter and factory workers. The proletariat are Workers Party. The British Labour emerges from the struggle against the those who understand Marxism and Party was born of a marriage of trade capitalist created poverty and misery of Leninist-Stalinism. Those who have the unionism and the middle class. Gradually the masses. But socialism and the class knowledge exercise a benevolent dictator-

A similar argument is presented by the chosen—rarely for their ability as candimiddle class charlatans who use the name dates—never for their knowledge of the tion as, say, modern technology, and the and revolutionary good will of Anarchism Social Problem. proletariat can create neither the one to pursue middle class aims of class The aims of the Labour Party are not nor the other, no matter how much it privilege. Here is a typical spokesman of working class. Its programme will bring may desire to do so; both arise out of this grouping writing on "What is the no relief to the workers but is meant to the modern social process. The vehicles Working Class?", much as a zoologically regain by political methods what the

wage, living in a certain kind of house factory. or dressing in a certain kind of way. The victory of the workers can be compelled to live by the sake of his ligentsia, whatever name they use. labour power."

or small tradesmen."

lawyer politician, used the same sneering Berneri goes on to state that the work-

workers gain possession of the means of production.

"Victory in the fight against class domination can only be achieved by the direct action of the workers themselves. The A.F.B. rejects all parliamentary and similar activity as deflecting the workers from the class struggle into paths of class collaboration. No compromise with the forces of reformism or reaction. Organisation for the social revolution."

From the AIMS and PRINCIPLES of the A.F.B.

like to learn more of its objects and structure with

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Films

"Odd Man Out"

on just those jobs which Englishmen are shipyard, Birkenhead, due to the buses modern Belfast in social unrest. Despite this background there is little emphasis on the social question. The story commences hospital ward-maids. As manual workers An official of the firm said: "The men with the planning of a robbery by a group they will produce at least three times the are expected to be on time. If conditions of members of an illegal political organisare difficult they should do as most of our ation (presumably I.R.A. and definitely not When large numbers of middle class employees did and set out earlier." Nice Anarchist as the "Daily Express" and "News Review" critics assume) to raise excluded workers) the Communist Party caught the first bus or train and were yet funds for the movement. There is a hitch to the plot, Johnny, the leader, kills the cashier and is severely wounded himself. munists. When it is proposed to give work a shipyard. He was often locked out for He escapes after the police are informed and a price is put on his head. The outcomeisle" the "only party of the working allow even the two minutes grace allowed the main body of the film—is concerned with the many characters who are seeking Johnny for their own reasons: a police officer wants him for murder, a nark wants him for the reward, a publican shelters him and susequently evicts him, a mad artist SYNDICALIST desires to paint him, a surgeon mends his wounds, a friendly priest tries to contact and help him, his girl friend tries to smuggle him out of the city. The suspense is very cleverly built around these characters. The atmosphere of crowded trams, back alley slums and poverty stricken children crying for alms, plus the superb acting of James Mason as Johnny, a group of Irish actors (who nearly steal the picture) the excellent its own effort, is able to develop only direction and photography make this well worth seeing. In many respects better than "The Informer."

> "BOOMERANG". Made in the style of "The March of Time", part documentary however, grew out of the philosophic, and part fictional, this is the story of a historical and economic theories that popular priest who is murdered in a small were elaborated by the educated repre- town in the U.S.A. The incident becomes sentatives of the propertied classes, the a political issue and the opposition party intllectuals. According to their social use it as a scapegoat to demonstrate the status, the founders of modern scientific inefficiency of the power in office. Many socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves suspects are arrested and later a man is belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia." charged upon the circumstantial evidence Lenin; "Selected Works", Vol. 2, of his apparel. The opposition's "red herring" is the large number of suspects arrested. The district attorney risks his career to prove the charged man's innocence. An excellent film, and in its way a factual exposition of political jugglery.

In their pursuit of these aims in most the working class or who ever posed the The founders of Socialism were of this countries the Communists make much use problem of their existence as one would class. Says Karl Kautsky (probably the of the Marxian phrase "The Dictatorship ask, "Do you believe in ghosts?" It is the brilliant intellectuals, who, seeking to "In this connection socialist con- Communists usually admit that dictator- hide their aims, make a complicated

In Britain the intelligentsia uses the term rule; just as in Germany the chief party of middle class dictatorship, the Nazi party used the name National German Socialist the middle class is ousting the trade union and working class element. We see this particularly in the case of parliamentary candidates where fewer persons of work-Working Class?" ing class origin are selected and more and more lawyers, army officers and such are

of science are not the proletariat, but the minded journalist might write on "What middle class is losing economically. What the Labour Party seeks is not socialisation "Such people add to the existing con- but State Capitalism, an aim which, in part, fusion by their denial of the existence suits the purpose of the capitalists. If of the working class. We shall try and State Capitalism will provide "posts" for make clear what we mean by the term." the hordes of unemployed middle class "When we speak of the working class graduates, who have not sufficient capital in terms of class-struggle, we do not to live on rent and profit and are too mean people earning less than a certain "cultured" to go down a mine or into a

> Nor do we mean someone (i.e., prac- achieved only by fighting against, not only tically everyone) who, since he does not the big capitalist, but also against his own the means of wealth production, is bastard offspring—the middle class intel-

> Revolutionary Syndicalism by its working class origin, revolutionary tradition and 'It is useless and, in effect, confusing, aim, its militant method and working class to define the working-class as a body mode of organisation offers the best base composed of industrial workers, peasants for fighting the capitalist class without allowing the middle class to steal the M. L. Berneri; 'War Commentary," victory. But the principles of Anarcho-Vol. 2, No. 3. (Freedom Press). Syndicalism must be faithfully adhered to.

patronising language in describing the ing class is they who understand. I never Published for the A.F.B. by the Secretary, London alleged intellectual inferiority of the found a steel worker or bricklayer or London, N.W.3, and printed by C. A. Brock & Co., boiler maker who denied the existence of Ltd., (T.U.), 79, Southern Rew. London. W.10.