Aldermaston, 1963

THE ROAD WAS OURS

I've got a Secret,
A nice Official Secret,
I've got a Secret,
For everyone to see,
Now my little Secret,
No longer is a Secret
And M.I.5 are after me.

ALDERMaston '63 and the sudden appearance of the notorious RSG-6 pamphlet made it obvious that this was one march from Aldermaston to London that was going to be uphill all the way for old soul-snatcher Collins and Auntie Peggy Duff. This delightful document gave us full details of the rat-holes the State has provided - at our expense, of course - for its chosen rats, so that they may conduct a military dictatorship after a nuclear war (the idea that after a nuclear war there is going to be anybody left in the British Isles to be governed strikes most of us as positively fatuous, but never mind).

The pamphlet was very well received by marchers and rapidly circulated by all and sundry. It was naturally widely discussed and a lot of people felt that, as the March was going to pass very close to Rat-hole No. 6, they ought to go and have a look at it for themselves. So far, so good, but when Auntie Peggy and the Mad Monk realised what might happen, they became very distressed and made their counter-plans accordingly.

So, on the second day, when the March arrived at that little lane that leads off the A4 to Rat-hole No. 6, there was Auntie Peggy bowling into a microphone, exhorting marchers not to make any silly detours. From there on, right along the proper route for their lunch-break.

The leading groups in the March manfully demonstrated their utter incomprehension of what Unilateralism is all about and dutifully trotted on up the road to be fed and watered. However, there was one section, numbering more than a thousand, who didn't listen to the rantings of L. Duff (by this time becoming quite hoarse). Instead, they simply turned left and went up that lane. It was a continued on page 2, column 1

Ford stewards under fire

As was to be expected, shop stewards took the can back for past industrial unrest in the Ford Inquiry Report. The management came in for slight criticisms, as much as the sacked 17 had long service with the company, and the court wondered why it took Fords so long to take the decision to sack them, if they had been as bad as was claimed.

What purpose has the Court served? Quite frankly, none. It is a well-known fact that employers and the trade union leadership want to smash the Ford shop steward organisation. Probably the Court has added a little more grit to the mill.

On March 5, Leslie Kealey, national organiser of the TGWU, said he had several limits on the power and influence of the Shop Stewards Committee. The most effective would be to cut off the committee's source of finance; union members should be persuaded not to take part in the two annual draws run by the Stewards.

Now the Court of Inquiry is over. Ford stewards can expect a blitz on their organisation from the trade unions, but what about the 17 men? They are still out in the cold with their ex gratia payment of £11 per week finished. In a statement on Wednesday, April 10, Kealey said priority must be given to the question of reinstatement of the 17 men. Progress on other issues is therefore dependent on Ford's attitude to their re-employment.

Many of the dismissed men are members of the Shop Stewards Committee, so one can assume that if these men are reinstated, it will be only on condition that they all become "Mr. Blocks'.

The proposals for improving industrial relations are a sincere endeavour to make shop stewards as militant as tabby cats, with a full-time TU official as a guardian angel (Ford employers should welcome that stroke). The sending of shop stewards to night school - to learn what? How to collaborate? Love thy boss? Exports are patriotic at any price? There is only one school for any shop steward - the school of practical experience on the shop floor; where and how else can day-to-day shop floor problems be solved?

The Financial Times 11.4.63, makes the following point: "The report as it stands has two weaknesses. First it leaves the future of the 17 dismissed men still in doubt and this could continue to bedevil relations between union and management. Since it distributes blame widely, there is a danger both sides will simply take what they like out of the report and ignore the unpalatable parts. It is up to Mr. Hare and his department to see this does not happen." (Our emphasis).

Shades of Sweden's industrial set-up.

Spain and Portugal are the last remaining stronghold of nazi-fascism which, under Hitler and Mussolini ravaged Europe. Almost thirty years of dictatorship have turned our countries into wretched exporters of cheap labour abroad.

While you enjoy the advantages that Spain offers - a favourable rate of exchange and a low cost of living compared to the countries you come from - the Spanish people, the working class, lives in appalling conditions as you can easily see for yourselves; meanwhile, the benefit of the tourist trade is spent mostly on armaments and in the upkeep of the armed forces and the police.

The Spanish people would receive you with friendly warmth if your presence here did not serve today to worsen its condition of poverty and if your trade did not contribute to sustain the tyranny.

Do not collaborate with these anti-democratic regimes; tell everyone about the lack of freedom that exists in the Iberian Peninsula.

Do not let your savings serve to maintain the nazi-fascist dictatorships which continue to oppress our two countries.

LONG LIVE FREEDOM! DOWN WITH ALL DICTATORS!
magnificent sight, as hundreds of people streamed up the narrow, winding lane behind the banners of the Committee of 100, the Federation of London Anarchists, the Oxford Anarchists, the OAKS (Failing Londoners) and the Soliloquy Anarchist Group (we were also accompanied by contingents from the Flip Liberty). The little lane had not only been marked by the Duff loudspeaker van, but also by the banners of the old London Anarchist Group—in fact, the majority of flags flying in this demonstration were the red-and-black ones.

The Rat-hole was found without much trouble, though some soul had been thought enough to paint RSG-6 and an arrow in six-foot, white letters half-way up the lane, in case we should have any difficulty locating it. It was a handful of policemen and a lorry, but we found the way in the end. The isolation, the brainchild of some crippled authoritarian intellect, was still in effect. The sight of constables flogging through the undergrowth like hounds, in vain pursuit of nuclear disarmers.

We were completely outwitted and in no time at all the whole installation was swamped by demonstrators.

When the police realised they had been caught with their blue-serge trousers down, they resorted to their customary violent methods—a police dog was set on a demonstrator, other demonstrators were hurled off a high wall and a general mauling of demonstrators ensued. However, despite the feeling that the event was very much on, the demonstrators remained non-violent throughout and a number of State casualties, apart from their already tatty "image", was a boiler-house window.

A resigned silence was observed and, having thoroughly exposed the thugs and expressed our own feelings on the matter, we rejoined the main march. A very small group of anarchists and Committee supporters remained sitting outside the building and, whenever a demonstrator inside the building during the course of the afternoon, they were eventually thrown right out of the place at about 7 o'clock in the evening.

The evening's events firmly established us as subversives and complainers, and the so-called "leaders" of the campaign against the Bomb. That evening's newspapers duly treated us to gags of horror and cries of "traitor"—the whole tone of their reporting being typified by The Evening Standard's claim that the pamphlets distributed along the marchers by well-dressed, middle-aged men and women.

We kept on walking

THE REPORTS in the national Press of the events of the Monday afternoon were, as one might imagine, as far removed from the truth as possible. The straightest reporting was in the Guardian, though even this was not more than an approximation of the truth. Those who took part in the demonstration are asked in the Peace-Movement image that Collins has of himself, not to accept his attempts to castrate and use the Campaign for his own ends.

These militant groups (supporters of the "March Must Decide" campaign, Committee of 100, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Solidarists and other libertarians) decided to march with CNZ along the planned route—of which the police were well aware—through a street of the so-called "leaders" of the Campaign against the Bomb. That evening's newspapers duly treated us to gags of horror and cries of "traitor"—the whole tone of their reporting being typified by The Evening Standard's claim that the pamphlets distributed along the marchers by well-dressed, middle-aged men and women.

As we turned round Hyde Park Corner to go down into Grosvenor Place, one of the first arrests occurred—that of an SWF comrade, who was dragged off into Hyde Park Corner police post.

We proceeded in spite of the fact that numbers increased, and that we moved down into Grosvenor Place, our numbers appearing to increase all the time. It was in Grosvenor Place that the police received reinforcements, among them five constables, who charged into the crowd, swinging and caging in an attempt to force us into the gutter and on to the pavement. They weren't good enough—we just kept walking slowly forward. By this time the police were completely out of control, hot-heads among them lashing out wildly and making indiscriminate arrests—one mounted constable in particular seemed to be causing some sort of stir. Now the police started making direct attacks on the anarchist banners, try to gash them. Time and again the police tried to establish cordon and time and again we walked through or over the road and into the next.

When we reached Parliament Square and marched into Whitehall, there was a lull in police activity until three-quarters of the way up Whitehall, in an attempt to reduce the width of the column and break up the formation in small groups and erect a cordon. Again they achieved precisely nothing, for as soon as marchers were through the cordon, they fanned out right across the road again.

The next concerted police attack came in Regent Street, where there were more futile cordon arrests. Chief Supt. Gilbert himself smashed the pole of the Federation of London Anarchists banner across his knee.

But still the red-and-black flags, somewhat tattered and hoisted on improvised poles, led this section of the March, which was now twice its original number.

On our arrival in Oxford Street, the police finally admitted defeat—in despair, just wanting to get us back to Hyde Park with the minimum of trouble to themselves, they stopped their attacks and, apart from a few scuffles, their interference ceased completely.

When we eventually reached the Park, a "March Must Decide" meeting was held at some distance from the official CNZ meeting. The programme was agreed by Peter Glass (of the Provisional Factory for Peace) and Jack Stevenson. It was agreed that the March this Easter had been a tremendous success from the viewpoint of the libertarian and direct action wing of the Campaign, and in fact that it was felt unnecessary to hold further demonstrations that evening—anyway we were all pretty well shagged out by this time. It was underlined that, for our part, the march through London had been a non-violent one, while Jack was underlined on the sort of stuff we might expect from the Press on the following day. The meeting agreed that the next demonstration would be the Marham demonstration, organised by the East Anglian Committee of 100 on May 11 (meet 3 p.m. at Swaffham) and at 3 p.m. on May 12, we discussed a meeting.

Afterwards both Duff and Collins made statements to the Press concerning anarchists and twice on Monday morning Collins was heard on the ABC attacking anarchists. One gathering from their remarks only that this was a new breed of Englishman who belongs to them and them alone (actually they both seemed a damn sight more worried about their somewhat fragile "public image" than the Bomb).

Collins accused us of "trying to muscle in on the Campaign (which of course belongs to him) and of being cranks. I would suggest that the anarchist movement has an incredibly better anti-militarist record than either the Christian Church or the Labour Party")."

On returning back to Hyde Park, London to Aldermaston before he ever marched from Aldermaston to London.

The Daily Worker spoke of "activities which to some extent divide the peace movement and the whole wider issue of unity was needed", but coming from a paper which supports the Bomb (so long as it is of Russian origin) this was claptrap.

The comments of the national Press about the Spies for Peace RSG6 pamphlet gives us some splendid examples of the slavement mentality (with the possible and surprising exception of Cassandra in the Daily Mirror, 16.4.63), while their coverage of Easter Monday's events makes one wonder why they bother to go to the expense of employing reporters.

All in all it was a splendid weekend—one in which libertarians played a major part, the red-and-black flags being the focal point of the real and quiet action taken by the marchers. Fraternal greetings to the Spies for Peace, for giving the State a long overdue

B.L.H.

Any comrades wanting to join libertarian groups in the Warren Row (Berkshire) district are advised not to contact the (Home) Secretary.

GLASGOW: Readers in the Clyde-side area interested in SWF activity are asked to contact R. Lynn, 22, Rose Street, Glasgow, N.F.

MANCHESTER: For information on SWF activity in Lancashire, contact J. Pinkerton, 12, All Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP—meets on the last Friday of each month at Brian and Maryrat Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Grove, L.11, 8.45 p.m.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP meets each Wednesday evening, 5.30 p.m. at Christ Church, Packvate Quad: 2. 6.

SOHO ANARCHIST GROUP meets 7 p.m. Saturdays, Public bar, Finch's, Goodge Street, London, W.1.
Irish union officials sabotage bus strike

By their rejection on four successive occasions of proposals backed
by union officials, Irish busmen have won a tremendous victory in
their struggle against CIE (Coras Loingeir Eireann) plans to
introduce one-man buses.

The company have been trying to do this for four years and,
with the connivance of TU leaders, come close to success. The
majority of busmen are organised in the ITGWU, and the gen-
eral secretary is not a hard fighter. The class struggle, but a disciple of the Catholic Workers' College, the class doctrines of which he has staunchly upheld in his dealings
with employers.

Majority of busmen are in the Workers' Union of Ireland,
general secretary Jim Larkin, Jr. and the National Association of
Transport Employees, remnants of the former NUR in Ireland.
As the majority in the ITGWU, the decisions of that Union are
generally binding on the busmen. For this is the useful
excuse used by officials of those unions in their sellouts.

Some eight years ago, a campaign began for improved pension
schemes in CIE. For eight years the unions have achieved absolutely
nothing in this direction. The ITGWU, for their part, proposed
an increase of £110 for the first five years, followed by £1 a week.
Now, that busmen pay is 3s a week and the Pension Fund has over
£4; million invested in it at present. Other grievances long awaiting
redress by union officials are those of the workmen, now 4s 9d a day
for a man with two dependents and £27 and a week and an issue of free
travel facilities, now enjoyed only by clerical staff.

The Company, with the connivance of Union officials, has suc-
ceeded in exploiting these grievances, attempting to form a
“bazaar” for them by stating that the two entirely separate issues
have been put on the one ballot paper: “Accept the one bus man,
then we will see about those other grievances”! The fact that
busmen have been looking for better pensions for at least six
years, that the power of the one-man bus is inimical only four years ago, does not enter
the question. Union officials are there to discipline the workers
for the Company, not to fight for their demands. This is the veridict
on the facts behind the present strike.

The strike is struck unanimously against the introduction of
one-man buses on tour and hire buses. The strike lasted one week,
after which an agreement was reached, when two priests from the
Catholic Workers' College arranged a meeting between the Company
and Union officials. The agreement provided that there would be a
further spread of one-man buses pending discussions on pensions
and sick benefits. The agreement also provided for no victimisation.
Despite this, five ITGWU members were banned from holding office in the Union for up to five years.

The Labour Court investigated the dispute and its recommen-
dations included acceptance of one-man buses and some increase
in benefits. These were rejected by the busmen and a second ballot
held to decide the strike was won. Despite all this, and the agreement
one-man buses. Last-minute intervention by the Minister for Industry
and Commerce, Jack Lynch, averted the strike and proposals were
put to the busmen, providing for the setting up of a commission to
bring about a “compulsory arbitration” and a “chairman of an
“impartial” commission to investigate grievances. The usual
trick! This time it didn't pay off.

There was one snag; the commissioner's proposals were to be
accepted by the busmen and the union officials, but decisively rejected by the busmen. Once again the strike was on and once again it was averted by Ministerial intervention. The time the men
balloted on the same proposal with the sting out of the binding
clause was gone. To the surprise of all “leaders” concerned, the
majority rejected the proposal, by more than 2 to 1. Secretary Kennedy
deplored the result of the ballot—the same man who called busmen
who marched to Congress Hall during the unofficial strike
a “thief.” The strike began on April 1.

Union officials showed fantastic contempt for the busmen all
during this period. Their behaviour has evoked strong awareness of
betrayal which is not new in the Irish. The fact that the leaders are still able to organise themselves, expose the
leaders and throw them aside. The lowest of the officials' actions
was an advertisement in all papers, asking busmen to accept the
Minister's proposals. This was followed by a booklet outlining the
proposals, to be distributed to the busmen. This was followed
by a quarter-page ad, they appealed to busmen to consider the
public, among whom they would arouse hostility if they struck
and asked busworkers to consider their fellow workers. The ad
claimed the union officials were merely acting on instructions.

The dirty work was greeted with hostility by all sections of the Labour movement. A busmen's meeting decided
to insert a counter-ad in the papers, stating their case. The
papers refused to accept, as it was not signed by a “responsible
official.” When the Government, Press and Union leaders all against them, the public have remained ignorant of the busmen's case and, consequently, been hostile to them during the dispute.

Following the decision to strike, union leaders did everything in
their power to contain the strike, though they must have realised that for success it must spread to road freight and railways,
which were involved, because if the Busmen's Bidding
succeeds in breaking busmen, the road freight and railway will be
next to feel the hammer of redundancy. However, the union, in
the continued pattern of betrayal, issues a directive to branches not
to spread the strike.

No effort was made by them to enlighten the public about the
facts. Some attempt has been made by busmen to advertise a
number of one-man buses, but the strike was蜥 Sox.

The attitude of Union officials was far from tolerant; over 6,000
leaflets sent to Dublin just disappeared. Other quantities vanished
in Cork and Limerick. In Cork and elsewhere, leaflets were distributed a quantity of NPD leaflets for the busmen was arrested by the police and charged with
conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace. He was taken to the
police station, held three hours before being charged and the
leading busmen imprisoned.

After the strike had been on for four days, Union officials pulled
a further trick, by putting forward precisely the same proposals to
the busmen, as on previous occasions, with the addition of complete
acceptance of the one-man bus. Once again the papers published a
quarter-page letter, from Fintan Kennedy to all union members,
appealing for acceptance of these proposals and immediately
beginning to name “traitor colleagues.” Why not “Dear Member”?
This proposal was again decisively defeated by busmen, 1,000–900.
The hith up in the face for Union leaders.

Despite calls to resign, the only comment by Kennedy was that,
as a Union leader, that was his job, that his social and moral responsibility to settle the
strike as early as possible.

So far the busmen have shown tremendous solidarity. To win,
however, they must spread the strike to road freight and railways
and enforce a complete boycott. To work with such leaders as
Kennedy and Pat Dooley, on whose instigation the police were
called to arrest the man distributing leaflets.

SUPPORT THE BUSMEN'S STRUGGLE! SCRAP THE
ONE-MAN BUSES!

PAT KELLY.

SURVEY ON THE BOMB

WHAT DO PEOPLE THINK OF THE BOMB? (A Survey of
Public Opinion, Commonwealth, Ltd.) This is within the limitations
of public opinion and subject to the inherent distrust of the leading
political issue of the day.

The survey confirms this reviewer's opinion that people
generally have very strong convictions against the Bomb and yet,
conscious of the public pressure, in prison, in the party-political
age, see themselves helpless to affect the issue one way or another.
They complained repeatedly to the surveyors that they had had no
opportunity of expressing an attitude on whether Britain should
retain the Bomb or not. The pamphlet goes on to point out the
alarming fact that they fatally accept that they are not going
to be given such an opportunity, nor do they expect it.

The survey states that the majority has two conflicting
concerns about the bombing of Israel: the fear that the Israeli
state, in this vital matter, in view of the fact that the major parties have not so far publicly debated it
and thus it has not been an election issue. They said that they
did not expect democracy to extend to this far and were quite used
to it. They expressed themselves as uneasy and anxious for an opportunity to have
their say. It is worth noting that these same people would show a much
more positive and definite attitude, what they consider more
concealed dangers such as strikes, disharmonies and so on. They would
resort to more dramatic forms of action, to protests and the like.

We accept the survey's finding that the majority of people
in Britain are undoubtedly in favour of Britain retaining the Bomb.
The survey is quite satisfactory with the present situation, wherein the Bomb is being retained. The Aldermaston marchers then taking their place as a protesting minority.

The interesting point brought out here is that the majority
is not satisfied. It would seem that they are not unhappily aware
of Government policy just happens at this stage to coincide with their
desire to retain the Bomb and that, if this policy were to change
continued on page 6, column 2.
INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK
An easy answer

IT is hoped to try to operate the proposed new scheme in the London docks at the beginning of September. Frank Cousins, General Secretary T&G&WU, said recently that the proposed new dockers' scheme would have a "decisive" effect on life for all dockers. Employers hope that once the scheme gets under way in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, etc., will follow suit.

There is only one snag to all these put arrangements by the National Joint Council, viz., the final dockers' strike will have to be called off. The National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers (Blue Union) unani-

mously rejected the employers' proposals for decasualisation, which the two sides have been discussing since October, 1961. The Blue Union is not represented on the NIC, yet its members will be expected to work the Charter.

Bill Lindley, General Secretary of the Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union has warned that it would be foolish for the unions to push the scheme through, without giving the men fullest opportunities to discuss and agree all its details.

To date only the broad outlines of the scheme have been agreed between the enclosed docks employers, T&G&WU and NASD. The enclosed docks employers are busy pushing out leaflets explaining the further decasualisation plan. They have written to 140 companies on the condition that they agreed to co-operate in running one-man buses and the larger Routemasters.

London Transport accepted the 10s, but London Transport intends to go ahead with its measures to increase productivity with or without busmen's co-operation.

London rank-and-file busmen are prepared to resist the Board's modernisation efforts with an overtime ban. Speaking as a poor bloody passenger, Mr. Stevens said, "The Board's modernisation plan is anything like modernisation, they can stuff it."

London Transport has also warned that it may hand over certain routes to private operators, because of the busmen's objections to one-man buses. London Transport Transport claim they are too expensive to run, that bloody bobbies are committed in the name of profit!

SEAGOING SHOP STEWARDS?

Shipowners are not happy about the idea of shop stewards on ships and are opposed in principle to the idea of crew members electing them. For that reason many ship owners thought it might be time to revive complaints procedure on ships. W. Hogarth, General Secretary, NUS, said this was not a flat rejection, "It is better than no rejection."

Rank-and-file seamen want elected ship reps, the emotions of the seamen now, what is it? Let's be frank Mr. Hogarth, NUS officials don't want elected ship stewards, they have fought against the idea for years, so the seamen's rejection brings the pay right down your street. It's you and the employers versus the rank and file — and don't let anyone tell you different. Rank-and-file seamen are under no illusion about how they have to fight on this issue.

ALL YOUR FAULT

Victor Feather, assistant General Secretary of the TUC, addressing 130 industrialists at a conference on industrial relations blamed employers for many of the annull strikes.

So far, so good. He then went on to say that employers were to blame, because they gave way to unofficial pressures after resisting official trade union claims. Every demand was left to trade union officials, "nothing would be obtained; only constant pressure from the rank-and-file brings results.

Employers please note: if TUC officials accept a "no" that's good enough, you mustn't bend to rank-and-file pressure.

WASN'T ME!

Leading employers and trade unionists in the building industry agree that labour troubles on large construction sites were mainly the fault of people outside the industry.

"It's the ETU, AEU," they cry, "if it wasn't for them we could be doing a better job!"

With a personal dedication to the juggling industry is a jangle and the building employers the rogue elephants. All building workers know "divide and rule" as old as the hills.

With regards to the building workers' wage claim of 1s 6d an hour, Bill Christmas, stated first 1963 and we workers stand for the "three yard trick."

BILL CHRISTOPHER

* CP Congress: "Mr. Callacher speaks well of the Pope" (Daily Telegraph, 13.4.63). Stalin is dead — Long live the Pope!

Direct Action

Yearly subscription rate 6s. 6d. From: Bill Christopher, 34, Cumberland Road, London, E.17. (Cheques and P.O.'s crossed and payable to K. Hawk.)

MOUNTIES' WITCH-HUNT

The role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in university life was revealed by Commissioner C. W. Harvison in an interview with Roger MacDougall, President of the Canadian University Press. The RCMP employs spies and informers on university campuses to investigate the political beliefs and activities of students and teachers. "Factual and evaluated reports are then sent to the Department of Government in Ottawa. The main concern of the RCMP is to prevent student activities which may be judged by the public as anti-social or subversive..."

The workings of the twisted mind of a witch-hunter can best be demonstrated by the arrest of University of British Columbia in his attempts to justify his despicable activities.

"If the RCMP is to know where subversion is and counteract it effectively, where and when it is found, we have to go on to the..." University students are naturally curious. At this age one finds a great deal of idealism and a strong sense of social morality. There are certain abuses in our system which the student may think can be corrected, but he gets only one side of the picture... In the university community...

All post for the SWF in London, and for "Direct Action" must now be sent c/o Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17. The SWF has vacated 30 and premises at 28A, Abingdon Road, London, W.9, and mail should no longer be sent to this address. We ask publishers of papers, who exchange copies with us, to take particular note of this as, despite previous requests, many are still mailing to the old address.

enquiries we make into a student's background are often directed at professors. We think there are no more responsible persons than university professors and it would be a sad day when the security programme of this country takes control of university men..." The Force has more than 40 years' experience in combating communism. It is conscious of its responsibilities in a country which prides itself on the democratic process... We are conscious of the irony of the situation. The teacher who is attempting to destroy our system under the guise of something which he is not... It is only those who have made a careful study of this problem, such as the various security services, that can differentiate between the radical or dissenter and the conspirator...

The report of the interview was brought to the attention of some of the faculty of the University of Alberta, shortly before its publication. Of those contacted, over 90% signed a declaration of protest which said in part:

"A university in a free society is a centre of intellectual revolution—place where new ideas are born and where they are discussed and put to the test on the floor of the free debate. If police action is introduced into university life for reasons other than law enforcement, then university life cannot remain free...

A policeman cannot tell whether new thoughts are good or bad—only that they are not in his book of approved ideas. On the other hand, if a creative thinker knows that Big Brother is watching and that Big Brother has a big stick, his independent of thought is endangered.

This type of police action on Canadian university campuses is intolerable and the only way to stop it, short of more enlightened control of the RCMP by the Department of Justice is for university professors and students to refuse co-operation.

BIL GREENWOOD.

Direct Action
BEHIND THE BIG RAIL SHUTDOWN

Dr. Beeching concluded his Press Conference, called to announce extensive railway amputation, by a garbled quotation from the Governor. There was an abortive attempt to make a correct passage, relating to the murder of Duncan, even after.

"If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly, if the assassination
Could catch the conscience of the king.
With his surcease, the bloody deed put low
Might be the death and the end-all here."

Macbeth, Act I, Scene VII.

There is an old political saying that, if money is to be made from any business, that business is a private enterprise; and if money is lost on an essential service, then it must become a public service.

Road transport, the rival of the railways, is an odd case in point.

A man's car or lorry may be privately owned, but it is useless unless it has the benefit of a road. And the profit which may be made is private property, the loss a social misaller.

Of course bodies such as the RAC, the AA (not to be confused with Alcoholics Anonymous) propagate the notion that they pay everything for the roads. These capitalist bodies claim that all taxes and other subsidies, no matter how much, should be returned to the motorists in the form of new and better roads. But the State is a hungry animal and needs several millions of pounds a year to finance weapons, education, jails, national health service, education, police, and other functions of the political body. This money is obtained from the pockets of the workers on many goods and services and by direct levy, but only in the case of motoring is the demand made that all the money plus, should be devoted exclusively to the payment of the tax. In the tax of the licence the licence the licence is the most heavily taxed commodity, both proportionately and in total, yet the smoker does not claim from the State even a new pipe at Christmas.

Here is one propagandist trick of the motoring bodies. They add up the sums spent on purchase tax on vehicles, on the licence fees and taxes of all vehicles, buses, lorries, and the rest, the tax levied on oil and fuel, whether used on the roads or elsewhere, then cry "the motorist pays all this."

They then take one, only one, item, from the road bill and cry, "This is all it costs me", which is a lie. It costs 10,000,000 pounds per road, and serviced public roads, equal to nearly eight times around the earth, the equivalent to several thousand million pounds.

When a man decides to build himself a house, he must give land before—and sometimes behind, too—it, dedicated to a public road. Also he must pay to have the road made. Afterwards, as a ratepayer, he must pay for its maintenance.

Once made, the fifth of a million miles of roads must be repaired and cleaned, they must be drained, in winter frost and snow cause extra work to be expended on them. The roads must be signposted and lit, expensive traffic signals, often at high cost, must be built and serviced and, when there are rivers and valleys to be crossed, bridges and ferries are there to carry the traffic.

It will be obvious that this work costs several millions of pounds a day (a few years ago Marylebone Council installed new traffic lights in Oxford Street, London, to speed up the traffic flow. The little local authority spent £210,000 on it), and serviced public roads, equal to nearly eight times around the earth, the equivalent to several thousand million pounds.

The local authorities collect from motorists, a levy on rates on occupiers of property, whether owners or tenants, with a subsidy from general taxation granted by the State.

But the public expenditure does not end there. Road widening, flyovers and other schemes, and all the construction of multi-million valued property and when the roads are made, then guarded and demurred. Police must be paid to sort traffic jams, to act as referees between drivers and to chase stolen cars. One item alone, chasing stolen goods, the man of the day, police, and lorries parked in the streets, occupies half the police force, who are financed by the public, about half as taxpayer, half as ratepayer.

A thousand pounds a year would be insufficient to cover all this service. Yet bodies such as the RAC and the AA will repeat these figures of the £210 million a year spent on roads. (sometimes they say as little as £5 million).

Then a further problem is presented to the ratepayer. At one time motorists and firms provided garages and workshops for the servicing and repair of their vehicles. Increasingly, just as motorists have claimed streets as private reserve places and works, so commercial companies are using the public highway in this manner to make a private profit. Many firms now, when planning new works and depots, deliberately buy less land than is needed, intending to use public roads as private property, thus saving a great deal of capital.

Capitalist confiscation of public property at times takes startling forms. Some time ago, when the Shell building on the south bank of the Thames was extended, the earth from space dug for its deep foundations was loaded in lorries and taken to a nearby residential square, the roads surrounding the greenward were broken down and, day after day, the lorries tipped the evil-smelling mud into the square, until it was filled and the streets above were flooded. The residents protested, but the City authorities were unyielding. The lorries were allowed to run without licence numbers and the builders said they paid the transport contractors to shift the dirt from the site, but they said with a was of no interest to them. This case was reported, with photographs, by the Guardian.

But the railways must provide their own railroads, lighting, signalling, bridges, drainage, cleaning, guarding and general services, they cannot even park the wagons on the highway, or their locomotives become public service

Against the vast subsidies to road transport made from public funds, the railways are expected to compete and show a profit and to do so the railwaymen and the public must suffer. The annual deficit of British Railways is less than the net subsidy given to private transport.

Of course, the RAC, the AA and the commercial transport organisations are not alone in demanding money from the ratepayers. The greater part of the Press are powerful allies in this thorn for public funds and one of the most notable is the financial significance of advertising in the Press by motor and cyclists' organisations to see the power behind the propaganda. The oil companies alone have enormous power in this country—and don't think it will slide with the coming of the Labour Government.

The sweeping postwar extension of the power of King Oil began during, and was artificially nurtured by, the Labour Government and is continued by the Tory one.

We have also to consider the terrible daily roll of dead and wounded, most of them caused, on our roads. The financial cost to the community would, alone, justify concern and action. The human pain and misery caused in the name of progress is too great for words to describe. We pretend that we love children; we don't, we are sentimental about them, as people go all soft over newspaper pictures of cute weeping children, dogs and puppies. We don't care. In this country we haven't advanced very much since the days of boy chimney sweeps. If we had, we would not have shed the slaughter of the innocents.

Recent figures from the AA show that America because in transport we are following her reveal that over 40,000 a year are killed on the roads and the car is the principal killer of Americans under 25.

Now follows a startling statement, one I disputed until last week. I checked the dead and wounded on American roads during the age of the motor car outnumber all the dead and wounded of all America's wars, from the Civil War, through the Spanish and other wars, World Wars I and II and Korean War.

One question now at issue is: "Shall the railmen pay for this situation, or shall the present system making fortunes from private transport shoulder their own burden?"

Of course, it is just possible that people do not want public transport, preferring all transport to be private. If so, let them say so and, instead of abusing Beeching, give him assistance to destroy the railway, let the doctors and his assistants then be honoured and covered in iron crosses made from redundant railway lines and melted-down locomotives.

T.B.

Libertarian Youth Camp

THE INTERNATIONAL Libertarian Youth Summer Camp, held each year, is organized by the Jeunesse Libertaire, Bulgarian Libertarians and Spanish Libertarian Youth, during the whole month of August, to provide an opportunity for young libertarians to meet over the years, exchange opinions, develop ideas for self-organisation, develop ideas and exchange opinions, promote and towards promoting a better international and libertarian understanding.

It is also a purely recreational and is sited near water for swimming, sunbathing and other holiday activities. Day excursions to places of interest in the vicinity are also arranged. There will be a number of discussions on self-organisation, exchange opinions, give talks and sessions, theatre, music, dance and libraries, and international libertarian publications, exhibition—also plenty of opportunity for spontaneous activities of your own choice.

It is held under canvas, cooking facilities will be provided and this year's camp will be held at Bayeux in the heart of the Dordogne Valley, a short distance from the river and in very pleasant surroundings. Return fare from London is under £15. If you like open-air, lively discussion and meeting young people from other countries in a friendly and fraternal atmosphere, you will enjoy the Camp. For further details write to: Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (Great British Committee), 159 Ledbury Road, London, W.11.
An open letter to Labour's Leader

Dear Harold,

Since I last wrote, we've been following your travels with great interest. You certainly have a lot to cover in a day. You eat if it be a fine day, though, didn't you—that time you've been in only one hour before I'll bed? Seems you've been in only one hour before I'll bed. But, of course, like the true Labour man you are, you were well on time for the debate on the MP's wage claim, even though as Leader of the Opposition you got a rise yourself recently.

You know that troublemaker at our Ward meetings, the one who's always having to keep in line? Well, he had to start some sort of strike about how £1,750 was a luxury wage. But Councillor Blunt soon fixed him up. The Councillor spoke most movingly about the hardships the ordinary MPs are suffering. This miserable screw and all we feel indignant when we read that but's from the report in the Sunday Express about how some MPs' have to live together during the week, in squally boarding houses off the Euston Road, and how they can't afford a lunch and make do with a cup of coffee in the Commons canteen. At any rate, it was a good fighting Labour speech you made, even though our MP's will have to battle on a little longer, just like the rest of us ordinary workers, until there's more than the usual one chance for all of us.

You had quite a few things to handle last session, didn't you? That Chief Enahoro business was tricky, though I notice you let George Brown deal with it and a good speech he made, too. All round, he did a pretty hearty job, as he usually does and, though we all appreciate it, I can't say I think all the trouble the MP members think your image might need a bit of brushing up as a result. Still, we all know that we can safely leave that to—though, I'm on the point, I'd watch out for that Ray Gutter in your next speech. Every time I switch on TV there's him, for instance, on that difficult and complex problem of Beeching and the railways.

What I objected most strongly was the Evening Standard's report on his wearing a coat just like one that now clothes your Party Leader and Bill Mr. Gutter saying how he got his coat first and how it's a more expensive coat than yours. What we want to know is how any MP can afford anything but a jumble sale coat when you can't even feed yourselves on that anything? I'm porky. Anyways, the next time we can see the Yanks fell for your moderation and disbelief. As Hugh Gaitskell said, when he chased back from Washington, the Labour Party here is more or less a British version of the Communist Party in the States. You seem to have satisfied Washington on that score and to have pleased the Pentagon about our Defence role. They really liked that bit about Britain not being a major power with its own deterrent, didn't they? There, again, our troublemaker had to come out with how he wouldn't be surprised if you introduced conscription to promote your idea of our concentrating on conventional weapons.

We're all looking forward, now, to your forthcoming Conference at Transport House on the election for, as your friend Tom used to say, it's a necessary evil. But it's a necessary evil. You can't stop the middle class, the "Oprington Man." It's quite a good what he says in that report I was reading in Time Magazine about the new tastes and now, as there are "no longer any great issues separating Left from Right, Socialism can prosper without a cause, a militant battle cry, an ecstatic struggle." He certainly makes sense. I think says the best way to get this Oprington Man is to cop out the struggle with the Tories to things like taxation and pensions. It's a good thing you've got him as a strong supporter.

Anyway, after all your flying about, it was a relief to see the big picture of you in the Sunday papers, back on holiday in the Scottis, sitting by the seashore with a rucksack on your back. With the pipe and that roll-neck sweater you looked a bit like the Aldermaston crowd for a moment I thought it was yet another picture of this Cudgern chap who's been getting so much publicity over the Bomb while you politicians have been away from it all. Still, it was an inspiring picture. Seriously though, Harold, couldn't you and the mussy get yourself the "modest, three-bedroomed bungalow" the paper promised somewhere else—you know, somewhere with a less embarrassing name? I don't like to harp on this but, say what you like, it keeps on getting the laughs. Well, like I said, I'll be writing to you again. With all the ups and downs, that's one thing you can be sure of—always knowing the sort of thinking that's going on at Ward level.

Yours, naturally.

Jimmy Wiggins.

An exception to the rule

OUTSIDE THE RIGHT by Fenner Brockway (George Allen and Unwin, 25s). One must read "Inside the Left" to appreciate "Outside the Right", the continuation of Fenner Brockway's autobiography. Fenner is not completely at ease in the Labour Party; or, if we come to the question of "Outside the Right" he states that he could no longer stay in isolated in the (L.P.) and had to join the mainstream in the hope of assisting in the change of its course—-but, it's gone in the wrong direction for you Fenner.

The majority of the book is taken up with struggles for colonial freedom and one must remember that the colonial struggle is far from a "vote catcher". Reading through the book, you come to the conclusion "what Brockway says today, the official party line, Tory or Labour, says two years' time".

The book spans from 1939 to the present day, with the author constantly searching his conscience over German rearmament, nuclear disarmament, German attacks on Poland, his conscience disquieted by the war, the position of "standing" as the "wide-sorbed" signs as answers.

In the chapter "The Dilemmas of the Left", Fenner makes the point that "the parliamentary party today is always to the right of the party in the country". So much for the rank and file, who's able to put them in. He also mentions the National Hydrogen Bomb Campaign, forerunner of CND. I think, perhaps, he forgets to mention Arthur Carr and his wife, who write a bit about the Victoria Office. Of course, it's all against them and nothing in their favour but enthusiasm.

"Outside the Right" is nowhere near as dynamic as "Inside the Left". Only when Fenner advocates the House of Commons is it the man. In Kenya, Spain, Uganda is to be found the real Brockway, and for this reason the book is worth reading.

I mistrust politics and particularly politicians, but I can assure you that Fenner Brockway, MP is an exception to the rule.

M.C.

continued from page 3 column 2

overnight, they would have no possibility of influencing the situation. In other words, the great majority of the people questioned in this survey appeared to recognise that they are ruled from Westminster, but not represented there.

The pamphlet ends with this question: "What kind of democracy are we living in, when we have no say in what was perhaps the most important decision taken by the country in the 20th century?" It is, finally, the significant finding of this interesting survey that although the popular majority will have been honoured by present Government policy, it is not cold comfort to the people who have come to realise their utter helplessness politically in face of the very real threat of thermonuclear catastrophe.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

ENCLOSED "ninety cents" for the next issues of the bravest paper in the world. I have also enclosed a piece I recently wrote and that appeared here in the "Atlantic". I'm not sure you may be interested in my remarks on the state of the world. It was a piece in DA about sabotage last year and I want to tell you that to me it was one of the sweetest surprises and happiest things I've seen printed anywhere in years. More, more more!

Newton Center, Mass.

N.T.G.
EIGHT MEN OF JARROW

JARROW to some means Bede and the tranquil seat of learning in a turbulent world. To others it recalls the march to London of the hungry throngs. To me it evokes from childhood's memory, the rattle of a thousand pneumatic hammers, the sight of tall ships in their stocks and the bars of the furnaces of steel mills. But here in the city we shall be concerned with Jarrow of the Industrial Revolution, at its transition from small-scale production, with much of the old, leisurely, rustic life left, to large-scale capitalism. This predatory system embrace everything, both wealth and the cost of living, but with a social conscience.

Throughout England small farms had been confiscated, the common land stolen and village craftsman driven to seek work in the towns. The Age of Iron was beginning, there was money to be made from the land. The land was losing its charm, but seemed quick to a plough. Nothing must stand in their way, neither humanity, religion, law or morality. Other societies had limitations, rights and social obligations. Primitive society very much so, feudal society pronounced obligations, moral and religious, for they sometimes kept, even though slavery had some, but capitalism in England had no standard but to make money. Nothing, not even murder, was to be allowed to modify the lust for gold.

At first men's minds had turned to old times, when every man had succour and rights, however humble. They preferred the olden time of the phrase "the good old days." Later they turned to the future and "the glorious days to be." Thus the village on the green banks of the little Don flowing to the sea "sweet waters of the Tyne" was made to seem a land dead and dying.

When a boy I sometimes went on errands to the ships of Jarrow. On my way I would pass the churchyard of nearby Heworth and glance at a single monument marking the common grave of two of the Galloway Children killed in the mines in preventable disasters. I would read the names, so like those of my schoolmates and friends. Recently I revisited this scene and copied the date, 24 May, 1812, and the inscription, little more than the name and a few words, which was typically northern. One-third of the victims were 14 years of age or less. Here is an extract from the stone inscription:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Surtees 12 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Andrew Allan 11</td>
<td>Will Dixon 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Bell 12 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Pearson 10</td>
<td>George Reed 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Hood 12 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Pearson 10</td>
<td>Thomas Gordon 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Haswell 12 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Will Gardner 10</td>
<td>Michael Hunter 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Ridley 12 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Gordon 10</td>
<td>Thomas Gordon 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Knox 11 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Gardiner 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pitmen did not submit tamely to these conditions. Chief object of their revolts was the overthrow of the Bond. Each year, to get work, the miner was forced to sign a bond, pledging himself to work under certain conditions. The first strike was on Binding Day. The northern miners believed liberty was the most important issue, for its own sake and because economic gains were not to be won without that first condition. Many of the pitmen. They were selected from the colliery cottages. No shopkeeper dare give credit. Jailers and judges were waiting, the Army, usually cavalry, moved in with loaded gun and drawn sword.

On Binding Day, April 12, 1831, a strike was declared. Tommy Hepburn (one of the few names we know—we were no leaders in the sense now used) urged the men to wage a peaceful, non-violent strike, though the uttermost provocation was certain. Seabs were brought in to work Hebburn Colliery, and, despite special constables and soldiers, the pit was attacked. The miners won the strike, making important gains, but the Bond remained.

During the strike, seven youths were arrested and charged with "demanding money and meat from Thomas Hadsworth, assaulting him and trying to steal two guns." Two young men advised them, for they had been hungry, but denied the other charges, on which no evidence was offered. The chief evidence was that they were union men and strikers. Proudly, the youths agreed they were for the union and against the Bond. Because of their good character (five were devout Primitive Methodists), the sentence was commuted to transportation for seven years. Freed at the end of their seven years of penal servitude, all seem to have remained in Australia, making a living as a preacher.

The union men knew they would have to fight to keep their gains next Binding Day and decided that when the struggle came they would fight on the sole issue of the right to organise— for the Union of the Miners. The Strike of 1832.

On May 5, 1832 the Army and police, with magistrates behind them, moved into Jarrow. The miners and their families were evicted from their cottages. They carried their furniture to a common deposit and erected tents and shacks. Seabs were imported. Miners from South Wales were brought in by false pretences, but joined the Durham men on strike when peacefully approached. Active, seemingly everywhere, was a magistrate Nicholas Fairless, a sadist who had delighted in sentencing seamen, miners and apprentices. Like a Greek tragedy, the tall tales began to spin about his closing days, dragging into his curse the fate of others.

The strikers Ralph Armstrong and William Jobling were walking abroad. The last was striding at a smart pace. Towards the inn came Fairless, riding a pony. Fairless stopped and an argument developed. The magistrate asked Jobling for his name. Jobling gave it and, it was said, shook hands with Fairless and departed.

Later that night Fairless was found with a wound on his face. He appeared to have struck his head on the road as he was knocked down. Jobling was arrested, Armstrong could not be found. Fairless was taken to the nearest dispensary and ordered the body to be gibbeted. Two days later at noon, Jobling was led to public execution. As the noose was placed about his neck a voice, believed to be that of Armstrong, cried "Farewell Jobling." Jobling turned his head and at that moment the hanging stroke. Police and a crowd to find the one who called out, but no one even by a glance, betrayed him. Armstrong was never caught, although a large money reward was offered to these starving people. August 3, 1832, the great parliamantal Reform Bill. Jobling's body was covered in pitch and chained to a gibbet in Jarrow Slake, on the edge of the Tyne. Soldiers guarded the gibbet by day and night; leaflets, threatening seven years' deportation or removing any body, were distributed.

After about four days the body no longer stood the stench of the corpse, subjected to the sun and rain of the tide, and the soldiers recalled. Then one night gibbet and corpse disappeared. Tradition, carefully passed on, to person to person, tells us that a group of soldiers took the body to a rowing boat and took it out to sea, where it was given Christian burial.

Following the Durham Assizes, Justice Parkes made a public statement: "It matters not in what manner the Union and the Combination were got up, or in what manner they are conducted. The law will be found sufficient to put them down. The strike went on, but the people were starving and constantly terrorised. Blacklegs were imported from the South. The strikers were living in the open air and often hindered from working. After about four and a half months they were defeated—fight again and again. When Ellen Wilkinson, MP for Jarrow, was writing her book on the town, she sought many discussions with local men who knew the events. To young people, everyone said, "Why bring up these things, the story has been told before?"

An old miner stood up, his eyes aight. "It's been told a score of times," he cried. "Let it be told another score. The job's not finished yet."

Old Jacob was right... the job isn't finished yet.

TOM BROWN

- Mr. John Gollan, reported to the CP Congress that membership had increased by 5,467 and "Daily Worker" sales by 100. Less than onefifteenth of a paper for each new member? They're not risking ostracism!

- "The perils of travelling without a valet are illustrated by an experience which recently befell the Duke of Marlborough, as a result of his being hurried by a train. He complained that his toothbrush 'did not foam properly,' so would she buy him a new one. He had to be reminded gently that without the aid of tooth-powder, usually applied for him each morning by his valet, no toothbrush foamed automatically." Sunday Telegraph
The Root is still Man

ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING theoretical political works written since the war (if not the most) was Dwight Macdonald's "The Root is Man" (Politics, April and July, 1946). This started from Trotsky's beginning of the war with Rizzi and others, from this and others of Trotsky's writings, Macdonald argues that anything that had ever been of value to Socialism in Leninism was finally killed after the war, by the conquest of power of what James Burnham called Managerialism. Let Trotsky speak for himself:

"The Second World War has begun, it attests incontrovertibly to the fact that Society can no longer live on the basis of Capitalism. Therefore a new and decisive test. If this war provokes, as we firmly believe it will, a proletarian revolution, it must inevitably lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and the regeneration of Soviet democracy on a far higher economic and cultural basis than in 1918. In that case, the question as to whether the Stalinist bureaucracy was a 'class' or parasitic growth on the Workers' State will be automatically solved. To every single person it will become clear that in the process of this development of the world revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy was only an episodic collapse.

"If, however, it is conceded that the present war will provoke not revolution, but a decline of the Proletariat, then there remains another alternative, the further decay of Monopoly Capitalism in the so-called affluent state and the slow collapse of Democracy, wherever it persists, by a totalitarian regime. The inability of the Proletariat to take into its own hands the leadership of society could actually lead to the growth of a new system of control from the bureaucracy. This could be, according to all indications, a regime of decline, a development we call the "end of Civilization". Trotsky—"The USSR in War", New International, November, 1939.

From this beginning, Macdonald argued that, since Marxism had ended as an empty dream, the whole Marxist case against "Utopian Capitalism" had been discredited; therefore, the ethical socialism of the Utopians and the Anarchists was embodied in Trotsky's view of Revolutionism. Macdonald himself has long since ceased to hold the views he then expressed, perhaps because apparently Trotsky's pessimistic view of revolution had been more realistic than his optimistic ones. The ruling class has not, in the West, as it was expected it would, been replaced by a bolshevik type of revolution, since democracy is so artificial that the Anarchists have been able to manipulate it and have not needed to replace it, so far, by despotism.

But through Macdonald is no longer an Anarchist, the American Committee for Non-Violent Revolution was a precursor of the CNYA (American equivalent of the Committee of 100) and CORE (pioneer group of the Integration Movement in the US); Macdonald's influence is also to be seen in Martin Luther King's "Stride towards Freedom" and his later development of the "Non-Violent Revolution". The Root is a prototype for the thinking of the present world revolutionary, whose first British flowering was the Committee of 100. It is therefore worthwhile for those of us in older Anarchist traditions to take another look at it, and try to see how to spread more fundamental ideas within the new movement.

It is also worth considering just how far Macdonald's method was valid. He pointed out that Trotsky lived his exiled life in the belief that Capitalism was in its death throes, that World Revolution was on the doorstep, that Stalinism was a superficial marring of the "Progressive" and the "Radical". The Progressive advocates actions, saying that the tide of history is on his side, and that reforms whose immediate result is to give the State a oppressive machinery more powerful, nevertheless, beneficial, as they lead to a polarization of class forces and hasten the day of social revolution. The Radical, on the other hand, advocates only those policies that lead obviously towards a society of brotherhood. The Progressive way of thinking, of course, leads to the assumption that the efficient capitalists, who are better at exploiting his workers, therefore must be Proletarians. In the case in point, the Trotskyist speaker stressed that he held State Capitalism to be Progressive only in the sense that Marx considered the traditional capitalist Progressive, that this did not entail saying "Harsh for capitalist exploitation", but meant that Marx believed the fulfilment of capitalist expansion to be a prior necessity before the coming of Socialism.

Though Marx advocated pushing the Capitalists willy-nilly into office, so as to discredit them, it is questionable whether he advocated subordinating the advocacy of Socialism to the interests of those same capitalists—which would be the equivalent of Nationalisation. (Marx was, after all, against Nationalisation, even in the circumstances of his day, as shown in his polemics against Lassalle).

Quite apart from the actual practice of Marx, another significant point arises if Marxists are to advocate support for Managerialists or State Capitalist measures, on the ground that they are "Progressive". Marx thought as he did because he believed the workers were the only class under the Industrial Capitalists, and that when those Industrial Capitalists had had their day and Capitalism broke down, the working class would be its only possible heir. In fact, Capitalism has given way to a new class system and if Marx's successors intend to attempt the same sort of arguments, we have a right to proof that this time there will not be yet another class system. Such proof cannot possibly be forthcoming on the basis of Marxist reasoning, purely and simply because such reasoning has already once been proved wrong at this point. Therefore Marxism, always a harmful current within Socialism, is now no longer a Socialist theory at all.

Bolshevism has had its day, to Anarchists it was never more than a nightmare—but at times its better parts played an active role in peace movements, in unemployed leagues and among militant industrial workers. Now, though Bolshevism is still to be found in some circles, their actions contradict their theories. Either they must abandon these theories, or as they grow they will develop into the agents of the new ruling class.

In contrast, the new Radical Revival, in that it stems largely from quasi-Anarchist thinking, in that its actions are directed to bringing about the greater involvement of the many, and insofar as it can break away from elitism, is a potentially revolutionary movement. This movement must derive even more inspiration from its ideas, if it is to regain its former momentum, but for this very reason it is a movement in which we should be active.

If, therefore, those of us in specifically Anarchist groups hope to have any influence over the development of the present movement, we should do well to re-read Macdonald. Although during his short stay with Anarchism he by no means investigated or absorbed everything that we have to say which is of value, he nevertheless found some interesting new arguments for our views and useful ways of saying them. He also supplies useful ammunition for clearing away the dead and diseased wood of the Marxist groups.

LAURENS OTTER

Literature

"Direct Action" pamphlets—

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS?
by Tom Brown 5d.

NATIONALISATION AND THE NEW BOSS CLASS
by Tom Brown 6d.

WORKERS' CONTROL
by Tom Brown 6d.

HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-1951
by Tom Brown 8d.

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE

THE LABOUR PARTY ILLUSION
by Sam Weiner 8d.

ETHICS AND AMERICAN UNIONISM
by Sam Weiner 8d.

THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE
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by Tom Brown 8d.

THE LONDON YEARS (autobiography)
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THE IWU'S LITTLE RED SONG BOOK
by Tom Brown 1s. 6d.

STRIKE STRATEGY (National Rank & File Movement)
by Tom Brown 4d.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER
(fortnightly organ of the IWU)

VIEWS AND COMMENTS
(organ of the Libertarian League, U.S.)
by Tom Brown 8d.

All prices include postage.