

BLACK STAR

OCTOBER 1983. THIRTY. PENCE.

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WORKERS



JOURNAL



FOR A FREE ~ COMMUNIST SOCIETY !

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A DAMN GOOD
READ FOR SURE!



BLACK STAR

P.O. BOX 153,
WOLVERTON,
MILTON KEYNES,
BUCKS,
U.K.

Front Cover : Left to right, A Black Star readers group. Guy Alfred Aldred in 1902 - see article. Britain's first 'socialist' government, hardly the stuff proletarian revolutions are made of! And a Labour Party election poster from the 1940's.



Black Star Directory ★ U.K

London Workers Group,
Box LWG,
C1 Metropolitan Wharf,
Wapping Wall, London E1.

Wildcat,
C/O, Autonomy Centre,
8-10, Great Ancoats St.,
Manchester, M4 5AD.

Intercom,
(includes various groups and individuals) address as Wildcat.

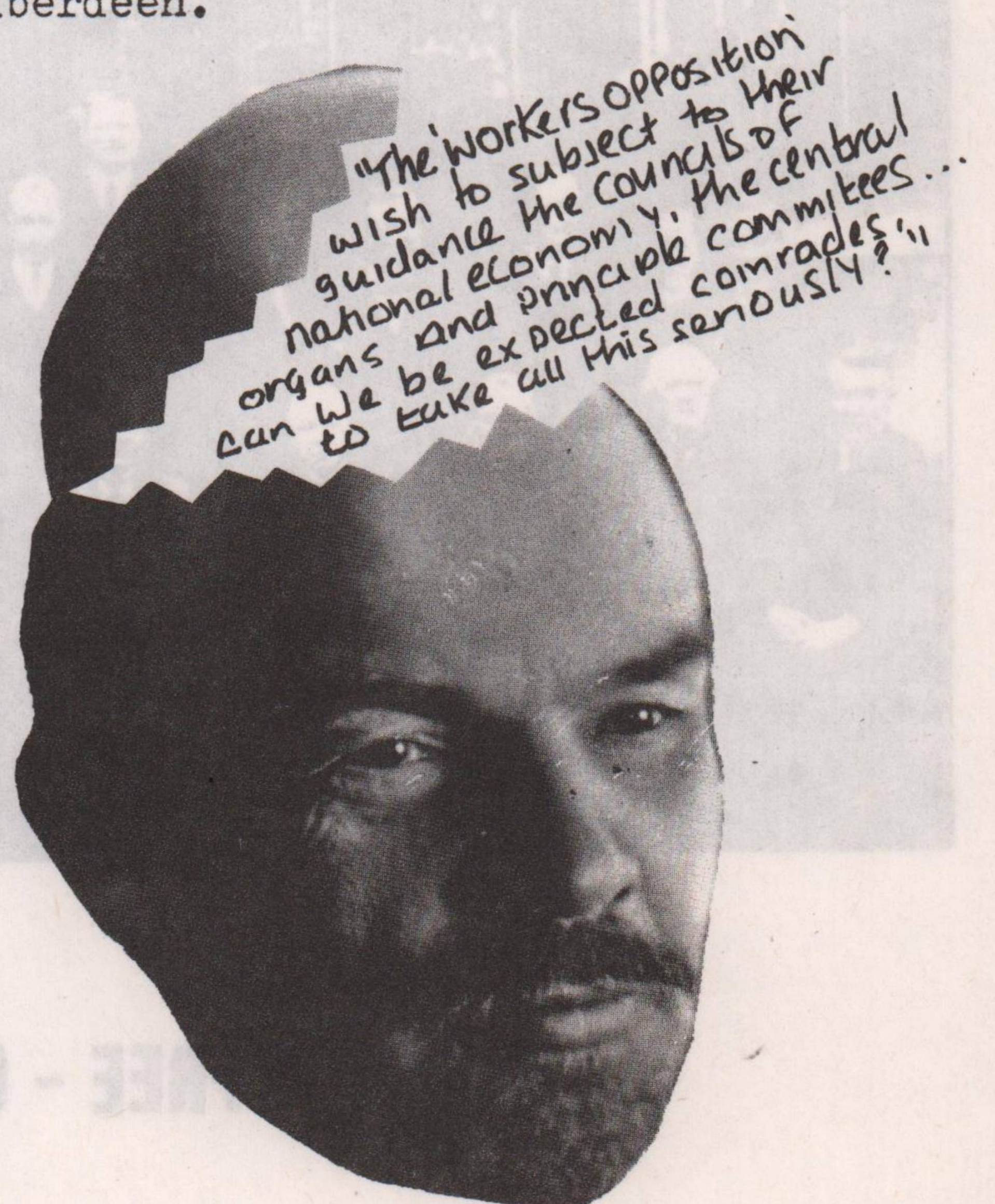
Echanges et Mouvement,
BM Box 91,
London WC 1V6 XX.

Careless Talk,
R Knight,
C/O, Students Union,
The University,
Keele, Staffs.

Solidarity,
123, Lathom Rd.,
London E6.

Practical Anarchy/ Clydeside Workers
Group,
C/O, 488, Gt Western Rd.,
Glasgow 12.

Subversive Graffiti,
(now defunct but individuals can
still be contacted)
C/O, 163, King St.,
Aberdeen.



POSITION.

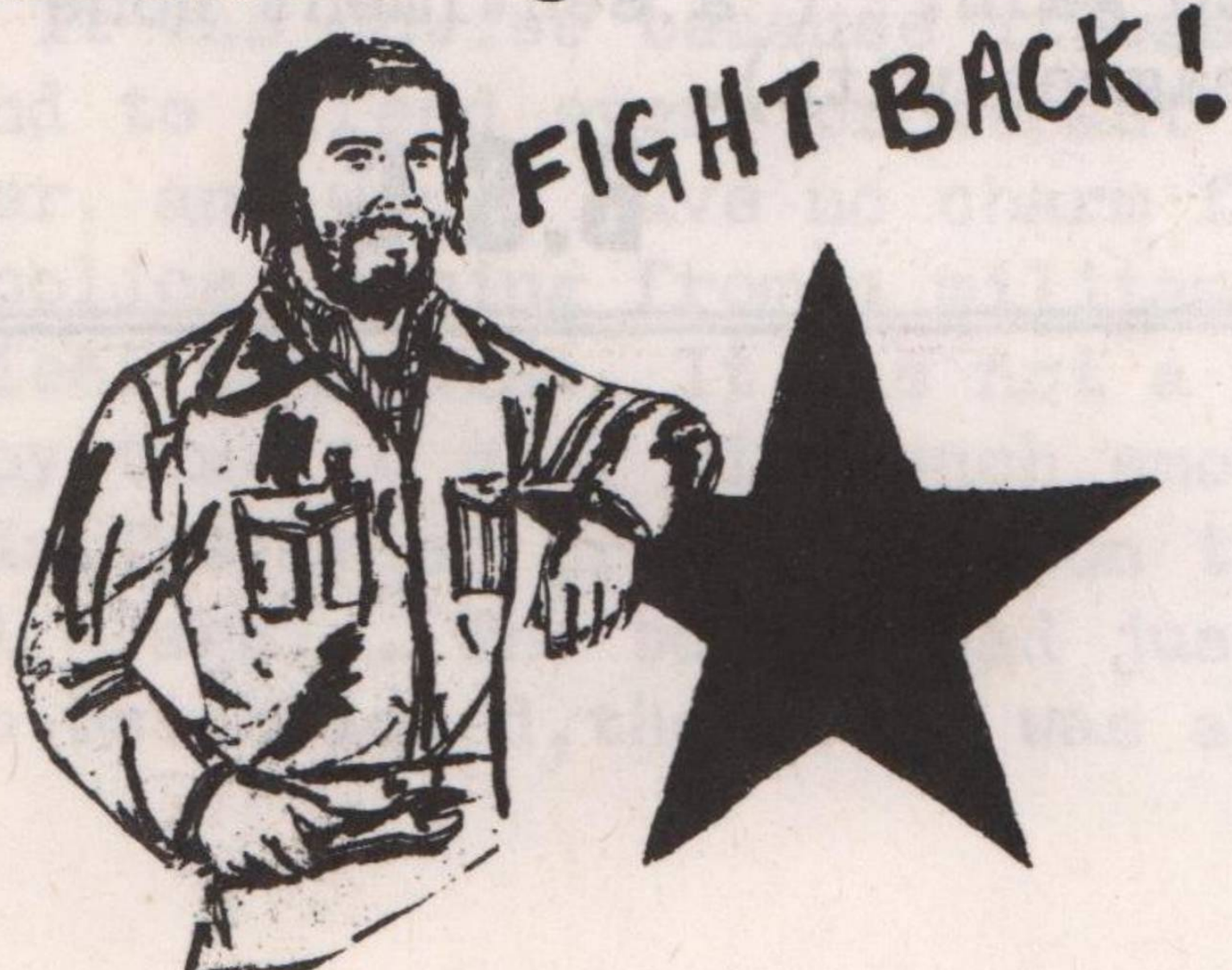
1. We believe in independent, autonomous working class struggle and organisation independent of all political parties and trade unions ; none of which represent the true interests of the majority of people i.e. the working class.

2. We believe that under the present world system of capitalism support should be given to the struggle for short term defensive gains such as better pay and conditions but these should be recognised for what they are; limited interim reforms which are no substitute for the total re-organisation of society necessary to ensure freedom from self-seeking leaders, professional politicians, so-called experts and wage slavery.

3. We believe in the abolition of the state, whether it be 'left wing' right wing or liberal democracy. We believe the parliamentary system does not serve the interests of the working class. The election of leaders is an abdication of responsibility each individual has for what takes place in their workplace and community.

4. We believe in the abolition of all statist institutions, i.e. police, judiciary, prison, armed forces. We oppose all centralist tendencies and organisations. We also believe in the abolition of all churches.

5. We are opposed to all forms of racism, sexism, fascism and nationalism. We are anti-militarists opposed to all war and preparation to war between nation states and so-called national liberation struggles. It is not in the interests of the worlds workers to slaughter each other at the behest of their respective governments or self-styled leaders. The only war the working class should fight is the class war.



6. Our ultimate aim is the creation of a self-managed society of equals, a free- communist society, where production and labour is geared towards need and not profit. We believe our aspirations can only be realised through the total overthrow of the present system by means of social revolution.

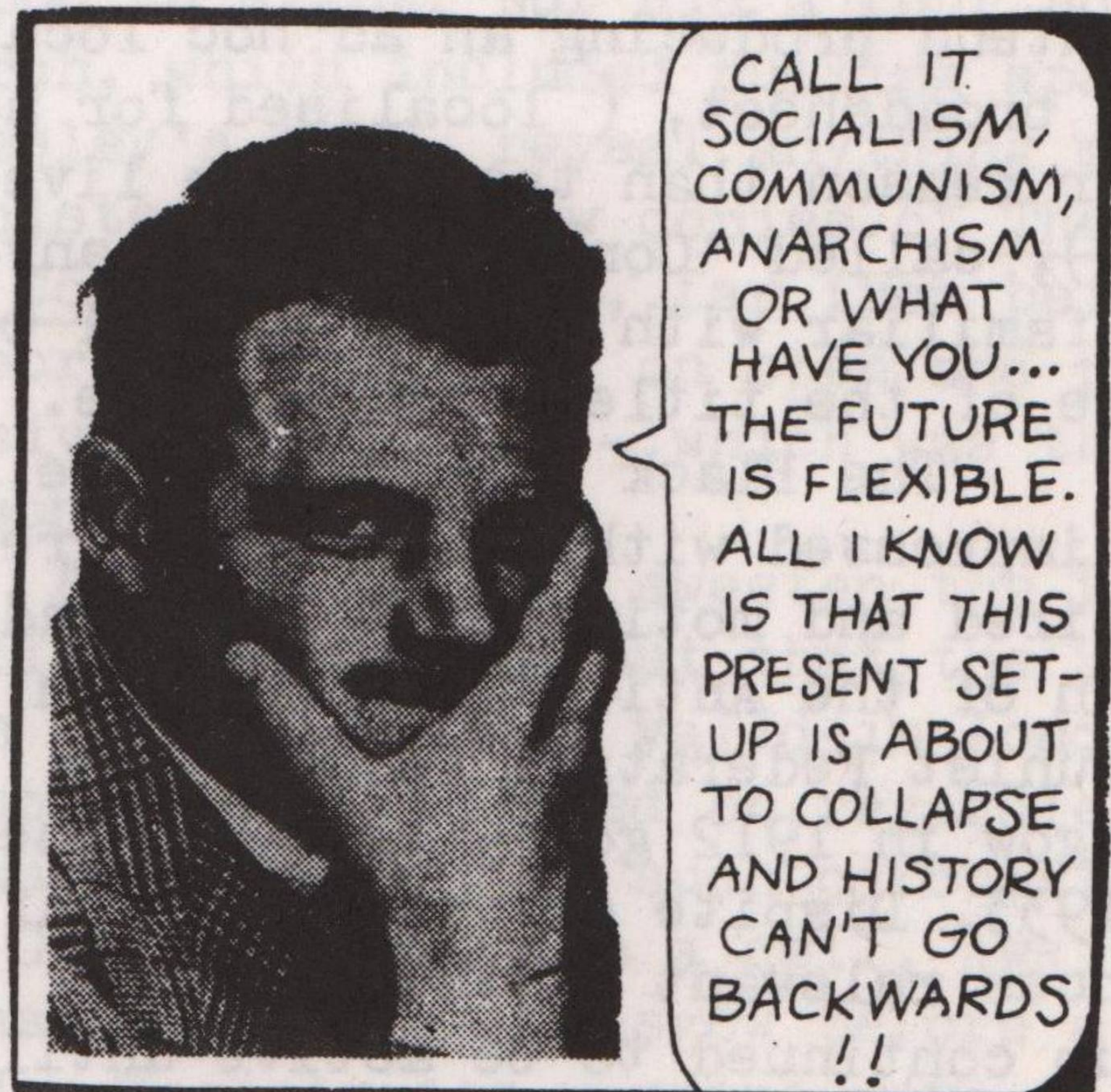
THE FREE WORLD IS NOT FREE ; THE COMMUNIST WORLD IS NOT COMMUNIST.

ROLE.

1. To act as an organ of propaganda, stimulating and developing discussion, debate, and an awareness of the nature of capital and it's associated evils within the ranks of our class.

2. To offer and lend support to the progressive struggles of our class.

3. To develop fraternal links with what is sometimes known as , the minority communist tendency, of independent, anarchist, libertarian, council and left - communists.



INTRODUCTION.

October/November 1983 see's the re-appearance of the old Tyneside libertarian paper 'Black Star : Paper for Independent Working Class Organisation.' Although the title now reads 'For a Free Communist Society.' (We feel that this is a clearer statement of our position).

The second series is re launched by former collective members now living in the Buckinghamshire area. The papers editorial line has also changed slightly. It is our intention to place more emphasis on theory, debate and analysis.

Whilst maintaining an autonomous class struggle line, a commitment to the communist ideal and the ultimate goal of a free society, we feel that a broader perspective on the issue and nature of 'struggle' and organisation must be explored. We feel, for too long, the revolutionary movement has seemingly sat in ivory towers, hardly even justifying their own existence. We'd like to develop the 'Star', hopefully in an attempt to, bridge some of the gaps and break down some of the barriers of needless sectarianism inherent in our movement.

As well as producing this journal - apologies for the poor production, it will get better - we intend producing an ad hoc localised broadsheet, (localised for no other reason than the fact we live here), called 'Concrete Cow' - anyone familiar with this area will be aware of the titles significance.

The Black Star Collective are impressed with, and to a degree inspired and motivated by the tradition of the Anti-Parliamentarian Communist Federation founded in Glasgow in 1912 going into decline in 1933. Despite divisions and differences relevant to the time the group continued to be active until 1941 before changing its name to the Workers Revolutionary League.

Following in the tradition of the Apcf we recognise that two very distinct lines of socialist thought developed in the 1st International - that of Bakuninism and Marxism. Accepting this, we feel that the two lines of thought are far too important to ignore, or to

simply accept the purism of either one at the expense of the other.

Guy Aldred, a founder of the Apcf, once wrote;

"Marx defined the social revolution, whilst Bakunin expressed it. The first stood for the invincible logic of the cause. The second concentrated in his own person its unquenchable spirit. Marx was an impregnable rock of first principles remorselessly composed of facts. He dwarfed the intelligence of capitalist society and witnessed to the indestructibility of socialism. He incarnated the proletarian upheaval. He was the imovable mountain of revolution. Bakunin, on the other hand, was the tempest. He symbolised the coming flood. Both were great brave men; and together they gave completeness to the certitude of revolution. They promised success by land and by water. They symbolised inexhaustible patience, unwearying stability, inevitable growth, and tireless, relentless attack. Who can conceive of a world not made up of land and water? Who can conceive of the social revolution without the work of Marx and Bakunin?"

We feel that an attempt to develop some kind of synthesis between the two could benefit the revolutionary movement in general. We realise that our proposals are somewhat ambitious and would appreciate the help and support from sympathetic and like minded comrades more experienced in this field than ourselves in the form of letters and articles of a constructive nature, with a view to publication.

Let us end this introduction by recapturing the spirit of the 1st International - the emancipation of the working class must be the task of the working class itself! and Marx's brilliant maxim - "Workers of all lands unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!" (a sentiment none can disagree with).

B.S.C.

Anarchism - The Gateway to Civilisation.

This article was first published in The Spark, November 1951, the monthly magazine of the Glasgow University Pacifist Association, and the World Youth Peace Fellowship. The title was suggested by the editor of The Spark.

The Black Star Collective wish to state, that we see no contradiction between the terminology, anarchist society and communist society; that is, true communism - free communism. As opposed to Marxist/Leninist engineered State communism or neo-fascistic Trotskyist deviance. And the socialistic gradualist idealism of social democracy (ie. Labour Party and Euro Communists).

"The Gateway to Civilisation is a very good title. It defines well the ideals of Anarchism, and also its function. It is many years since I wrote on the philosophy of anarchism. My mind has broadened and experience has given substance and reality to the philosophy I accepted in 1907, but must have subscribed to since I was a boy of thirteen in 1900. It was then that the idea came to me that the individual was more important than the state as the receptacle of principle, and that all law enactments of the community must be reconciled with the reason and conscience of the individual citizen. This principle is the crux of anarchism. This fact makes anarchism the gateway to civilisation.

What do we mean by civilisation? Evolution beyond the savage stage, denial of the law of the jungle; order as between individual and individual; Liberty, leading to order in its process of development. This means the spontaneous flow of service from individual to society, and back from society to individual. This means the administration of things and the distribution of the fruits of the earth. It means the administration of things instead of the domination of persons. It is voluntary and spontaneous co-operation. It means not just individualism as the goal, but individualism as the way. Anarchism asserts that there can be an expression of individual thought balked and frustrated, stumbling over and rebellious, under slave and exploitive

society. Hence anarchism means the pursuit of happiness, the pursuit of truth and peace in challenge to a militaristic society that is neither conducive to happiness or peace, and essential falsehood of which demands the subversion, the suppression, the destruction, of truth.

When I first became an anarchist it was in revolt against Parliamentary concessions. Parliamentarism, supposed to be democracy, has reformed socialism, and the social struggle out of existence. Parliamentarism is not socialism, and it is not democracy. It is the broadened basis of tyranny.

How to assert anarchist principles, and how to operate them is a task for each individual. Each individual expression may be criticised. It may define anarchism, or fall short of it. Anarchism cannot be can-



alised along certain ruts. It does not obey too well under slave society. It believes in the civil duty of disobedience.

Anarchism believes in the sovereign individual, not the sovereign State. It therefore discards and challenges all frontiers. It liquidates monarchy in the grand social republic of humanity. It challenges the dismal doctrine that Might is Right and asserts the historic truth that Right is Might. It takes a true view of social struggle and so does not sacrifice the human birthright of social freedom for the politician's mess of social pottage - bread

THE RISE OF PARLIAMENTARISM

The following article is based on chapter three of Guy A Aldred's pamphlet, 'Socialism and Parliament,' Part 1, subtitled, 'Socialism or Parliament.' 'Socialism and Parliament,' Part 2, subtitled, 'Government by Labour' is a separate pamphlet.

To the best of our knowledge part 2 is unavailable. Freedom Press hold a small stock of part 1, price 50p.

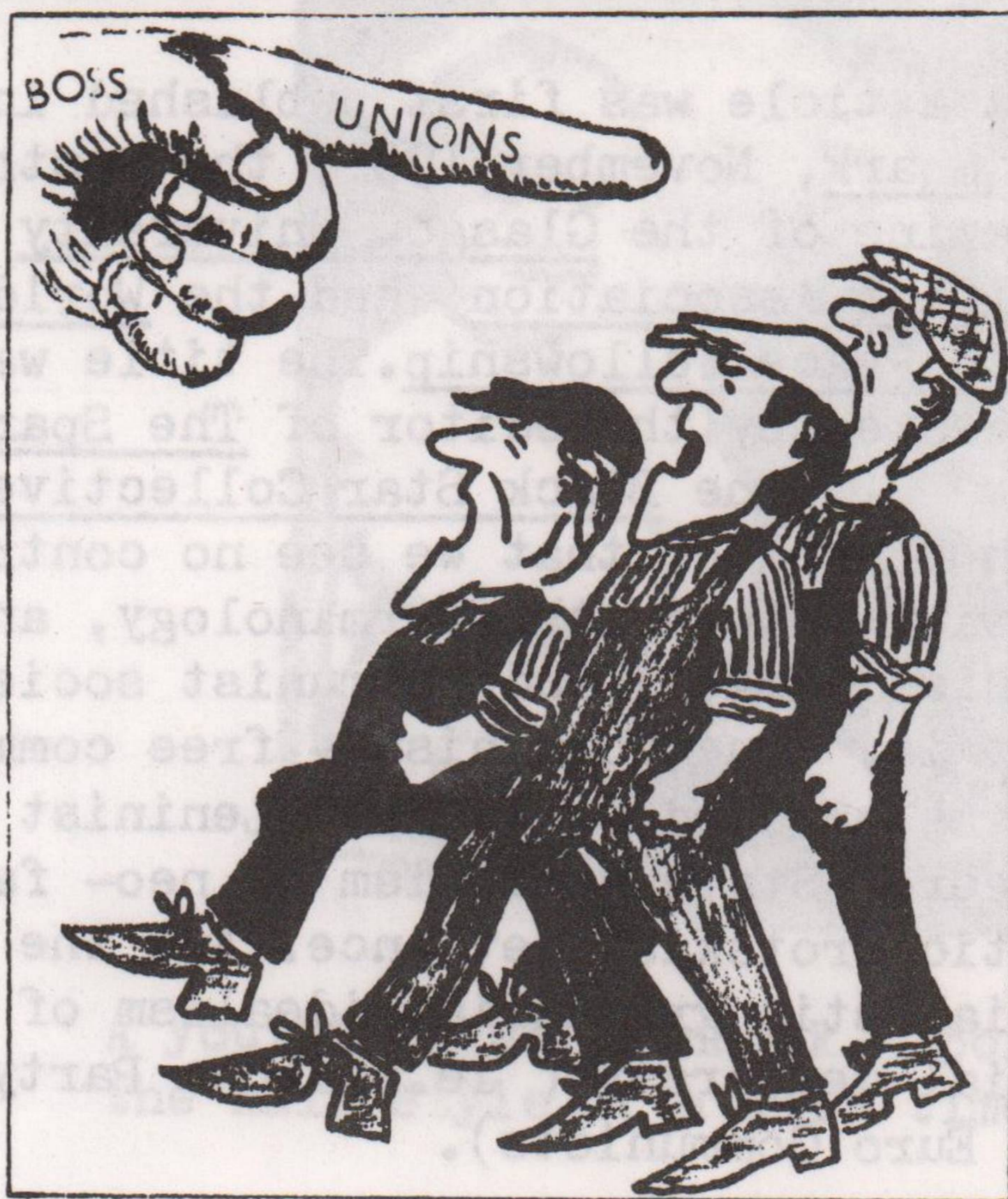
Each of these pamphlets is a factual indictment of pre-war Labour governments. The facts are now history but none the less relevant to present day anti-parliamentarian communists while Aldreds arguments and caustic comments are timeless.

The history of organised labour began in 1750. Workers in the various trades gathered in pubs and clubs. Hence the names of pubs which even today indicate the trade their original clientele followed; Masons Arms, Bricklayers Arms, Crown Coachmakers, Three Jolly Painters etc.

No visions of Labour premiers and sending their workmates to parliament inspired these workers.

Their gatherings were mainly festive in which apprentices were initiated by grotesque ceremonies and weird incantations. Not much promise here of the struggle for working class emancipation or the formation of an International Working Mens Association. Nevertheless it was not all beer and skittles and eventually from these associations emerged the sentiments of working class emancipation and international brotherhood. Hand in hand with these sentiments developed a practical organisation, ie., embryo trade unionism which in the later stages of capitalist imperialism grew into the reactionary monster of the trade union movement and Labour parliamentarism. What a mockery of the original sentiments.

Perusal of the early minute books of the Trade Associations reflect the growing class consciousness of their members. The saloon atmosphere merges into that of the committee room. Slow changes are recorded into the minutes, fines for drunk-



ness and swearing giving place to money being voted for the "turn outs", ie., the strikers.

The workers of this period were handicraftsmen lacking the knowledge and experience of industrial organisation. Consequently their protests had to be political (protests of opinion) and without the backing of industrial organisation. They were voiced through the London Corresponding Society and other such mediums. But their influence was limited and they collapsed beneath the persecutions of the notorious, evil Castlereagh, Pitt and Sinmouth.

Then came the Industrial Revolution sounding the death knell of the handicraftsmen but the radicalism which Castlereagh had seemed to strangle was born again with the industrial proletariat from the squalor and inhumanity of early industrialism.

In 1832 the Reform Bill was passed. This enfranchised the middle class (but excluded the working class from the ballot box) whose leaders the workers still followed. The political consciousness of the proletariat had not yet evolved the idea of labour representation at Westminster while Lord John Russell, then prime minister, declared there would be no extension of the franchise.

It is an irony of history that but for the extension of the ballot box there would have been no Labour representation at Westminster, no reform programmes, no betrayals - only the direct struggle for revolution.

From 1832 to 1835 working class protest against disfranchisement was industrial. British workers of the time entertained ideas of a soviet type republic despite their faith in middle class leadership.

In 1832 the Builders Union was formed. Its objective was social revolution. It endorsed the views of Robert Owen who maintained that: capitalist competition had ruined the workers, the solution was for the working class to take over industry and run it on a co-operative basis, the unions to set up guilds and producers who would strike for an eight hour day and job control, this would force the capitalists and absorb his business in the guild.

This programme was adopted by the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in January 1834. The Union advocated the abolition of the House of Commons and its replacement by a Workers Industrial Administration; in effect a Soviet.

For their association with this activity the famous Dorchester labourers were arrested and deported. The union was broke by persecution and employers throughout the country compelled the workers to sign the infamous "renunciation" of Unionism.

By January 1835 militant unionism had collapsed. Nevertheless the idea of emancipation remained and the workers turned from direct action to political or parliamentary action. Sovietism was replaced by Chartism.

In London there many Radical Clubs. One, The London Working Mens Association, launched the six points of the famous charter. Throughout the land industrial workers rallied to Chartism with its tremendous socialist propaganda which in 1850 collapsed in derision because of its Great Petition fiasco.

Failure did not dishearten the workers. Just as they turned from industrial to political action in 1835, following the collapse of Chartism they reverted to industrial action.

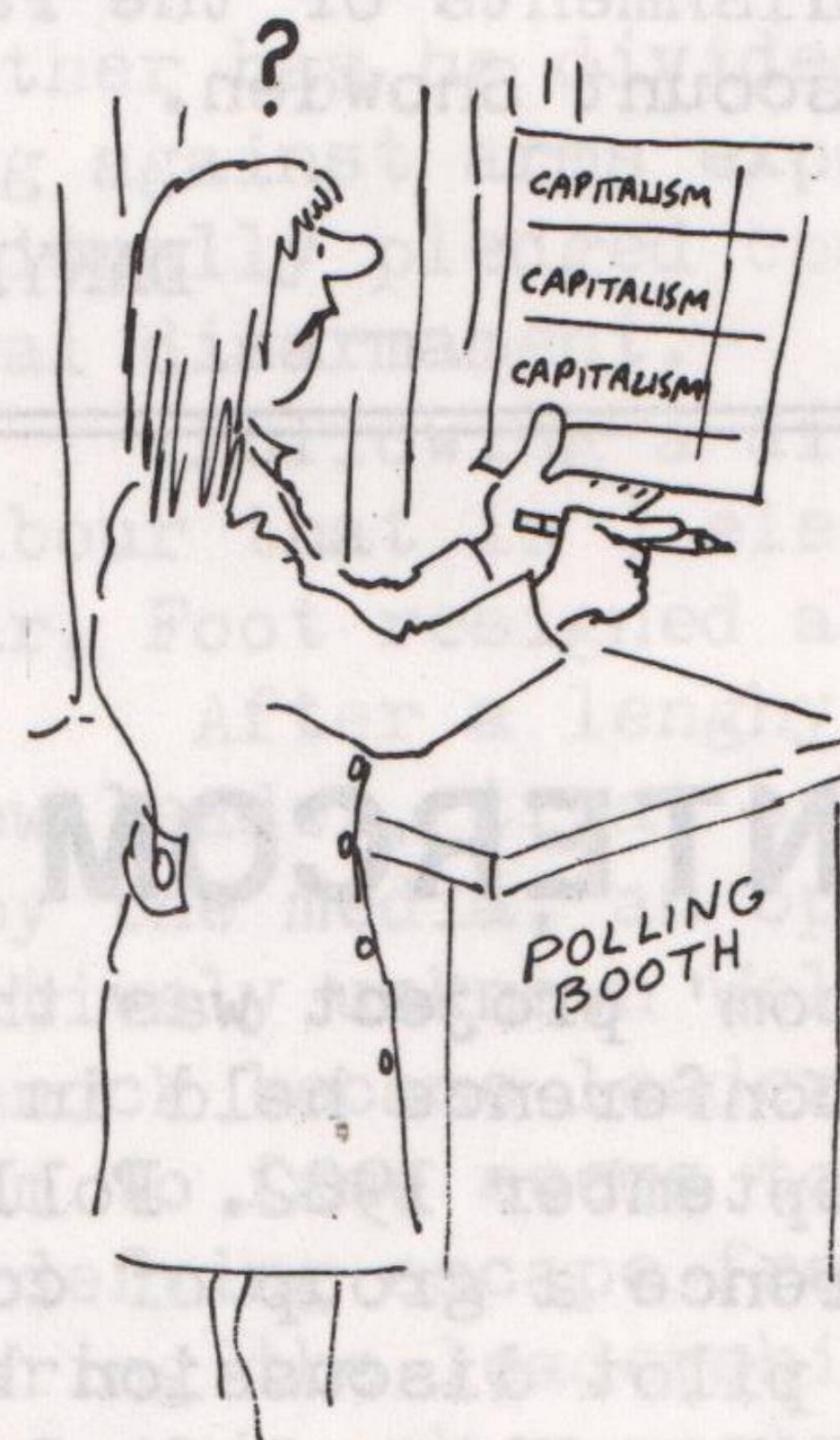
Trade Unionism now trod the quiet paths of industrial negotiation and peace, actual strikes being supplanted by the threat of strikes. The cry, "no politics in the union" replaced Chartist agitation which had urged insurrection should political reform be denied. The peaceful slogan "A fair days pay for a fair days work" was developed.

Economic circumstances favoured this development until 1867 when once again a crisis compelled the workers to demand a Commission of Inquiry and to turn to legal and political action. This resulted in The Master and Servant Act which placed masters and workers on an equal footing in cases of breach of contract. During the next seven years the unions were given legal status, their funds protected and picketing legalised.

This brings us to 1874 and the entry into the House of Commons of the first two Labour M.P.'s - not be it noted Labour Party or Independent Labour Party M.P.'s, neither of those two parties then existed.

In the same year that these two Labour members entered the commons, John Most the Social Democratic representative for Chemnitz in Saxony, renounced parliamentarism with these words:

"The entire law-making - Parliamentarism - is really such a silly, washed out business that it does not even compare favourably with the most primitive working mens debating clubs, where, Christ knows, enough rubbish is spoken. But the sad thing is that people in all countries still imagine that by these 'monkey tricks' their interests are represented and preserved."



Most became one of the most feared anarchists of the last century. A brave and dedicated man who suffered much persecution and imprisonment.

We end with a quotation (with which these pamphlets are liberally sprinkled) from one of the venerables in the Labour Party's Calender »

of Saints. Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the first Labour Government:

"I sometimes feel inclined to give up parliament and active political work and devote myself once more to socialist propaganda. After I entered the House of Commons I tried for a time to combine the discussion of current political issues with the exposition of socialist aims and ideals. But I found it an impossible task.

When a person is engaged in parliamentary work and political controversy, he cannot always choose the subjects of his public speeches. The political issues which interest the public at the moment are often made by his political opponents, and he is compelled to follow their lead. A party which is seeking political power must devote itself, in the main, to the discussion of current political questions. There is no time for the education of the public in fundamental principles.

The consequence is that the public do not get an understanding of the relation of particular proposals to a complete and comprehensive plan of industrial and social reconstruction.

I mark the decline of definite socialist propaganda in this country from the time when the Labour Party came into parliament in considerable numbers in 1906. The men who had been socialist propagandists became politicians. It is no reproach to them. It could not be otherwise. Parliamentary work and political controversy are so absorbing that socialist members of parliament have no time left for general socialist propaganda.

And this does not apply to individuals only. It is equally true of organisations. The Independent Labour Party, which did such magnificent educational work for socialism before 1906, long ago ceased to be a socialist propaganda body. If a young man of ability, fired with the zeal and idealism of socialism, arise from its ranks, he is at once made into a parliamentary candidate, and he is changed from the socialist evangelist to the party politician.

But the most serious aspect of this matter is that the younger generation of the labour movement have no real understanding of socialism. They have been fed on political propaganda and not on socialist principles. The 'Socialism in Our Time' programme of the I.L.P. has no more relation to socialism than it has to the man in the moon. Its proposals of a living wage, family endowment, and the like, are just a revival of the paternal Toryism of Lord Shaftesbury and Disraeli."

Unlike John Most, Snowden did not tread the path illuminated by his rare moment of truth. His integrity had already been corrupted by the tawdry blandishments of the Palace of Westminster. Which is why when he died in 1937 he was - Viscount Snowden.

DARYL HEPPLE.

INTERCOM

The 'Intercom' project was the outcome of a conference held in Manchester in September 1982. Following this conference a group of comrades launched a pilot discussion bulletin called the 'New Ultra-Left Review', this was followed by a supplement. Comrades involved then changed the name to 'Intercom', of which, three issues have been produced. The aim of the bulletin is to promote an exchange of information in an attempt to develop regular discussion and debate between revolutionaries who make up the 'minority communist

tendency.' It is hoped that this project will lead to a greater clarification of important issues and an increased co-operation in practical work within this tendency.

The current issue of this bulletin is available from;

Wildcat, C/O Autonomy Centre,
8-10, Gt Ancoats St, Manchester,
M4 5AD.

The next issue will be produced by 'Workers Playtime' and contributions can be sent to;

Workers Playtime, C/O C1,
Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall,
London E1. (Please mark - For
Intercom).

LABOUR SCABS!

TO SECURE FOR THE PRODUCERS BY HAND AND BY BRAIN THE FULL FRUITS OF THEIR INDUSTRIES AND THE MOST EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION THEREOF THAT MAY BE POSSIBLE, UPON A BASIS OF COMMON OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, AND THE BEST OBTAINABLE SYSTEM OF POPULAR ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF EACH INDUSTRY AND SERVICE.'

(A pledge to the working class. 1918 Labour Party constitution.)

Foreword:

Once the decision was taken to write an article on the Labour Party we were faced with the problem of exactly which way to tackle it. Even a sketchy introduction into its history is enough to fill a couple of handsome volumes.

We decided the best way to do it was to catalogue various events credited to them, highlighting the hypocracies, inconsistencies, sellouts, militarism, anti-socialist and working class activities prevalent over the years.

This is best portrayed at each position of governmental power held by labour. This coverage is somewhat superficial as their history of class betrayal is enormous; too vast to be covered in an article such as this. This semi-analytic account speaks for itself, painting a clear picture of the true nature of Labour.

Introduction:

'TO INVITE THE CO-OPERATION OF ALL CO-OPERATIVE, SOCIALIST, TRADE UNION, AND OTHER WORKING ORGANISATIONS TO JOINTLY CO-OPERATE ON LINES MUTUALLY AGREED UPON, IN CONVENING A SOCIAL CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM SUCH ABOVE NAMED ORGANISATIONS AS MAY BE WILLING TO TAKE PART TO DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS FOR SECURING THE RETURN OF AN INCREASED NUMBER OF LABOUR MEMBERS TO THE NEXT PARLIAMENT.'

So read the resolution put forward by the Railway Servants Union at the 1899 Trade Union Congress. In other words, the leaders of the rail workers sought trade union representation in parliament - a political grouping aimed at capitalist reform. An attempt to win a few more crumbs for the working class.

When put to the vote this resol-

ution was approved. On February 27, 1900, delegates met in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London. Over 100 delegates were in attendance as well as representatives from the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation. This event has always been looked upon as the 'foundation of the Labour Party.' This group, known as the Labour Representation Committee was formed to promote and co-ordinate representation plans for parliament. The group did not formally become the Labour Party until 1906.

Since its formation Labour has always attempted to give the impression that it is socialist and that it is dedicated to serving the interests of the working class. A closer examination reveals that it is not even vaguely socialistic, and more importantly, directly anti-working class.

1914 - 1918 :

As a 'socialist' party, Labour has always maintained opposition to warfare and militarism. In 1906 their election manifesto declared "wars are fought to make the rich richer." That wars are merely a capitalist trick with workers gaining nothing from such affairs and through the combined action and solidarity of the world's toilers, wars could never be fought.

Early in 1914 Labour pacifist Kier Hardie mounted an anti-war platform in Trafalgar Square, declaring that, "an international strike would make war impossible." Yet a mere ten days after the outbreak of war, speaking at a public meeting in Merthyr Tydfil, he announced:

"A NATION AT WAR MUST BE UNITED... WITH THE BOOM OF THE ENEMIES GUN WITHIN EARSHOT THE LADS WHO HAVE GONE FORTH TO FIGHT THEIR COUNTRY'S BATTLES MUST NOT BE DISHEARTENED BY ANY DISCORDANT NOTE AT HOME."

Following suit, the Party, with trade union support, soon changed its anti-militarist stance. Becoming flag waving patriots, they gave full support to the Liberal government. Ramsey MacDonald resigned as leader making way for Arthur Henderson, who had previously shared Hardie's anti-war platform. Henderson, along with other Labour politicians entered the coalition war cabinet, known as the 'win the war' »

government. The Labour Party shared the direct responsibility for sending tens of thousands of workers to their deaths in a capitalist war.

1924 :

The first Labour government was formed in 1924. On that glorious day King George V was moved to note in his diary:

"AT 12.15 I HELD COUNCIL AT WHICH MR. RAMSEY MACDONALD WAS SWORN IN AS A MEMBER. I THEN ASKED HIM TO FORM A GOVERNMENT, WHICH HE ACCEPTED TO DO. I HAD AN HOUR'S TALK WITH HIM, HE IMPRESSED ME VERY MUCH; HE WISHES TO DO THE RIGHT THING..."

Also in attendance at the palace was another fine socialist, J.R. Clynes, who later wrote in his book 'From Cotton Mill to Downing St.':

"AS WE STOOD WAITING FOR HIS MAJESTY, AMONG THE LUXURIOUS GOLD AND CRIMSON MAGNIFICENCE I COULD NOT HELP MARVELING AT THE STRANGE TURN OF FORTUNES WHEEL WHICH HAD BROUGHT MACDONALD, THOMAS, HENDERSON, CLYNES ETC. TO THIS PINNACLE BESIDE THE MAN WHOSE FORBEARS HAD BEEN KINGS FOR SO LONG....

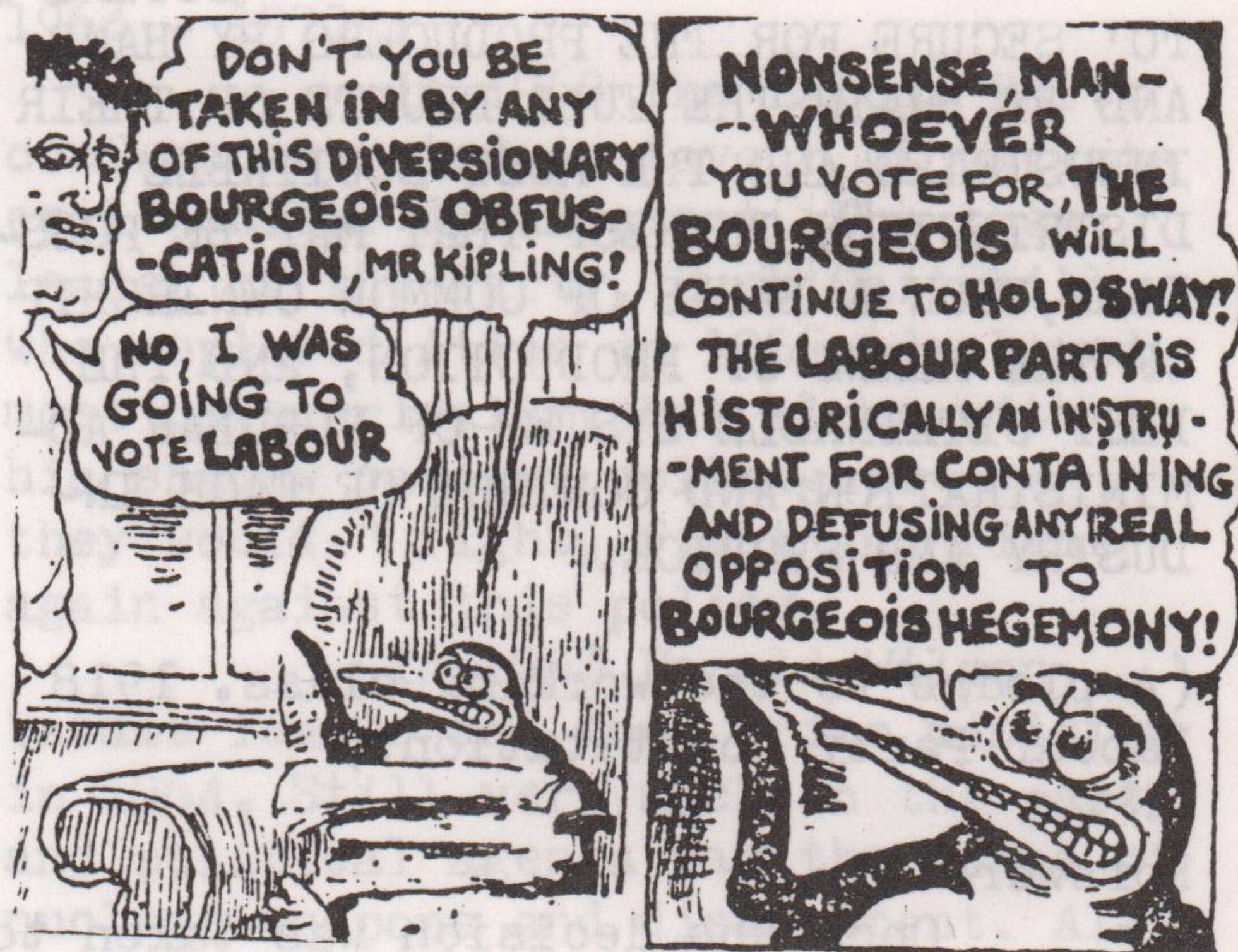
THE QUIET LITTLE MAN WHOM WE ADDRESSED AS 'YOUR MAJESTY' SWIFTLY PUT US AT OUR EASE."

These so-called hero's of socialism never once questioned the class order of society or that the living conditions and position of the working class may be wrong.

As well as denying socialist principles Macdonald's government used troops to smash a strike by London transport workers. Many of whom had canvassed on behalf of Labour during the election campaign.

It is small wonder that the workers soon became dissatisfied and disillusioned. Labour never attempted to implement one socialistic measure throughout its term of office.

Prior to premiership Macdonald, in his book, 'Parliament and Revolution' made clear the futility of parliament as a vehicle for working class emancipation. Although in understanding this, he in no way attempted to oppose this corrupt institution. Quite happily sitting back enjoying parliamentary comfort and security. Macdonald attacked revolution as "the road to maximum difficulty."



1929 - 1931 :

This era again saw comrade Macdonald at the helm. This little episode was a complete economic disaster, coupled with increased arms expenditure and cuts in wages and the benefits paid to the unemployed.

Margaret Bonfield, the first woman cabinet minister declared in 1929 that Labour would "cure unemployment in three weeks." She no doubt saw the means to do this through the personal introduction of a bill to give power to stop benefits to certain classes of worker - part time, casual, seasonal, and married women.

On August 24, 1931 the government was forced to resign. Macdonald went to the palace to hand the resignation to the king. Upon his return to Downing Street he shocked his colleagues by declaring that the king had invited him to form a national government - a coalition, with him as prime minister.

" HE BRUSQUELY TOLD US THAT HE HAD ACCEPTED HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSION."

('Herbert Morrison an Autobiography')
This time round careerism had moved him to not only sell-out socialism, but his Party as well.

1940 :

Again we see Labour entering a war time coalition to preserve the British state and capitalism. Clement Atlee became Party leader in 1935. When war broke out P.M. Chamberlain invited Atlee to join the coalition. On this occasion Atlee declined. Chamberlain resigned, making way for the old war horse Winston Churchill who again invited Atlee. This time, as a great admirer of Churchill, he acc-

accepted. As ⁱⁿ W.W.I., the official policy of the Labour Party and the Trade Union movement was to give full support to the war machine.

1945 - 1951 :

The post war Labour government under the leadership of Attlee is supposed to have been the first government implementing real 'socialist measures' ie. nationalisation, welfare state etc. This era is hailed by Labour today as the model for the future.

In May 1945 the war with Germany ended. Churchill wanted to continue the coalition until Japan was defeated. Labour declined, withdrawing from the coalition. On June 15 parliament was dissolved. Following the General Election of July 5 the most militaristic, war mongering anti working class Labour government ever took up office on July 26.

EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE?



VOTE LABOUR

Within six days of taking up office they sent conscript troops into Surrey Docks, London, to break a ten week long strike by port workers. Throughout its term of office troops, mainly conscripts, were used on eighteen occasions to break strikes.

' NO CONSCRIPT SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO TAKE DUTY IN AID OF THE CIVIL POWER IN CONNECTION WITH TRADE DISPUTE, OR TO PERFORM, IN CONSEQUENCE OF A TRADE DISPUTE, ANY CIVIL OR INDUSTRIAL DUTY CUSTOMARILY

PERFORMED BY A CITIZEN.'

(Labour amendment to the military training bill. 12.5.39.)



1950: Labour uses army to scab in an attempt to break dockers' strike. This was not the first or last time Labour used troops against the working class.

After eleven days in office the A- bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and on August 9 Nagasaki was hit. U.S. president Truman stated that he had the full blessing of the British Labour government and that official observers were present at the actual bombing.

"THE FIRST TASK OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT WAS TO COMPLETE THE WINNING OF THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN AND THE GENERAL ANTICIPATION HAD BEEN THAT THIS MIGHT PROVE TO BE A LONG AND DIFFICULT ONE... BUT THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB AT HIROSHIMA BROUGHT THE WAR TO A SUDDEN END. IT WAS, OF COURSE, AN IMMENSE RELIEF."

(Atlee. 'As it happened')

Following this they embarked on a nuclear adventure. Work was started on the development of the British 'bomb'. Before development was complete they were out of office, replaced by the Tories. Winston Churchill was moved to comment:

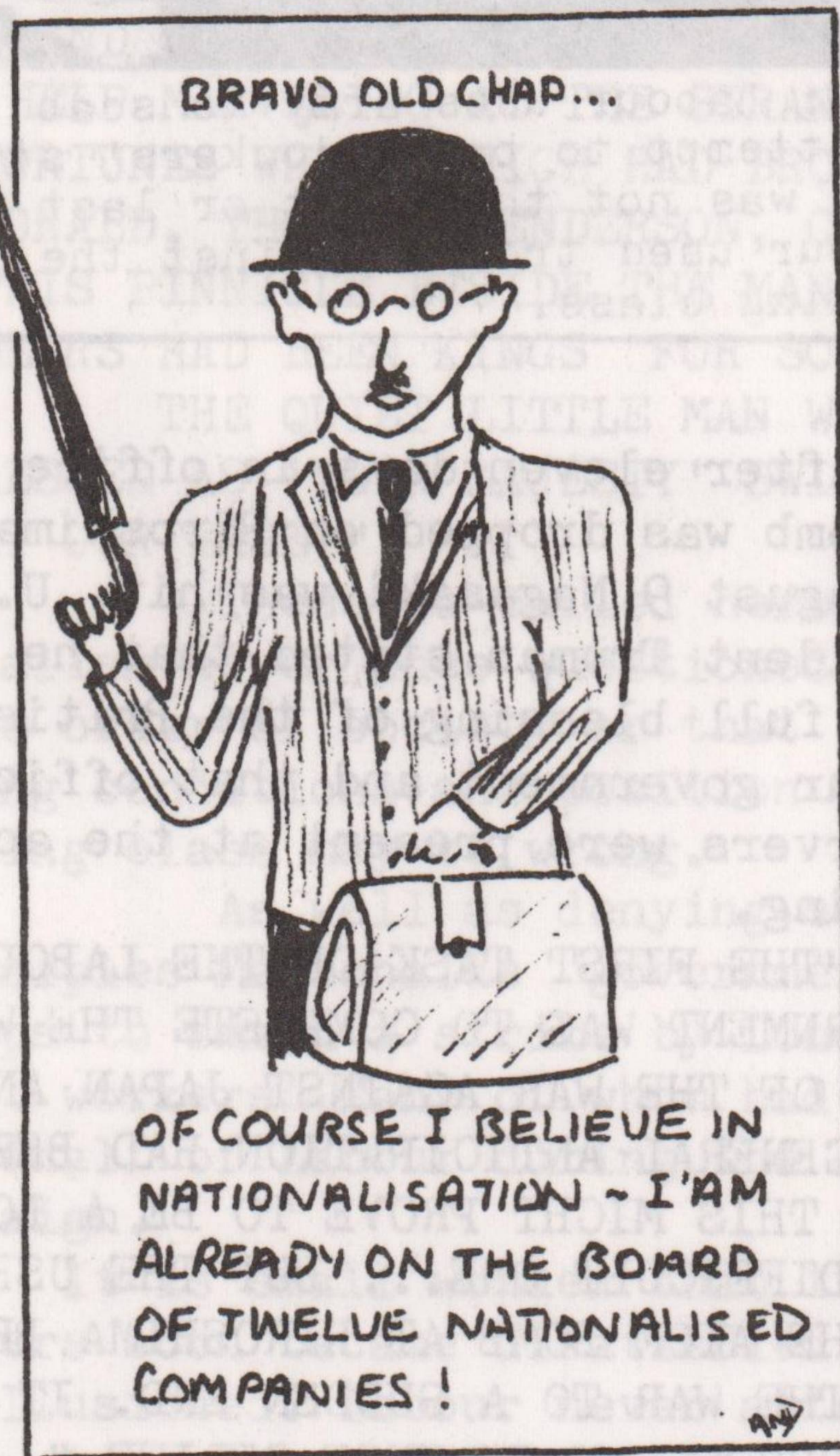
"...I SHOULD NO DOUBT PAY MY COMPLEMENTS TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE OPPOSITION AND THE PARTY OPPOSITE FOR INITIATING IT."

(House of Commons. 24.10.52)

After the war was over they maintained compulsory military service, "

set up American military bases and joined N.A.T.O. in 1949. British troops were also sent into action in Indonesia, Palestine, Egypt (Suez Canal Zone), Malaya and Korea. British troops were not withdrawn from Greece until February 1950 after helping the Greek government crush leftist guerilla's in the Greek civil war. A re-armament programme costing £1,500,000,000 per year was also initiated. A massive amount considering this was over thirty years ago. The whole defence budget for the year 1951 was £ 4.7 billion. To pay for this Labour used wage freezes, wage cuts and introduced NHS charges on certain items.

One of their greatest 'socialist' claims was nationalisation. This programme was not a socialist measure. It was a salvage operation undertaken by Labour on behalf of the bosses , (nationalisation only creates state -capitalism),



The nationalisation of the coal and rail industries paved the way for 'rationalisation' in which thousands of workers lost their jobs. The bosses were only too happy to sell, receiving full compensation.

"THERE IS A BROADENING FIELD FOR STATE OWNERSHIP AND ENTERPRISE, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO MONOPOLIES OF ALL KINDS."

(Winston Churchill 14.4.43.)

1964 - 1970 :

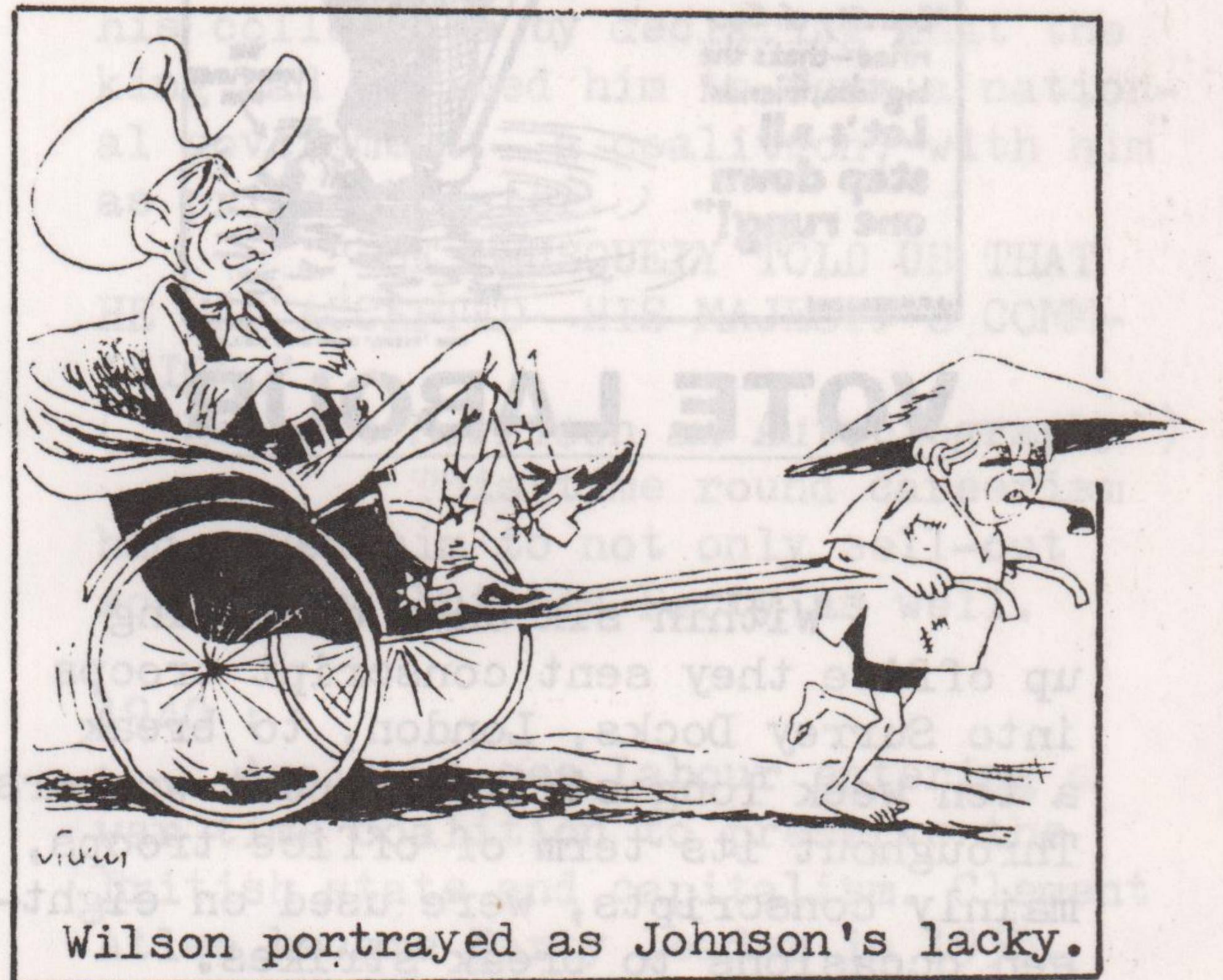
In 1960 the Labour Party conference voted in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament. The then leader of the Party, Hugh Gaitskill, who replaced Atlee in 1955, declared most categorically, that along with his shadow cabinet colleagues they would " fight, fight and fight again against this policy.

In 1963 Harold Wilson became leader and then prime minister in 1964. Still very much on the party and political agenda was the issue of nuclear weapons and disarmament. Although conference continued to pledge commitment to disarmament the same party continued to increase arms spending and develop nuclear and conventional weaponry.

During this term of office Labour again had the opportunity to fly their militarist colours - this time it was the war in Vietnam. Throughout the war the Labour Party lent diplomatic support to the U.S. government.

"THE AMERICANS SHOULD STOP WEEPING AND GET ON WITH THE VIETNAM WAR AND INSTEAD OF JUST LOOKING FOR UNITED STATES ATROCITIES THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY OUGHT TO BE THINKING ABOUT THE THREAT TO FREEDOM IF THE COMMUNISTS WIN."

(Evening Standard. November 1969. Deputy Labour leader George Brown referring to the infamous My Lai massacre).



Wilson portrayed as Johnson's lackey.

Wilson's government also introduced wage restraint (with TUC backing). Introduced public spending cuts, abolished free school milk in secondary schools, re-introduced the

means test for certain benefits and sent troops into Northern Ireland. The cost of school meals and council rents were increased. They also passed the overtly racist 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act.

1975 - 1979 :

Following the resignation of Wilson, James Callaghan was appointed leader in 1976. This era of British 'socialism' is still fresh in peoples minds. An era culminating in the 'winter of discontent'.

Callaghans government introduced the social contract to keep down wages, initially at 10%, followed by 5%. Backed the bosses against the Health Service and Council workers, the lorry drivers, and sent in troop to defeat the firemen. Public services were slashed to the bone and unemployment rose drastically. Handsome achievements for a party which supposedly defends working class interests.

AFTERWORD :

In 1980, the long standing 'peace' campaigner and party hack, Michael Foot became leader. Upon his election, putting him into the same camp as Michael Edwards and the CBI, the 'Financial Times' commented ;

" THE INITIAL INDICATIONS ARE THAT LABOUR UNDER FOOT WILL ADVOCATE THE SORT OF POLICIES DEMANDED BY SIR TERENCE BECKETT AND SIR MICHAEL EDWARDS AT THE CBI CONFERENCE THIS WEEK: MORE STATE INTERVENTION, BACKING WINNERS, THE DIRECTION OF OIL REVENUES INTO INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS AND A MOVE AWAY FROM THE MARKET ECONOMY."

(14.11.80)

Yes, the party continues to be the party of capitalism. It also continues to be a party of war and militarism. This became all too apparent during the Falklands war.

The Labour Party gave its wholehearted support to Margaret 'Jingo' Thatcher and the British war machine. Foot, who declares, "I am an inveterate peace monger," was congratulated in the House of Commons for his support. He even admitted

privately, to T.V. interviewer Sir Robin Day, that he fully supported Thatchers decision to sink the retreating Argentinian vessal General Belgrano.



Neither has he divided the House by voting against arms expenditure or unconditionally pledged committment to unilateral disarmament.

Following a disasterous (for Labour that is) election defeat this year, Foot resigned as leader.

After a lengthy campaign for a new leader, treat as a daily ritual by the media, an opportunist and relatively unknown Welsh man called Neil Kinnock became leader. Whose greatest claim to fame seems to have been a death defying escape from a car accident during the leadership campaign.

We ask ourselves, why do they bother - capitalism is redundant and capitalist parties impotent. Will things be any different this time round? We doubt it.

CONCLUSION :

As this short catalogue of events and examples proves, every aspiration and fundemental principle of

GUY ALFRED ALDRED

It is twenty years this month since Guy Aldred died - 16th October 1963. His group, the United Socialist Movement virtually died with him.

Guy Aldred's passing did not go unnoticed. Although he could not be favourably reported in the capitalist press, he was a well known public figure in Glasgow and merited a headline and a placard. Then he began to be forgotten as the passing years took many of his friends and some of his enemies, and a new generation peopled the scene. Guy was dead, and if his ideas had been as fragile as flesh they would have died as well. Guy was dead, but the thoughts he had released were still alive and wind driven by circumstance taken root in new mortalities. Young people, stirred by the ideas, asked about the man. This essay goes a little way towards supplying answers. But one of Guy's many quotable utterances was: "The message is greater than the messenger." We must not deify, for therein we corrupt.

Guy Alfred Aldred was born on 5th November 1886. His father had deserted his mother on the church steps after the wedding service because she was half a degree beneath him socially. With a wedding ring he had made her a respectable woman and had salvaged his honour as a middle-class gentleman. Guy was brought up in his grandparents house in Corporation Buildings, Farringdon Road, Islington, London.

So, an only child in an elderly household, left much to himself, a congenitally pensive little creature, he pondered much on the phenomenon of life, its origin, conduct, and destiny. When he was sixteen the speculations became articulate. He mounted the public platform as a boy preacher, expounding a theology blasphemous to his fellow evangelists, and shocking to his audience - who came back to be reshocked; as people will. Jesus, the boy preacher contended - and we note it here because in the contention is the seed of his anarchism - was a man, not a god, or son of god. He was executed by authority, and was no more. He was not christ. Christ was the spirit of protest within him. That did not die.

It was the element working through all humans in the passage from brute beast to wider consciousness. To some it was an imperative urge to martyrdom; but it could not die.

When Guy was 17 he became an agnostic. He founded the Clerkenwell Freethought Mission, and wrote for the Agnostic Journal. At 18 he was an avowed atheist. He could not be alive and young at that time without encountering socialist ideas. In March 1905 still 18, he joined the Social Democratic Federation. As he was a budding journalist they made him unpaid parliamentary reporter for Justice, the Federation's journal. For six months he sat in the press gallery and reported proceedings in the house. He had been opposed to careerism before he undertook this task. The careerist subserved himself to the requirements of the job; bound the spirit to the terrestrial, the eternal to the temporal, and in general assessment reduced the man to the dimension of his stomach; to the digestive cravings of his appetites. He soon despised parliamentarism; but he left the SDF because Hyndman and colleagues (except Belfort Bax) objected to him bringing freethought into his socialist lectures.

Young Guy had a reverential regard for socialism. It was truth. So were Freethought and, and Freedom, why should truths be kept apart? They were all part, all the expression of, that eternal urging, the burgeoning of new reality, the shedding of old dead reality that choked the soul. Only in the unity of truths could there be truth. He attempted to expound this later in a concept called synthetic iconoclasm: the synthesised smashing of all images: God, Church, State. To keep socialism in a separate compartment, and still go to church, was to him a distortion of fundamental intellectual honesty.

Guy's next staging post was with Freedom anarchists. Here he discovered the ideas of Bakunin which so matched his own that he added the mighty Russian to the gentle Nazarene in his humanist pantheon. The theorising section of Freedom was of some import to a very young thinker, but he

needed action, and he found that in the formation of the Industrail Union of Direct Action. This was founded in February 1907 and very soon had ten branches in London, with ten secretaries, and three organisers. Guy Aldred was the General Secretary. The Voice of Labour was launched as the party organ.

The object of the IUDA was to overthrow capitalism and abolish the state in the establishment of a non-authoritarian society of free communes. The method was by general strike and by stay-in strike. There were good speakers, but it was hard to put across the idea that the IUDA was not advocating extreme trade union action with revolutionary fervour. And this wasn't helped by the attitude of Aldred's older colleague, John Turner. He thought the method should be the extension of trade union organisation to the lowest grade, and lowest paid of workers. That would make the unions revolutionary, with no other thought than to overthrow capitalism; He said that Guy's ^{method} - that the union leaders would betray the workers - was an insult to the intelligence of the workers.

It became evident to Guy that strike agitation for revolution was not enough. The workers did not understand. An educational organisation was required to work in conjunction with the Union. In May 1908 he founded the first Communist Propaganda Group. It was his intention that this group would work in tandem with the IUDA, but no link was made, though, with the IUDA in decline, many of its members came into the group. It was entirely Aldred's brain-child in the first instance, but its 21 points were debated and endorsed by the pioneer group. One of these points, thirteen years before the formation of the Communist Party, calls for a Communist International. Several groups appeared in London, then in North England, Wales, and from 1912, in Scotland.

In 1909 Guy Aldred went to jail for a year for publishing a banned Indian nationalist paper. When he was released in 1910 he launched his first paper: The Herald of Revolt. In 1912 he came to Glasgow to speak for the Clarion Scouts in the Pavilion Theatre. That was the start of a

firm and lasting association with that city. With the outbreak of war in 1914 the Herald became the Spur.

When conscription was introduced in 1916 Guy Aldred went to prison, and remained there till 1919 with short spells of freedom under the Cat and Mouse Act. This was an enactment of parliament designed to end forcible feeding of suffragettes before the war. This cruel practice caused public outcry from those who cared about such things. So Cat & Mouse was devised. By this regulation a person who became very weak on hunger strike was released for a period of 28 days to regain strength, then brought back to prison to continue the sentence. During one such release Aldred helped the Glasgow anarchists to acquire a large old Victorian house at 13 Burnbank Gardens, Great Western Road. This was called Liberty House, the Anarchist Head-quarters.

The ferment caused by the Russian Revolution brought about attempts to form a British communist organisation which would join the Third International. One such group was the Communist League, founded on the initiative of the London Council of the Socialist Labour Party but organised by Guy, out of jail for another spell. Its paper was The Communist, and its policy was the antiparliamentary federation of Councils from local to national level. This, and other attempts at the formation of a British Communist Group for international affiliation was swept aside on the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. This, to the dismay of practically every group left of the ILP, expressed itself in favour of parliamentary action and affiliation to the Labour Party. Guy was more than dismayed, he was furious. He induced the anarchist group to change its name to the Glasgow Communist Group - to which some of its members had belonged before Guy went to jail; and (retaining the anarchist affinity) the name of the Headquarters to Bakunin House - under which title it became a focal point for political activity in Glasgow for the next twelve years. The next point was to federate the groups into an Antiparliamentary Communist Federation (A.P.C.F.) and as such to become an organisation of great activity in Glasgow.

socialism has been betrayed. These betrayals are not so much deliberate, but inevitable. The Labour practiced policy of social democracy; A philosophy based on the gradual reform of the capitalist system, working within the frame work of the state apparatus itself, is doomed to failure. It is conditioned and corrupted by the very system it is attempting to change.

The Labour Party will remain as it always has done, a rotting corpse wearing the name tag of socialism. It is the party of capitalism, as are all parliamentary parties. Such parties cannot represent the true interests of the working class, as their primary aim is to continue the existence of the ailing capitalist system.

We call on all workers to reject the 'socialist' facade enacted by the Labour Party hypocrites. Recognising them for what they are - a diversion from true proletarian aspirations and a stumbling block in the road to working class emancipation.

We call on all workers to implement true revolutionary perspectives, with a commitment to the creation of a free-communist society. The only true vehicle for class emancipation is the complete overthrow of capitalism and the abolition of the wages system by means of social revolution. We must, as a class, organise independent and autonomous class struggle.

Papillon.



A youthful Neil Kinnock. Sporting the hair style of a life time.

FROM SUFFRAGISM TO COMMUNISM

We would like to bring to the attention of our readers a worthy pamphlet recently published, edited and introduced by comrade Mark Shipley, 'Communism and its Tactics' by Sylvia Pankhurst.

The content of this pamphlet first appeared as a series of articles in the paper 'Workers Dreadnought', 1921 - 1922.

In an informative introduction comrade Shipway ^{describes} her little known progression from suffragism to the Communist Party of Great Britain and her expulsion in September 1921 as an advocate of revolutionary communism.

In the first section of this pamphlet, 'Communist Society', she gives a brief description of what, in her estimation, a free society would be like.

This section we reproduce, and strongly encourage readers to purchase this pamphlet and read on.

" Under Communism all shall satisfy their material needs without stint or measure from the common storehouse, according to their desires. Everyone will be able to have what he or she desires. The abundant production now possible, and which invention will constantly facilitate, will remove any need for rationing or limiting of consumption.

Guy knew from experience (and the example of William Morris) that a negative doctrine is unproductive. It will mark time forever in the same place. So he devised a programme for the APCF - a parliamentary activity without parliament. They would use the ballot box for their purpose - to give voice to the workers condemnation of parliamentary careerism, and at the same time give form to their power. He proposed to the groups a scheme whereby the ballot box would be used to elect anti-parliamentary candidates at the next General Election. Successful candidates would not go to parliament, but would remain in their constituencies till they had a quorum, then they would constitute an assembly, insisting on their right to represent the district which elected them. Thus a dual authority is established, which could possibly spread like wild-fire, as these innovations do, and eventually challenge the state.

The notion was not as far fetched as it may seem at first. It had historical precedent. As far back as the French Revolution the Third Estate (bourgeoisie) broke from the Nobility and Clergy and established themselves in a tennis court till their authority was recognised. In Russia the Soviets formed a dual power and took over, and two years before the APCF was formed, the Sinn Fein had used the ballot box in the 1918 Elections to elect their own antiparliamentarian nationalists who then assembled in Dublin, declaring themselves the Irish legislative assembly, and by that authority declaring the British troops invaders. The workers; Aldred argued by analogy, were invaded by the capitalist class and were morally and economically justified in establishing an authority, defensive, offensive, and administrative. He called it "the Sinn Fien tactic" - which was unfortunate.

It was unwise because it was bound to offend every protestant voter, and would have no charm for catholics, coming from a militant atheist communist. It was not a happy time to play with such emotive words. The Irish problem was on the boil - again. The border had just been established, the south was about

to go to war with itself because of it. In Glasgow a police prison van had been fired on and a police sergeant killed. In the raids that followed a couple of priests had been arrested. Riots erupted. The APCF had nothing to do with this; it was not their line of country nor was it Guy's. He had used the "Sinn Fein tactic" as an easy description, by analogy, of what he meant - and of course he had a certain devilish delight in shocking the establishment. Nothing happened when Guy used the words in The Spur but when they were used, and antiparliamentarian sentiments expressed, in the groups new paper The Red Commune the authorities took fright and overreacted in dramatic absurdity.

Raids were launched simultaneously on Bakunin House in Glasgow and on the Aldred house in London, where Guy, Rose, and Annesley, their eleven year old son, lived. A full squad of armed men was employed, for the ominous words "Sinn Fein" led the police to be prepared for opposition from trench coated, leather-legged desperate men with ready guns. It was a bit off-putting to be confronted by an idyllic domestic scene that would not have disgraced a vicarage. Guy was reading, Rose was sewing, Annesley was playing on the carpet, and not an offensive weapon in sight. Nor did a four hour search, which included pulling apart Annesley's toys, reveal anything more sinister than a few copies of The Red Commune and that, far from being a secret weapon, was on open and persuasive public sale - which was the reason for the raid.

And Guy did not sweeten the frustration by pointing out that the Scottish warrant was not valid in London. Of course they carried on regardless, as authority does in such circumstances, and Guy was locked in a cell, awaiting transportation to Glasgow before a London Magistrates warrant gave retrospective legality to unlawful entry.

The scene was much the same in Glasgow, allowing for different circumstances. Here a larger force, deployed in cautious deployment behind sapling trees, lampposts and railings, converged on the ever-open door of Bakunin House and crept stealthily up the stairs, bursting into the room from whence came voices of conspirators plotting to overthrow the state - "

- caught in the act. Jenny Patrick in the act of brewing a pot of tea over a parafin stove, and Dougie McLeish, waiting for his tea, leafing through a pile of old pamphlets. Nobody else, except a woman who called to get a copy of The Spur. She was not arrested, but her husband, who was a police sergeant of long service, was dismissed on the spot, because his wife read a left wing paper. Despite appeals to the highest levels the dismissal was upheld on the principle that a husband is responsible for his wife's political opinions.

Guy Aldred, Jenny Patrick, and Dougie McLeish were charged with publishing a paper advocating antiparliamentary action, and adopting a "Sinn Fein" tactic. The commercial printer was charged with printing the paper. He got three months, so did Jenny Patrick and Dougie McLeish. Guy was sentenced to one year, but the four months he had been kept in custody on remand were not taken into account. When he came out of Barlinnie he stood as an antiparliamentary candidate for Shettleston.

So the APCF came into existence and kept the political atmosphere of Glasgow in a whirl for many years. There were three groups in Glasgow; Central, Springburn, and Shettleston; and there were branches in the Lanarkshire towns, and in Fife, and sporadic group formations in other places, which, not able to survive because of lack of speakers, became lit-selling centres of propaganda.

In 1934 Guy broke away from the APCF on a matter of tactic, and eventually formed The United Socialist Movement. The APCF carried on till 1941 with Willie McDougal as chief activist. He later formed the Workers Open Forum, which, with the USM, carried on a consistent propaganda in the tradition of pre-war days.

There is much more of the old story to be told, and even more of the new story to be written. I can do the first; my young readers must do the second.

J.T.CALDWELL

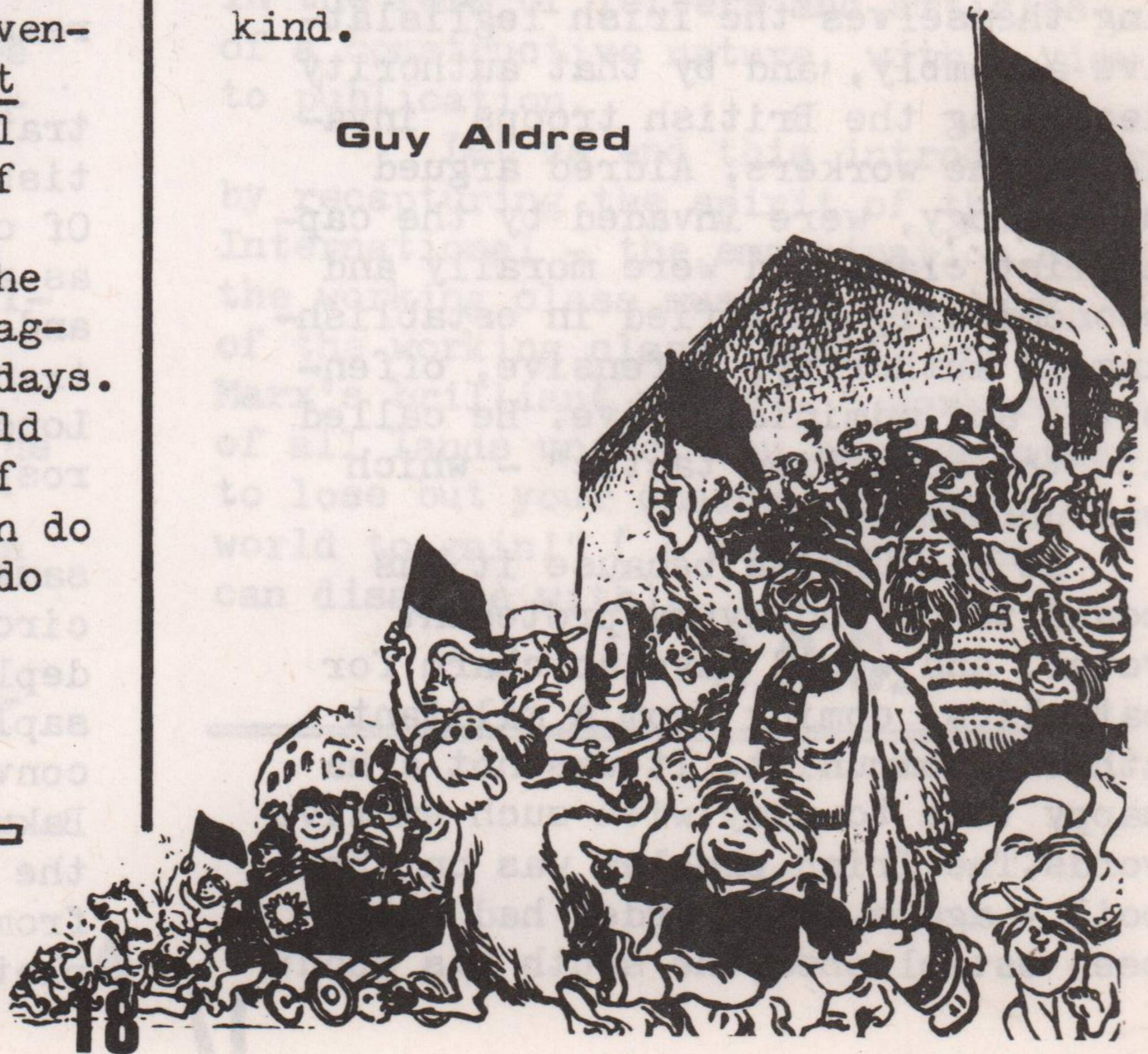
and margarine reforms, reluctantly made in order to maintain social privilege.

Anarchism seeks justice, yet it does not rely on justice, for it believes in liberty, and liberty involves justice. Indeed liberty is justice without suggestion of bargaining for right. Where freedom exists, justice must be.

Many glib reactionaries, for their own purpose, define anarchism as meaning "without government" therefore without law, therefore without order; chaos instead of society. This is fallacious and false reasoning. Anarchism is life without government imposed on it from without. It is life without an enforcement of external law. Anarchism means the individual federated into the commune, not forced into the commune. This means that anarchism is the very essence of order. It is not an abstract philosophy toyed with by armchair pedants, but a dynamic philosophy of wisdom and struggle. It belongs to the workshop, and to society troubled and in ferment with the problems arising from inequality and repression. Anarchism is not some vague metaphysical idea, but a truth of science and fact, an inductive need, drawn from the struggles and disputes of real existence. I know, because in all directions, in resistance to war, in employing free speech, in struggling against false moral laws, I have lived and applied anarchism. I know from living it as well as pioneering it that anarchism is the Gateway to Civilisation.

Anarchism asserts the power of personality against the mass power of false society. Anarchism is the way, the truth, and the life - for all mankind.

Guy Aldred



Every individual, relying on the great common production, will be secure from material want and anxiety.

There will be no class distinctions, since these arise from differences in material possessions, education and social status. All such distinctions will be swept away.

There will be neither rich nor poor. Money will no longer exist, and no one will desire to hoard commodities not in use, since a fresh supply may be obtained at will. There will be no selling, because there will be no buyers, since everybody will be able to obtain everything at will, without payment.

The possession of private property, beyond that which is in actual personal use, will disappear.

There will be neither master nor servants, all being in a position of economic equality. No individual will be able to become the employer of another.

All children will be educated up to adult age, and all adults will be able to make free, unstinted use of all educational facilities in their abundant leisure.

Stealing, forgery, burglary and all economic crimes will disappear with all the objectionable apparatus for preventing, detecting and punishing them.

Prostitution will become extinct; it is a commercial transaction, dependent upon the economic need of the prostitute and the customer's power to pay.

Sexual union will no longer be based upon material conditions, but will be freely contracted on the basis of affection and mutual attraction.

The birth of children will cease to be prevented by reason of poverty.

Material anxiety being removed, and the race for wealth eliminated, other objects and ambitions will take the place of the personal struggle for individual material existence; since all will benefit from the labour of all, honour will be done, not to the wealthy, as at present, but to those who are skillful and zealous in the common service.

Emulation in work will take the place of emulation in wealth.

With the disappearance of the anxious struggle for existence, which saps the energy and cripples initiative, a new vigour, a new independence will develop. People will have more courage to desire freedom, greater determination to possess it. They will be more exacting in their demands upon life, more fastidious as to their choice of vocation. They will wish to work at what they enjoy, to order their lives as they desire. Work will be generally enjoyed as never before in the history of humankind.

The desire for freedom will be tempered by the sense of responsibility towards the commonweal, which will provide security for all.

Public opinion provides a stronger, more general compulsion than any penal code, and public opinion will strongly disapprove idleness and waste.

Pamphlet 50p from M. Shipway, 12, Hillpark Road, Edinburgh, EH4 7AN.

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OCTOBER 1983. THIRTY PENCE.

SECOND SERIES NO.1.

WORKERS



JOURNAL

October / November 1983 sees the reappearance of the old Tyneside libertarian paper BLACK STAR : Paper for Independent Working Class Organisation. Although the title now reads 'For a Free Communist Society'. We feel that this is a clearer statement of our position.

The second series is launched by former collective members. Whilst maintaining an autonomous class struggle line, a commitment to the communist ideal and the ultimate goal of a free society, we feel that a broader perspective on the issue and nature of "struggle" and organisation must be explored.

The Black Star Collective are impressed with, and to a degree inspired and motivated by, the tradition of the anti-Parliamentarian Communist Federation founded in Glasgow in 1912, going into decline in 1933. Despite divisions and differences relevant to the time, the group continued to be active until 1941 before changing its name to the Workers Revolutionary League.

Guy Aldred, a founder of the APCF, once wrote :

"Marx defined the social revolution, whilst Bakunin expressed it. The first stood for the invincible logic of the cause. The second concentrated in his own person its unquenchable spirit. Marx was an impregnable rock of first principles remorselessly composed of facts. He dwarfed the intelligence of capitalist society and witnessed to the indestructibility of socialism. He incarnated the proletarian upheaval. He was the immovable mountain of the revolution. Bakunin, on the other hand, was the tempest. He symbolised the coming flood. Both were great brave men ; and together they gave completeness to the certitude of the revolution. They promised success by land and water. They symbolised inexhaustible patience, unweariness, stability, inevitable growth, and tireless, resistless attack. Who can conceive of a world not made up of land and water ? Who can conceive of the social revolution without the work of Marx and Bakunin ?"

Let us end this introduction by recapturing the spirit of the First International — the emancipation of the working class must be the task of the working class itself ! and Marx's brilliant maxim — "Workers of all Lands Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain !"

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