

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 debate at the beginning of the war with Bruno Rizzi and others; from this and others of Trotsky's writings, Macdonald showed 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. Thereby it subjects the Proletariat to a new and perhaps 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 relapse."

"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, its further fusion with the State and the replacement 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 exploiting class from the Bonapartist bureaucracy. This would be, according to all indications, a regime of decline, signalling the eclipse of Civilisation." 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 "Utopianism" was voided and that, therefore, the ethical socialism of the Utopians and the Anarchists was the only valid form of Radicalism. Macdonald himself has long since ceased to hold the views he then expressed, perhaps because apparently Trotsky's pessimistic predictions were no better fulfilled than were his optimistic ones. The ruling class has not, in the West, needed to resort to totalitarianism, since democracy is so artificial that the Managerialists have been able to manipulate it and have not needed to replace it, so far, by despotism.

But though Macdonald is no longer an Anarchist, the American Committee for Non-Violent Revolution was a precursor of both the CNVA (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." Thus in many ways "The Root is Man" was a prototype for the thinking of the present world radical revival, 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 Macdonald, so as the better 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 Soviet system, not a symptom of a fundamental evil inherent in Bolshevism (an evil that we believe was largely built by Trotsky) and that by the middle of the century Socialism would be resurgent throughout the world. Trotsky's followers today either ignore the plain facts of history, or try to reconcile his optimism with Rizzi's deeper analysis. Recently in Oxford, the "theorist" of a group that holds Russia to be State Capitalist, yet advocates Nationalisation, State planning and Centralisation, described State Capitalism as progressive.

Once again we are back with Macdonald. One of the fundamental distinctions in "The Root is Man" was that between 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's oppressive machinery more power are, nevertheless, beneficial, as they lead to a polarisation 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 capitalist, who is better at exploiting his workers, therefore must be Progressive. 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 "Hurrah 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 even 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 these Industrial Capitalists had had their day and Capitalism broke down inevitably, 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 Bolshevik groups are still to be found in such 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 our 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 spread our ideas in the most sympathetic circles, we would 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 some 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

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Direct Action

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Vol. 4 No. 5 (23)

May, 1963

Fourpence

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

Stay out of Spain!

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 you—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 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 DICTATORSHIPS!

IBERIAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (F.A.I.)
NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (C.N.T.)
IBERIAN FEDERATION OF LIBERTARIAN YOUTH (F.I.J.L.)

WORLD LABOUR NEWS

Inside—Irish busmen strike
Behind the rail shutdown
Witch-hunting Mounties

May, 1963

Fourpence

bawling into a microphone, exhorting marchers not to make any silly detours, but keep 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 La 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, inasmuch 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 both the employers and the trade union leadership want to smash the Ford shop steward organisation. Probably the Court has added a little more grist to the mill.

On March 5, Leslie Kealey, national organiser of the T&GWU, said he had several lines of action which would cut down 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 upon 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.

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 (Ealing Anarchists) and the Soho Anarchist Group (we were also accompanied by comrades from the FIJL and Jeunes Libertaires). The little lane had not only been marked by the Duff loudspeaker van, but by the banner of the old London Anarchist Group—in fact, the majority of flags flying in this demonstration were the red-and-black ones of the libertarians.

The Rat-hole was found without much trouble (though some kind soul had been thoughtful 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). We arrived to find a handful of policemen guarding a gate—a gate that stood in splendid, padlocked, fenceless isolation, the brainchild of some crippled authoritarian intellect. Without further ado, the place was encircled by demonstrators, who then infiltrated through the trees and bushes into the establishment. During this process we were treated to the unlikely sight of constables flitting through the undergrowth like huge ungainly trolls, in vain pursuit of nuclear disarms.

The police 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 manhandling of demonstrators ensued. However, despite the fact that feelings occasionally ran very high, the demonstrators remained non-violent throughout and the only State casualty, apart from its already tatty "image", was a boiler-house window.

A two-minute silence was observed and, having thoroughly exposed the funk-bunker and expressed our particular feelings on the matter, we rejoined the main march. A very small group of anarchists and Committee supporters remained sitting outside the bunker doors. After several attempts to get inside the bunker during the course of the afternoon, they were eventually thrown right out of the place at about 7 o'clock in the evening.

The afternoon's events firmly established us as subversives and completely beyond the control of the so-called "leaders" of the campaign against the Bomb. That evening's newspapers duly treated us to gasps of horror and cries of "traitor"—the whole tone of their reporting being typified by the **Evening Standard's** claim that "the pamphlet was distributed among 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 no more than an approximation of the truth. Those groups that were not prepared to accept the God's-gift-to-the-Peace-Movement image that Collins has of himself, nor to accept his attempts to castrate and use the Campaign for his own devious ends, had already decided on the course of action that would be taken during the final stage of the March.

These militant groups (supporters of the "March Must Decide" campaign, Committee of 100, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Solidarists and other libertarians) had decided to march with CND along the planned route—Grosvenor Place, Victoria Street, Parliament Square, etc., back to Hyde Park, with no separate civil disobedience during the actual March itself. However, it was also decided to hold a meeting in the Park after the March, to discuss any further possible action that evening. It was also decided that we would not march in the gutter, but would require the whole width of the roads.

Meanwhile, the so-called "leadership" of CND had issued leaflets, calling on marchers to behave themselves and obey the marshals, etc., in an attempt to keep the March as a Labour Party picnic. In this they were assisted by the Police authorities, who had made direct threats concerning any marchers who stepped off the straight and narrow. The lunch-break in Hyde Park was used by militants, who had now been reinforced by contingents from Wales, East Anglia and Kilmarnock, to form up behind the red-and-black banners, which were now three in number (FLA, OAKS and Oxford Anarchists) and as the March wheeled into Knightsbridge from the Park, about a thousand of us occupied the entire road (the Canon and his good-boys had already gone ahead, traipsing along in the gutter). When the Police found that driving motor-cycles through our ranks had no effect, they then did their best to keep us isolated from the rest of the March.

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 what, if it hadn't been for police interference, would have been an orderly manner, 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 cossacks, who charged into the crowd, swinging and cuffing 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 copper, in particular, seemed to be suffering some sort of fit. Now the police started making direct attacks on the anarchist banners, trying to smash them. Time and again the police tried to establish cordons and time and again we walked through or round them—the roads were ours.

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 us into sections, they drove two coaches into us and erected another 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 cordons and 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 embarrassment 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 CND meeting. This was addressed by Peter Cadogan, Peter McAlpine (of the 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—such a success, 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 warned us what sort of muck 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 5 p.m. we dispersed and went on our way rejoicing.

Afterwards both Duff and Collins made statements to the Press concerning anarchists and twice on Monday evening Collins was heard on the BBC attacking anarchists. One gathers from their remarks that they think the campaign against the Bomb belongs to them and them alone (actually they both seemed a damn sight more worried about their somewhat fragile "public image" than about 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 immeasurably better anti-militarist record than either the Christian Church or the Labour Party and remind him that there were anarchists marching from London to Aldermaston before he ever marched from Aldermaston to London."

The **Daily Worker** spoke of "activities which to some extent divided the Peace movement on the very weekend when the greatest 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 RSG-6 pamphlet gave us some splendid examples of the slave-m 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 every important and relative action taken by the marchers. Fraternal greetings to the Spies for Peace, for giving the State a long overdue smack in the mouth.

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 Clydeside area interested in SWF activity are asked to contact R. Lynn, 22, Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

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

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP—meets on the last Friday of each month at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road (near Notting Hill Gate Station), London, W.11 at 8 p.m.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP meets each Wednesday evening, 5.30 p.m. at Christ Church, Packwater 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 Iompair 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, came close to success. The majority of busmen are organised in the Irish T&GWU, led by general secretary Fintan Kennedy, a graduate not of the hardship of 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.

Minorities of busmen are in the Workers' Union of Ireland, general secretary Jim Larkin, Jnr. and the National Association of Transport Employees, remnants of the former NUR, in Ireland. As the majority are in the IT&GWU, the decisions of that Union are generally binding on the other two—or at least this is the useful excuse used by officials of those unions in their sell-outs.

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. At present the pensions of a busman amount to £21.16 for the first five years, followed by £1 a week. Towards this busmen pay 3s a week and the Pension Fund has over £41 million invested in it at present. Other grievances long awaiting action by union officials are sickness benefits (now 4s 9d a day for a man with two children, or 29s 6d a week) and the issue of free travel facilities, now enjoyed only by clerical staff.

The Company, with the connivance of Union officials, has succeeded in exploiting these grievances, in an attempt to force busmen to accept one-man buses. Thus, the two entirely separate issues have been put on the one ballot paper: "Accept the one man buses, then we will see about those other grievances!" The fact that busmen have been looking for better pensions for eight years, while the one man bus was first mooted 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 verdict on the facts behind the present strike.

Last May busmen struck unofficially 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, providing for a return to work on the basis that there would be no further spread of one-man buses pending discussions on pensions and sickness benefits. The agreement also provided for no victimisation. Despite this, five IT&GWU members were banished from holding office in the Union for up to five years.

The Labour Court investigated the dispute and its recommendations included acceptance of one-man buses and some increase in benefits. These were rejected by the busmen and a second ballot held to decide for strike action, in the event of CIE introducing 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 composed of a workers' representative, an employers' representative and an "impartial" chairman to investigate grievances. The usual trick! This time it didn't pay off.

There was one snag: the Commission's proposals were to be binding on the busmen. This proposal, clearly involving compulsory arbitration and backed to the hilt by their union officials, was decisively rejected by the busmen. Once again the strike was on and once again it was averted by Ministerial intervention. This time the men balloted on the same proposal with the sting out—the binding clause was gone. To the surprise of all "leaders" concerned, the proposal was defeated, by more than 2 to 1. Secretary Kennedy deplored the result of the ballot—the same man who called busmen who marched to Congress head office during the unofficial strike "a mob". 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 their lack of any political power in the party-political machine 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 fatalistically accept that they are not going to be given such an opportunity, nor do they expect it.

The survey states that the majority showed no surprise concerning their never having had a say in this vital matter, in view of the fact that the major parties have not so far publicly differed on it.

and thus it has not been an election issue. They said that "they did

not expect democracy to extend this far and were quite used to being ignored on questions of this kind." Nevertheless, 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 far more positive and definite attitude to what they consider more concrete matters such as wages, pensions and so on. They would resort to more dramatic forms of action, to protests and the like.

In this 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 quoted the Minister's proposals, cleverly omitting mention of the binding clause. This 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. This the papers refused to accept, as it was not signed by a "responsible official." With 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 to buses, though they must have realised that for success it must spread to road freight and railways, which were involved, because if Or. Andrews (Ireland's Beeching) 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, issued 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 themselves to do this job. In Cork and Limerick, a leaflet was circulated, entitled "The Busmen's Case", which gave the background to the dispute. The attitude of Union officials was far from tolerant: over 6,000 leaflets sent to Dublin just disappeared. Other quantities vanished in Cork and other centres. The Transport Workers Section of the National Progressive Democrats issued a leaflet "Bus Strike—Truth" which pointed the absurdity of making railways pay their way with profits and pointing out that, after the busmen, it would be the turn of road freight and railways. It called for scrapping the one-man bus.

The attitude of union officials was to call the police. While some transport workers were distributing these leaflets outside the I&GWU hall during the last ballot, a man holding 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 leaflets impounded.

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 additional "concession" that the Commission would review the circumstances of operating 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 ironically beginning "Dear Colleague!" Why not "Dear Mobster?" This proposal was again decisively defeated by busmen, 1,600—900. The fifth slap in the face for Union leaders.

Despite calls to resign, the only comment by Kennedy was that, as a Union leader, he had a 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 ensure that they do not enter another battle 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, 1s.) This is, within the limitations of all such surveys, a useful contribution to consideration of the leading political issue of the day.

The survey confirms this reviewer's own opinion that people generally have strong convictions about the Bomb and yet, conscious of their lack of any political power in the party-political machine 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 showed no surprise concerning their never having had a say in this vital matter, in view of the fact that the major parties have not so far publicly differed on it and thus it has not been an election issue. They said that "they did not expect democracy to extend this far and were quite used to being ignored on questions of this kind." Nevertheless, 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 far more positive and definite attitude to what they consider more concrete matters such as wages, pensions and so on. They would resort to more dramatic forms of action, to protests and the like.

If we accept the survey's finding that the majority of people in Britain are undoubtedly in favour of Britain's retention of the Bomb, then we should expect to find that majority quite satisfied with the present situation, wherein the Bomb is being retained, the Alderman marchers then taking their place as a protesting minority.

The interesting point brought out here is that this majority is not satisfied. It would seem that they are unhappy aware that 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&GWU, said recently that the proposed new dockers' charter can mean a "new lease of life for all portworkers".

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 pat arrangements by the National Joint Council: rank-and-file dockers are not in favour. The National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers (Blue Union) unanimously rejected the employers' proposals for decasualisation, which the two sides have been discussing since October, 1961. The Blue union is not represented on the NJC, 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 opportunity 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&GWU and NASD. The enclosed docks employers are busy pushing out leaflets explaining the further decasualisation plan, hoping to counter any rank-and-file opposition. Why worry? If the dockers don't agree with the scheme, they won't work it. It's as simple as that.

BUSMEN UP AGAINST IT

LONDON Busmen had three choices of a wages structure. First, reject all proposals and take industrial action; second, 10s per week without strings; and third, rises from 11s to 14s, on condition that they agreed to co-operate in running one-man buses and the larger Routemasters.

London busmen 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, if the modernisation plan is anything like Beeching's, they can stuff it.

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

SEAGOING SHOP STEWARDS?

SHIPWRENS are not happy about the idea of shop stewards on ships and are opposed in principle to the idea of crew members electing them. Fancy that now, although the employers thought it might be time to revise complaints procedure on ships.

W. Hogarth, General Secretary NUS, said this was not a flat rejection, "it is better than we expected." Rank-and-file seamen want elected ships reps., the employers are opposed. If that's not rejection, what is? Let's be frank Mr. Hogarth, NUS officials don't want elected shop stewards, they have fought against the idea for years, so the employers' rejection brings the play 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 who 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 unofficial strikes.

So far, so good. He then went on to say managements were to blame, because they gave way to unofficial pressures after resisting official trade union claims. If 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 TU 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 one happy family". What a load of bull! The building industry is a jungle and the building employers the rogue elephants. All building workers know "divide and rule" is as old as the hills.

With regards to the building workers' wage claim of 1s 6d an hour, Nicky has got to have a chat about it first. 1963 and we workers still stand for the "three card 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

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION, 25A, AMBERLEY ROAD, LONDON, W.9, ENGLAND

Yearly subscription rate: 6s 0d

From: Bill Christopher, 34, Cumberland Road, London, E.17. (cheques and p.o.'s crossed and payable to K. Hawkes).

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 McAfee, 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 concerned." The main concern of the RCMP is at present directed towards Communists, but its activities are a threat to the freedom and independence of all university students and teachers.

The workings of the twisted mind of a witch-hunter can best be demonstrated by directly quoting Commissioner Harvison, in his attempts to justify his despicable activities:

"It is the job of the RCMP to know where subversion is and attack espionage wherever it is found. If we think it is found on the university campuses, we have to go there . . . 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 communism will cure, if 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 its old premises at 25A Amberley 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 could not rely on their support . . ."

The Force has more than 40 years' experience in combatting communism. It is conscious of its responsibilities in a country which prides itself on the democratic process . . . We are conscious of the rights of the radical. We are also conscious of the dangers of the conspirator who is attempting to destroy our system under the guise of something which he is not. I would suggest, however, that 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—a place where new ideas are born and where they are discussed, and stand or fall on their merit, in an atmosphere of 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 independence of thought is endangered . . ."

"This type of police activity 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."

Saturday, April 6 was marked by demonstrations against nuclear weapons in Canada. In Edmonton, about 200 demonstrators marched through the downtown area with anti-nuclear placards and distributed anti-nuclear leaflets. The demonstrators were predominantly young people, with strong contingents of university students, university teachers and public school teachers. This predominance of "white collar" over "blue collar" among the demonstrators indicates the need to establish contacts in industry, to broaden the base of the anti-nuclear arms movement.

BILL GREENWOOD.

BEHIND THE BIG RAIL SHUTDOWN

DR. BEECHING concluded his Press Conference, called to announce extensive railway amputation, by a garbled quotation from Shakespeare. The full and correct passage, relating to the murder of Duncan, is even apter:

"If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly; if the assassination
Could trammel up the consequence and catch
With his surcease success; that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here."

Macbeth, Act I, Scene VII.

There is an old political saying that, if money is to be made from anything, then it must go to "private enterprise"; 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 without public, socialised roads. So the part from which money may be made is private property, the loss is public.

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 levied on motoring (and a great deal more) should be returned to the motorist in the form of new and better roads. Now the State is a hungry animal and needs several thousands of million pounds a year to finance weapons, education, jails, national health service, roads, civil service, public assistance and other functions of the political body. This money is obtained by levying taxes 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 payer of the tax. Tobacco 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 propaganda trick of the motoring bodies. They add up the sums got from purchase tax on vehicles, etc., the licence fees and taxes of all vehicles, cars, lorries, buses 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 we get—a few miles of road costing £5,000,000."

There are in Britain 200,000 miles of paved and serviced public roads, equal to nearly eight times around the earth, the capital value amounting 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 200-yard intervals, 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 job cost this small borough over a quarter of a million pounds). The local authorities carry out this work, financing it by levying 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, flyover and other schemes, involve the destruction of multi-million valued property and when the roads are made, then guardians are demanded. Police must be paid to sort out traffic jams, to act as referees between drivers and to chase stolen cars. One item alone, chasing after reported thefts from cars 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 million pounds a year would be insufficient to cover all this service. Yet bodies such as the RAC and the AA will repeat such statements as "only £10 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 storage and repair of their vehicles. Increasingly, just as motorists have claimed streets as private storage places and workshops, 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 being extended, the earth from space dug for

its deep foundations was loaded in lorries and taken to a nearby residential square, the rails surrounding the greensward were broken down and, day after day, the lorries tipped the evil-smelling muck into the square, until a skinning hill arose among the houses. The residents protested, but the Council refused to shift the muck. 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; what they did with it 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 servicing, they cannot even park the wagons on the highway, or their locomotives on the public footpath.

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 thirst for public funds and one has only to consider the financial significance of advertising in the Press by motor and oil companies to see the power behind the propaganda. The oil companies alone have enormous power in this country—and don't think it will shrivel with the coming of a 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 wantonly caused, on our roads. The financial cost to the community would, alone, justify concern and action. The human pain and misery daily caused in the name of progress we don't, we are sentimental about them, as people go all soft over newspaper pictures of cats wearing spectacles and reading papers, or dogs smoking pipes. In this country we haven't advanced very much since the days of boy chimney sweeps. If we had, we would act to stop the slaughter of the innocents.

Recent figures from the USA (I quote 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 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 must the people who are 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 assistants to destroy the remaining railways. Let the doctor 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 organised by the Jeunes Libertaires, Bulgarian Libertarians and Spanish Libertarian Youth, during the whole month of August, to provide an opportunity for young libertarians to meet, discuss, exchange opinions and generally help towards promoting a better international and libertarian understanding.

It is also partly recreational and is sited near water for swimming, sunbathing and other holiday attractions. Day excursions to places of interest in the vicinity are also arranged. There will be a number of talks and discussions in French, Spanish and English, cinema sessions, theatre, folk music and dancing, library 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 Beynac 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 life, sunshine, 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 Britain 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, as you've been flying around projecting your International Image and arranging things so that Britain can become the Toolshed of the World. You certainly had to cover a lot of ground. You cut it a bit fine, though, didn't you—that time you flew in only an hour before the Budget Session, I mean? 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 the other eight of us are always having to keep in line? Well, he had to start some sort of gripe about how £1,750 was a luxury wage. But Councillor Blott soon fixed him. The Councillor spoke most movingly about the hardships the ordinary MP's are suffering on this miserable screw and we all felt indignant when he read us bits from that report in the *Sunday Express* about how some MP's have

to live together during the week, in squalid 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 of this affluence around 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 heady job, as he usually does, and though we all appreciate that you don't want to hog all the limelight, some of the Ward 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 you—though, while I'm on the point, I'd watch out for that Ray Gunter MP if I were you. Every time I switch on TV he's there, for instance on that difficult and complex problem of Beeching and the railways.

What I objected to most strongly was the *Evening Standard's* report on his wearing a coat just like the one that is now part of your Public Image. And then Mrs. Gunter 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 shameful £1,750! Anyway, I'd keep an eye on him. Maybe he'll be trying to jump into your boots next, if you see what I mean.

We were very pleased with your American trip, especially those pictures of you smoking the old pipe going up the steps of the great State Department Building and walking up and down the miles of polished floors inside. I'm sorry to say, though, there was nearly a punch-up at the meeting. Our troublemaker, Bro. Grundman, said it looked to him like the plumber was arriving to clear a waste pipe. I tell you, Harold, some of these workers just aren't worth your efforts. Anyway, we could see the Yanks fell for your moderation and levelheadedness. As Hugh Gaitskell said, when he came back from Washington, the Labour Party here is more or less a British version of the Democratic 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 Tony Crosland says, it's all-important to go out after the vote of the middle class, the "Orpington Man." It's very good what he says in that report I was reading in *Time Magazine* about the new tastes and how, 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 when he says the best way to get this Orpington Man is to keep 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 photo of you in the Sunday papers, back on holiday in the Scilly Isles, 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 and for a moment I thought it was yet another picture of this Cadogan 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 missus get yourself the "modest, three-bedroomed bungalow" the paper mentioned 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 told you, 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 fraternally,
Jimmy Wiggins.

An exception to the rule

OUTSIDE THE RIGHT by Fenner Brockway (*George Alien 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 in Parliament come to that. In the introduction to "Outside the Right" he states that he could no longer stay in isolation (in the ILP), but had to join the mainstream in the hope of assisting in the changing 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 in 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 troops in Britain, etc., searching his conscience not from the position of "stand", but of the "standing orders" he signed as accepting.

In the chapter "The Dilemmas of the Left", Fenner makes the point that "the parliamentary party is always to the right of the party in the country". So much for the rank and file, who slogged to put them in. He also mentions the National Hydrogen Bomb Campaign, forerunner of CND. I think, perhaps, he forgot to mention Arthur Carr and his wife, who worked hard at the Victoria Street, offices with 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 is outside the House of Commons is he a real 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 can assure you that Fenner Brockway, MP is an exception to the rule.

B.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 twentieth century?"

Unfortunately for us all, it is a capitalist democracy, the rule of machine-like parties rather than that of Demos. 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 but cold comfort to the people who have come to realise their utter helplessness politically in face of the very real threat of thermonuclear catastrophe.

M.C.

FROM OUR POSTBAG

ENCLOSED "ninety cents" for the next issues of the bravest little paper in the world. I have also enclosed a piece I recently wrote and that appeared here in the "Atlantic". You may be interested in my remarks about the Puerto Rican cane cutters. There 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!

Best wishes and saluti anarchici,

N.T.G.

PRESS FUND, February 21 — April 17, 1963

Newton Center, Mass., N.T.D.G., 8s; Reading, Penna., W.C.P. 1s; Vancouver, B.C., J.B.M.C.A., 6d; Cleveland, Ohio, T.H. 2s; Toronto, P.P. 8s; Avey, Essex, S.L., 1s; London W.C.1., A.M., 6s; London W.C.1., W.W. 1s 6d; Southend, G.L. 1s; S. Ruislip, Mddx. J.L. 8s; London, W.2., M.C. £5; Birmingham, S.A. 4s; Windsor, Ont., F.A. 1s; Portland, Ore., J.C. 8s; Seattle, Wash., G.B.A. 1s; London, E.14., G.F. 2s 6d; London, W.L., T.B. 5s; London, N.W.10., B.G. £1; North Leigh, Oxon, C.F. and L.O. £5; London, N.W.2., M.B. £1; London, N.I., J.P. £1.10s; London, N.W.3., M.K.H. £5; London, W.9. A.R. 14s; Los Angeles, R.B.G. 2s 2d; Huddersfield, A.L. £1; Chalfont St. Peter, S.L. £1; Paris, E.E. £1; Avey, Essex, S.L. £1; Los Angeles, E.L. 1s; London, E.6., L.G. 1s 3d; London, N.I., M.E. 10s; London, S.W.3., P.T. £1. Total: £32.11.11d.

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 thirties. 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 fiery furnaces of steel mills. But here 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 began there, not with shipbuilding, but with coalmining.

Throughout England small farms had been confiscated, the common land stolen and village craftsmen driven to seek work in the towns. The Age of Iron was beginning, there was money to be made from coal and the coalowners and landlords wanted it quick and in plenty. 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 all, which were sometimes kept, even chattel 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 infrequently observed—the origin 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 then "sweet waters of the Tyne" was made Hell by the second deadly sin.

When a boy I sometimes went on errands to the shipyards of Jarrow. On my way I would pass the churchyard of nearby Heworth and glance at a simple monolith marking the common grave of 91 miners killed in a disaster at Felling Colliery, one of many preventable disasters. I would read the names, so like those of my schoolmates and friends. Recently I re-visited this scene and copied the date, 24 May, 1812, and the inscription, little more than the name and age of each person, every name so typically northern. One-third of the victims were 14 years of age or less. Here is an extract from the stone inscription:

John Surtees 12 yrs.	Andrew Allan 11	Will Dixon 10
Edward Bell 12	Robert Pearson 10	George Reay 9
John Harrison 12	Gregory Galley 10	Tom Crags 9
Robert Haswell 12	Will Gardiner 10	Michael Hunter 8
George Ridley 11	Robert Gordon 10	Thomas Gordon 8
John Knox 11	Michael Gardiner 10	Joseph Gordon 10
Robert Hutchinson 11		

The pitmen did not submit tamely to these conditions. Chief object of their several revolts was the overthrow of the Bond. Each year, to get work, the miner was forced to sign a bond, pledging himself to work for a certain coalowner under dire penalty. The time to 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.

A strike was a grim battle for the pitmen. They were evicted 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 1831, a strike was declared. Tommy Hepburn (one of the few names we know—there were no leaders in the sense now used) urged the men to wage a peaceful, non-violent strike, though the uttermost provocation was certain. Scabs 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 Hedworth, assaulting him and trying to steal two guns." The young men admitted begging, 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. All were sentenced to death. 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, one becoming well-known 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. The owners prepared for Binding Day, 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 and erected tents and shacks. Scabs 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 Fair-

less, a sadist who had delighted in sentencing seamen, miners and apprentices. Like a Greek tragedy, the fatal threads began to spin about his closing days, dragging into his curse the fate of others.

The strikers Ralph Armstrong and William Jobling were walking on a hot June day and stopped at an inn for a drink. Towards that 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 head; he appeared to have struck his head on the road as he was knocked down. Jobling was arrested, Armstrong could not be found. Fairless died, the charge was murder.

Jobling, a respectable family man with two children, his wife expecting a third, appears, according to records of the time, to have been a quiet, intelligent man. At Durham Assizes on August 1, before Justice Parkes, Jobling and other strikers were tried. Among the victims were two men and a woman, sentenced to death for assaulting a blackleg.

Jobling was too poor to have a counsel and he had little chance to cross-examine the flimsy evidence. The judge was determined to stamp out unionism, the foreman of the jury was a coalowner. Fairless had told his doctor that Armstrong, not Jobling, had punched him. But Jobling was already doomed.

Justice Parkes sentenced him to death 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 hangman struck. Police rushed into the 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 year of the great parliamentary 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 to anyone removing the body, were distributed.

After about four weeks the guard could no longer stand the stench of the corpse, subjected to the rise and fall of the tide, and the soldiers were recalled. Then one night gibbet and corpse disappeared. Tradition, carefully passed on, person to person, tells us that Jobling's friends removed his body by 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, often hounded from one hole in the earth to another. After four and a half months they were defeated—to 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 its story. During one of these, when I was in Newcastle, someone said, "Why bring up these things, the story has been told before?" An old miner stood up, his eyes alight, "It's been told a score of times," he cried, "Let it be told another score. The job's not finished yet."

The wealth that was wrenched from the soil of Britain and from its children then is the basis, by inheritance, of far the greater part of the fortunes of today's wealthy. It is still the basis of their power. The greatest coalowner of that district was Lord Londonderry, whose town house in Park Lane still stands, the largest in London, one that before the war gave the most magnificent parties. In the places of power today we see the heirs of this piracy, now smooth and urbane, saying in amiable tones, "Let bygones be bygones, let us forget", and, beneath their breath, "And I'll keep what I've got."

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 one-fiftieth of a paper for each new member? They aren't risking restraint!

● The perils of travelling without a valet are illustrated by an experience which recently befell the Duke of Marlborough, as a guest of one of his daughters. She was surprised to hear him complain 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