

The White Problem

ABOLISH THE CRIMINAL LAW AGAINST ABORTION!

NOBODY PRETENDS any more that Britain is a Christian country. Religious leaders admit that their churches are empty; a go-ahead vicar in Woolwich who really tried to have a go at getting people back to his church has publicly announced that he has failed; gimmicks with electric guitar groups swinging the hymns have not dragged in the young people as it was hoped.

The Church is on the retreat. A Bishop writes a book called *Honest to God* in which he casts doubt on the very existence of a personal god; another leading churchman only the other day was suggesting that the concept of the immaculate conception should be dropped. One by one the myths are being put in the dustbin, and the Church leaders must be recognising at last that if their religion is to mean anything again to any significant number of people, it must become a rational body of ideals demonstrating its relevance in real life by expressing in real terms the brotherhood of man they have been pretending to believe in for so long. In other words—cease to be a religion!

But this is still a long way off. The rump of a discredited mythology still fights a rearguard action against rationality—and in nothing so much as in the field of private morals, typified in the cruel law against abortion, brought in at the height—or depth—of Victorian reaction about a hundred years ago.

ANTI-SEX MORALITY

This is the law which makes it a criminal offence to administer drugs or use instruments to terminate a pregnancy. It is a law which is probably responsible for more hidden suffering among women than any other, with the possible exception of the Contraception Laws. And it is a law which is based on no rational concept of the public good—which is what most laws pretend—but only has relevance as part of the anti-sex morality of the Christians. As such, it is completely out of place in an admittedly non-Christian country.

There has, of course, been such a revolution on sexual matters during the last fifty years that the discrepancy between public morality and private practice is glaringly obvious and is not lost upon the young people of today.

Where they get lost is through the fact that although sex is talked about more freely than ever before, and appetites are titillated by direct and emotive advertising, and the age of puberty gets lower and lower (it can now begin at 11 in girls!) there is no

real education or enlightenment in sex provided either in schools or at home. On the contrary, every possible obstacle that the moralists can put in the way of free access to birth control knowledge finds support from the very people who raise their pious hands in horror regularly every year when the statistics for illegitimacy are published.

Such is the nature of officialdom that the people who get into positions of influence are always the mealy-mouthed, respectable, moralistic supporters of the establishment—and the establishment includes the Church. Thus do these dismal jimmies exert an influence out of all proportion to their numbers and out of all context with the real needs of real people. They can and do use their power to withhold birth control knowledge, facilities and appliances, and when this has its inevitable effect in producing unwanted pregnancies, they withhold the right of women to choose termination if they so desire.

EVASION OF THE LAW

What colossal impertinence this is! Fortunately the immensity of their cruelty is matched by the immensity of the evasion of the Abortion Law that is known to go on. This stupid Victorian law is broken on a tremendous scale every day. Statistics on the numbers of illegal abortions must of course be more guesswork than scientific—but the generally accepted figure is for Britain 2,000 per week!

This contrasts with the known figure for operations carried out on the National Health of 1,500 per year, although there is a much larger figure of abortions performed by reputable doctors in private practice. In neither of these cases, however, are the operations really within the law; they are tolerated because they are performed by properly qualified personnel making use of the loophole in the law opened up by the famous Bourne case of 1936. Dr. Alec Bourne aborted a girl of 16, pregnant after being raped by four guardsmen. He then presented himself to the police and asked to be prosecuted. As a result of the ensuing Old Bailey trial, it is now accepted in a prosecution under the Abortion Law that if responsible medical or psychological opinion holds that the mother's life or health would be endangered by the pregnancy going to full term, that pregnancy may be terminated.

What this has meant in fact is a first class example of 'One law for the rich and one for the poor', for if you can buy the necessary responsible medical and psychological opinion the operation can be performed with ease and style under anaesthetic and with nursing-home convalescence. The cost is usually between £100 and £300.

For women without that kind of money, legal abortions are practically impossible to obtain, unless their mental disorder is genuine and extreme, or their physical health really endangered. And such is the fear (and prejudice, in many cases) in the minds of the average general practitioner, that hardly any recommendations go forward—as the tiny figure of 1,500 on the National Health shows.

There remains what is called the 'back street' abortionist. In this context any street which is not Harley Street is a back street, and the illegal operators can range from qualified medics who are genuinely opposed to the stupid law through a whole range of laymen with various degrees of skill and caution, down to fearful old crones in the slums.

This whole area is surrounded by fear and propaganda, but it is obvious that in view of the colossal scale on which activity goes on in this field, the number

IT IS IRONICAL that whilst negroes in America are fighting against discrimination to get the vote, immigrants in this country (many of whom have the vote) are seeking legislation to prevent discrimination. At the same time Malcolm X, the American negro leader, was visiting Birmingham, and called at Smethwick where, by a coincidence, the B.B.C. 'Tonight' team was filming.

Malcolm X is reported to have said on Smethwick Council's proposal to buy houses in Marshall Street to ensure that the street does not become a 'ghetto', 'that is how Hitler started out, under the pretext that he was trying to produce a 'balanced society'. Later he said, 'I have heard that the blacks are being treated as the Jews were under Hitler. . . . They will be building gas ovens next because there are a lot of Fascists'.

BLACK RACIALIST

It is easy to discount Malcolm X, a former Black Muslim, as a publicity-seeking alarmist. One can easily point out the black racialism of his views, the reactionary outlook of the Black Muslims and remember the magazine picture of Malcolm X and Lincoln Rockwell, the American Fascist, sitting happily side by side at the same meeting, both apostles of racial segregation.

One could argue the validity of his

criticism of Martin Luther King's methods and discount Martin Luther King as a publicity-seeking cleric-politician who has aroused Malcolm X's jealousy by his successes, such as they are.

Nevertheless there is some validity in Malcolm X's remarks and certainly Martin Luther King's struggle cannot be pushed aside despite disagreements on methods and motives and criticism of the limitations of his aims.

THERE GO MY PEOPLE

Nor can the American negro forget the lesson of these methods of direct action since the Montgomery bus strike of 1955 and will not exchange this birthright of civil disobedience for the mess of pottage of the political right to vote for a man who may put into effect laws liable to punish him for seeking to discriminate against the negro. The American negro who has discovered the effective punishment of the boycott, the effective sabotage of the laws by mass protest, the effective weapon of the strike, does he need an Act of Congress to help him? Ironically, all the attempts of the American negro have been to implement laws which were already on the Statute book. Martin Luther King has said (quoting Gandhi), 'There go my people, I am their leader therefore I must follow them'. Martin Luther King knows he only

has power by their permission, Malcolm X is also seeking for the same power but if the American negro delegates his power through the ballot-box he will inevitably be corrupted and misled.

A Negro President would be as much a tyrant as a negro magistrate or policeman are (only the limitation of their spheres prevents them being as disastrous). Does the negro (or the emigrant) want power over his fellows—white or black? It is possible that embittered by years of discrimination there are those who say—'I've suffered, now when I am able let me make others suffer' and in some newly emergent states we can see this pattern in operation. But is this enough?

Is it sufficient that those who practise discrimination be subjected (if they can be discovered and do not evade the law) to punishment. No man was ever made good by Act of Parliament and as long as the idea of discrimination exists there will be those who through hate, fear and greed will exercise race hatred whether they are Colin Jordans, Malcolm Xs, John Tyndall or Marcus Garvey.

THE WAY OUT

The only solution for the depressed negro and the persecuted immigrant is through his own efforts and not by the nomination of rulers on the squalid machinery of the ballot-box and the law. West Indians have shown by co-operation in housing the advantages of mutual aid the negro in the United States has shown the effectiveness of direct action. Application of these principles to the wider spheres of life will show the way out.

Unless it is realized by education that the thing that oppresses white, pinko-grey or black is the same enemy, the State; and this enemy will see to it that we spend our time fighting and hating each other rather than solving the white problem, the pinko-grey problem, the black problem which is how to live together in society.

Such diversions as vote-getting and law-making are political huckstering encouraged by the Kings, Powells, Xes, Pitts, Nkrumahs, Bandas, Kenyattas of this world, so that they may get power over you.

JACK ROBINSON.



'Subsidised' Housing?

FINANCIAL PROFITS never boomed so well since the Alaskan Gold Rush as they did in post-war housing. Those landlords who insist on the simple arithmetic of being unable to make a profit on controlled rents and rising repair costs omit to state the 'third dimensional' fact of being able to buy and sell blocks of housing for increasing profits, so that although every house in a block may be uneconomic, the whole represents a commodity which can always be sold for more than was paid for it (tax free gain). It is because of this that the pretence that a block landlord is 'losing money on a house' is both true and untrue; he husbands his loss to sell at a huge gain.

Even the tentative private home-buyer cannot help making money if he can get out of his place and find somewhere else to live. In one case I know of, a young man put down the deposit on a house prior to marriage, paid off instalments on it for six months, and then—his love life breaking up—he had to get rid of it. Meanwhile prices had gone up and in addition to taking care of what he had spent, his little misadventure gained

him the tidy sum of £500. The only exception to the money-spinning landlords are the small private owners but not occupiers (more of them in a later article) and, so we are assured, the borough councils.

But how can the borough councils fail to make a profit? They have every right to increase rents, Rent Act or not, and their rents are usually well up to any reasonable local rent though admittedly not in the rack-renting class. (A Council flat in St. Pancras can cost £3 or £4 per week and there are many houses still let by private landlords at less than that figure.) They have huge investments in the flats and houses already built before the war, and some of these are up to forty years old. It seems extraordinary that a Council house could be built in say 1930 for about £200 by direct labour, and in thirty-five years, the tenant having (the current price of a house that age) paid over ten times that figure in rents he can be told that he is a 'subsidised tenant' and that if his income is more than so-and-so, he ought to make way for somebody more deserving, as if it were some form of charity.

The 'People' and the 'Express' are fond of this term 'subsidised house'. Who subsidises what? How can it be alleged that the ratepayer is subsidising someone who has paid for his house or flat over and over again? It does not seem to make sense, even from the weird logic of landlordism. Yet Councils 'lose' money on housing, it will be argued. Nobody can 'lose' money (unless the collector drops it out of his bag on the way back to the Town Hall). What is meant is that a book loss is shown. How does it get shown? Not by the return made by any one tenant in regarding to any one house or flat, but by charging the whole cost of council administration against it. It should not be supposed that if the council stopped building one single house or flat, that this cost would be any the less (and experience during the war bears this out; indeed, the cost increased). The 'loss' is also partly related to the interest the council must pay on loans to build new housing. But if private landlords could borrow by similar methods they would make fortunes (when they can, they do).

Continued on page 2

Must Good Guys Always Lose? asks

ANARCHY 48

in discussing

LORD OF THE FLIES

and the case of Mr. Duane of Risinghill School

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WHEN YOU know the answer to the basic question, "Where does money come from?", you get more laughs from the financial pages of the newspapers than you can from comic papers. When a child asks you for a 'bob' (no longer for a 'copper', which makes you think), and you have reacted with the quirky question, where does it think you can get more 'bobs' from, the child will tell you that there must be plenty more where the first lot came from, thus telling you, unwittingly, the truth which includes the fact that money does not grow on trees—and you laugh at yourself: you ask a silly question and get a sane answer! Should the child go on to ask where does money come from, you may have 'had it'. Then you stop laughing at yourself.

When you read that "Britain" (undefined) is in the red to the tune of £800m., do you laugh or cry? The statement is puerile propaganda of the Big Lie kind.

It is time we attacked and blew the gaff on Finance as the nigger in the woodpile, whose end-product is Debt, Degradation and Death (suicides, murders, starvation, wars). The first step is to get it clear that there are two kinds of "cost". One kind, and the only kind that actually matters to the anarchist, in the final analysis, is the real one, which is the using up ("expenditure" is the posh word for it) of physical materials and energy in the making of ("production" of) something useful to men (for "consumption"). The terms "production"

LETTERS

Easter Activity

Dear Comrades,

The A.F.B., I have heard, is found wanting, 'there ought to have been a conference in December, or earlier this month' according to someone. Anyway, no one seems to know what we are doing this Easter. I suggest a selling (and leafletting) campaign along the route of the march of the Y.C.N.D. from Wycombe via Ruislip to Trafalgar Square. If the Conference is too late to start this rolling on an official basis—would any groups or individuals who could assist write to me, 15 St. Stephens Gdns., London, W.2. I live next door to secretary of A.F.B. and will obtain details of route of the march as soon as possible. A march would only show our weaknesses. This would give us closer contact with the 'public'.

DAVID STRINGER.

School of Living

Dear Comrade Editor,

A year ago many readers of FREEDOM availed themselves of our *A Way Out* journals issued by the School of Living, on the intentional community theme. Now we are issuing our January and March 1964 issues on Community, reporting discussions and lectures on the many facets of community that must be dealt with by those wishing to participate in such basic endeavours. These were part of the School of Living seminar and workshop on Community in August of 1964. They are available for 50c. each from the School of Living, Brookville, Ohio, U.S.A.

Life on the land and community development are regular items in our monthly *Green Revolution* also. From its pages all decentralists will gain much, and in turn can share ideas and experiences.

JEAN ORLOV.

'SUBSIDISING' HOUSING

Continued from page 1

In the course of years, having dozens and dozens of people coming to me with their 'queries' and 'cases' regarding municipal housing, I have come to realise that in fact a large number of people take seriously this suggestion of 'subsidised housing' and they are prepared to wait patiently in the housing lists year after year, or put up with whims and fancies of the housing committee when they are 'fixed', solely because they have a vague feeling of dependence that belongs properly in a charity ward, but which the Welfare State has spread throughout the land.

It may be true that the borough councils are not there to 'make' money but they unquestionably receive it, and the rewards are there for the administrators. Any approach to any Town Hall that gives the impression that 'they' are superior is doomed to failure. It is only too often they are who are standing in the way of fresh housing, though they seem to imagine that they provide it.

Today's so-called housing problem is purely financial. There can surely no longer be the pretence that there is not the materials, not the tools, not the labour, a plaintive cry that has gone on

Phoney Finance

and "consumption" are the ones that matter, and they are closely linked. "The cost of production is consumption."

The anarchist asserts that the real "cost" of producing anything is the amount of physical things and energy, human and otherwise, used up, or "expended" in the process. It can be totted up in real terms; but, if we are forced to think in financial terms, then the so-called financial "cost" should reflect exactly the physical "cost". Too long it has been accepted, and taught, that, instead, the "price (=cost) of an article is what it will fetch". There is precious little mathematics in that lot! The anarchist answer to the financier, and all his puppets, including governmental authorities, tame conventional economists, City editors, and the like, who declare "We can't afford it" is—*if it is physically possible it must be financially possible.*

The second kind of "cost", the financial, has no real existence, except as figures in books (bank books); it is a matter of book-keeping, and that alone.

Money was invented to speed things up, to replace cumbersome non-financial barter, the direct exchange of goods for goods, services for goods. It was to help, not hinder at every turn, as it now does. When the earliest forms of money were in use, the maker of goods was also the maker of the money (tickets) representing the goods. It was in the form of physical tokens that meant something real. For instance, when the owner of cattle, say, gave a piece of hide to represent each animal sold, for collection by the buyer later, the token represented something real. It did not say, "I promise to pay the bearer on demand the sum of one pound" (look at that joke on the next pound note you handle!). When it was handed back to the issuer in exchange for cattle it became "dead", its job done. The maker of goods and the money maker have become completely separated now, with the money maker ruling the roost, as

also Lenin pointed out long ago.

We skip the in-between arguments, that would take many words, to describe the detailed history of the money system, and pass to the start of the banking system, "the greatest swindle the world has ever known" (words spat at me by a fellow bank clerk who suddenly saw the light).

The early goldsmiths started the swindle by handing out "notes of hand" to represent gold, silver and other valuables they did not have, over and above what they did hold for their clients in the strongrooms, or cellars. They started the cheque-money racket. Later the Bank of England's founder, the Quaker Paterson, kidded the government of the day to take a loan of just over one million pounds on condition that "the bank hath benefit of interest on all monies which it createth out of nothing". Now look at the present National Debt of thousands—tens of thousands—of millions and ask yourself "how comes?" Get the answer and your eyes will pop.

The banking system of the world is a private, non-elected, monopoly that creates—it alone does that, be it noted—and lends "money" to the community (individuals, businesses and governments) and then "legally" demands back with the repayment of its loans an additional sum known as "interest", thus calling upon individuals, businesses and governments, *in toto*, to do the impossible. They cannot do it because the banking system alone creates the money in the first place, in all its forms, most of which now is bodiless credit. "Banks act as creators of money", says A. C. L. Day in "The Economics of Money" (OUP 1959).

The age of (natural) scarcity has gone; and the bankers' money system is an anachronism. It is time we thought in real terms; gave up thinking in make-believe money terms. "We can't afford it" as related to the community is a tragic joke—a LIE.

MOVEMENT ACTIVITY

A Spontaneous Demonstration

WE STOOD IN the cold opposite the American embassy, holding our placards and singing songs. The occasion was the 'end the war in Viet-nam' demonstration called by the C.N.D. But by the time the placid C.N.D. flock arrived at 6 p.m. the Communists were well entrenched in the square and had managed to turn the demonstration into their indiscriminate 'hate the Yankees' affair. They shouted stupid, childish slogans glorifying war when it is fought by their side and turning this anti-war demonstration into the most hypocritical affair I ever had the misfortune to attend. 'Long live the glorious freedom fighters', they shouted. When the cry, 'what about the workers' bomb?' went up, they remained shamefully quiet.

When the C.N.D. packed up, members of the Committee of 100 and a sprinkling of anarchists decided on a spontaneous march to Downing Street.

The march was a great success, our tiny crowd swelled to a reasonable size

by citizens who joined us on the route. We brushed past the two protesting policemen at the Trafalgar Square checkpoint and down Whitehall to Mr. Wilson's residence where a protest composed on the spot and signed by all those present was handed in. As this march was in fact illegal (no demonstration is allowed in that vicinity while Parliament is in session) I wish to sign here with the name I gave to the police superintendent, that is—

PETER KROPOTKIN.

Police Stop Leafletting

WE'VE JUST had another graphic illustration of how solidly entrenched the authorities are in Manchester, and how we are only free so long as we're ineffective.

As supporters of the Northern Libertarian Alliance, we were distributing leaflets in Manchester bus stations, urging the busmen not to strike but to run the buses and not collect fares.

The first indication that our presence was not welcome was the arrival of two large uniformed men (who for all we know could have been anything from sanitary inspectors to chief constables, or both). They marched up to one of the local lads and gently escorted him one on either shoulder out of the bus station.

The comrade made an effort to escape, trying to walk away, but with the help of the local fuz (police) they cornered him in a Café, and after a lengthy 'interrogation' he gave them his name and address. The kind copper then informed him that if he distributed the leaflet again 'he'd have him'.

So remember friends, you are free to lurch at the wall as long as you like but the minute you try to find the gate 'we'll have you'.

I.H.

AFB Annual Conference

20th March (Sat.) 10.30 a.m.—5 p.m.

21st March 12 noon—5 p.m.

at 39 Gerrard Street, London, W.1

(Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club premises)

The National Secretariat is awaiting proposals for the agenda. Comrades needing accommodation and those in London able to offer it should write to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1. A social is planned for Saturday evening, details will be announced later.

Now pick up your newspaper, have a look at the financial page and start laughing at the nonsense written by "experts" who do not understand what they are talking about, since none of them can answer truthfully the basic question, "Where does money come from?" (If they could they wouldn't dare! They'd get the sack!) But be careful—don't start laughing with your mouth full of something real!

L. JOHN.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Cor-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

SUNDAYS

FEB 21 Philip Holgate

The World's Anarchist Press.

FEB 28 Tom Barnes

Roles, Rules and Rebels.

MAR 7 Ian Dixon

Subject to be announced.

MAR 14 Jerry Wilson

Life with the American Indians.

All welcome

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.

Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION.

Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from John Coventry, 1 Richmond Park Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.

DUNDEE GROUP.

Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee.

Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence: Joe Embleton, Thrush Villa, Commonhead, Airdrie, Lanarks.

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP.

Contact Graham Leigh, 5 Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.

Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, February 28, 2.30 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316.

Brian and Maureen Richardson.

SOUTH WALES.

Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitchurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

CANADA. Anyone interested contact Bill Fletcher at 3743 West 7th Avenue, Vancouver.

CANADA: S.I.A. (Solidarité Internationale Antitotalitaire) Canadian Section.

Anyone interested please write Jan Weryho, Montreal, Station B, P.B. 1145 or phone Montreal 845-2671.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District.

Planning discussion meetings and activities. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET.

For information contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

NOTTINGHAM.

Anyone interested contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rectory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top.)

Social Revolution

THE ONLY WAY TO PEACE

'IT IS EASY,' claims the *New Statesman*, 12/2/65, 'to condemn American retaliatory air attacks on North Vietnam. It is less easy to suggest a constructive alternative.' Despite this, the *New Statesman* does not in fact condemn them, but its leading article does provide an illustration of how impossible it is to develop an understanding of, and action against war, in a framework which involves acceptance of the political and governmental set-up prevailing today. Since 1945, the world has been passing through an era of localised, small-scale military conflicts which have been fought out with a variety of weapons, brought death to thousands of people and destruction of enormous amounts of wealth, but which have not threatened the material or diplomatic interests of the Great Powers. At the same time these Powers have been deeply involved in the conflicts, at the same time as making gestures at each other in the shape of A- and H-bomb tests. Such military conflicts, fought out in lands which already suffer from underdevelopment, have often shocked wide sectors of public opinion, when details have filtered through to them, and the present bombing in Vietnam, part of a war which seems particularly senseless, has brought protests from Liberals, Socialists and humanitarians of many shades of opinion.

However, can anything be done at this stage, when the apparently stupid policies of government draw attention to the horrors they create? The *New Statesman*, a journal which prides itself on a down to earth approach, scorning utopianism, is not able to provide an alternative, while that other down to earth organisation, the Communist Party, has a policy which can be summed up in the words, 'Two, four, six, eight—don't fight, negotiate'.

The Anarchist view is that within the political framework that exists now, practically nothing can be done to lessen the violence that breaks out in various parts of the world, because the local wars are an integral and necessary part of the contemporary political power struggle. The popular view of government, at least in those countries which have been subjected to propaganda by press and radio for many years, is that it exists to promote social peace and harmony, and that when a war breaks out it signifies a breakdown in government. Hence the demands for conferences, treaties, United Nations and other means of increasing and improving

the functions of governments. However, this point of view just does not hold water, for if it were true there would be very few military outbreaks, and they would soon be settled by peace treaties.

Anarchists see government and the State, not as benevolent institutions, but as organs by which a minority of the people in any country impose their will on the mass of the population who would be able to organise social life far better without their help. The State does not primarily want to keep peace, or necessarily to provoke war, but to maintain its own power and that of the class it represents, by whatever means are most effective, and to exercise its power in a profitable way. It is clear that a certain amount of military conflict, particularly if it is taking place a long way from the Metropolitan State, is extremely beneficial to a government. It keeps the arms industry profitable, the generals and army occupied and in training, and most of all disciplines the civilian population by persuading them how important it is for them to support 'their' government and strengthen it, to defend them from the barbarians on the other side of the wall. In a famous phrase, Von Clausewitz said that 'War is diplomacy carried on by other methods', while the American anti-militarist Randolph Bourne said that 'War is the health of the state'. If and when it suits governments to close down a particular military action for a time, they do so without waiting for petitions or demonstrations.

We are not interested, as the *New Statesman* is, in finding alternative policies for governments to pursue, because we do not share these interests. Its leader writer considers the possibility of 'Communist' influence in all the countries of South East Asia as a nightmare. The people who live there and suffer from the continual nightmare of war and destruction would probably be glad of any solution which removed the war from them. What we work for, and believe to be the only possibility of solving the problem, is that the mass of ordinary people should realise that war is in the interests of their governments and boss classes, whether capitalist or bureaucratic, and that their own interests are diametrically opposed to these. Even that, however, is useless unless it is backed up by action, and the action that could bring down the warfare states and bring peace to the world is an Anarchist Social Revolution.

P.H.

'Gains Tax Should be Flat Rate & Taper Says S.E.'

—Financial Times

SOUTH PADDINGTON LABOUR Party's general management committee is to consider at their next meeting whether to expel Mr. George Brown for breaking election promises. This followed the disbanding of South Paddington Labour Party by Transport House for alleged Trotskyist activities. Mr. Harold Wilson walked out of the House of Commons in a huff about Mr. Thorneycroft's allegations on the British aviation industry. Mr. Patrick Duffy, Labour member for Colne Valley, alleged that some Conservative members were half-drunk in the Commons.

THE NATIONAL EUROPEAN, the paper of Oswald Mosley's movement states alarmingly, 'Sir Oswald Mosley is at present in South Africa, one of the key points for Europe. He will return immediately in the case of an early election, for which preliminary arrangements were made before his departure.' John Tyndall, another of our would-be Fuehrers 'interviewed' in *Spearhead* regrets the failure of the right-wing nationalist groups to unite. *The National European* prints an obituary of Mary Allen, former suffragette, member of the Union Movement and co-founder of the first woman's police force. *The N.E.* writes, 'she remained head of the Women's Auxiliary Services, until 1940, when official prejudice against her beliefs ended that movement's association with Civil Defence'.

MR. MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE writing in the *New York Review* of books on (as it happened) memorial publications on John F. Kennedy, one-time president of the United States, said, 'Graveyard, or memorial, prose is among the least edifying and least pleasing forms of human composition. There is a prevailing flavour of syrupy insincerity, an affectation of wholehearted truthfulness amounting to the worst kind of deception, which sickens as it surfeits.' On Kennedy he said, 'I can only say with all possible respect that if the late President really was as he is here presented—so dedicated a public servant, so faithful a husband and devoted a father, so witty, learned and profound an orator, writer, and thinker, so genial a friend, prayerful Christian, and enlightened a statesman—he is better off in Heaven, where according to an electoral oration in Ohio by Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, we may now confidently assume him to be.' A South London vicar has protested about the 'heartless and callous' rule at Honor Oak Crematorium run by Camberwell Council that allows only fifteen minutes for each crematorium service.

RETIRED GENERAL Mark Clark, late chief of American forces in Korea said that the U.S. in reprisal raids upon North Vietnam should 'slaughter the hell out of them for a long time'. He urged the continuation of the raids and said, 'You can't do business with the Commies except by force and with no appeasement whatever'. Barry Goldwater, ex-Presidential candidate said the raids were what he had advocated. In *Time* February 5, ex-Presidential candidate Richard Nixon in a speech to the Sales Executive Club of New York said, 'We are losing the war in South Vietnam and if there is not a change of strategy, we will be thrown out in a matter of months, certainly within a year'.

ACCORDING TO THE United States Information Service (8/2/65) intelligence as to increased infiltration of North Vietnamese soldiers was gained by 'improved South Vietnam interrogation techniques'. Newspapers of February 9 show a captured Viet Cong, hands bound at waist being forced to wade through a stream to detect mines or booby traps which may be there. *The Express* writes, 'As it happened he survived—only to die later from his wounds'. Though obviously short of mine detectors the South Vietnamese are being supplied with the 'Hawk' missile developed as a low altitude air defence weapon. It is sixteen feet long and weighs 1,275 lbs., the name 'Hawk' is formed from the initial letters of 'Homing-All-the-Way-Killer'. Mr. Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary stated that the Government would not hesitate to take any special measures if they were needed for the protection of British subjects in Vietnam, the safety of British subjects in that area was very much in his mind. Asked if he thought that the Geneva conference on Vietnam should be reconvened, he said, 'We shall certainly discuss this with the US Government. I would not want to take any course of action which could be construed as suggesting that there was no danger inherent in this situation when the United States forces were attacked but there is a danger when taking measures in reply'.

FIVE PEOPLE INCLUDING two former cabinet ministers were sentenced to death in Ghana on charges of conspiracy to commit treason. Three of

The only protection which honest people need is protection against that vast Society for the Creation of Theft which is euphemistically designated as the State.

BENJAMIN R. TUCKER.

them were previously found not guilty on the same charge by the Chief Justice. They were re-arrested on the orders of President Nkrumah, the Chief Justice was dismissed, the verdict was quashed by Parliament, they were retried and now have been sentenced. . . . WOLVES DESCENDING FROM the mountains have been seen in the suburbs of Rome, a puma has been at large in the English countryside for months and a wolf at large from Whipsnade Zoo was shot.

JON QUIXOTE.

PRESS FUND

Catch—PRESS FUND	
FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
WEEK 6, FEBRUARY 13, 1965:	
Expenses: 6 weeks at £70:	£420
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£406
DEFICIT £14	
Watford: S.F.* 5/-; Hailsham: A.A. 7/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Knockholt: B.R. £1; Weston-super-Mare: H.A.* 9/6; Wells: G.B. 10/-; London, N.W.10: E.T. 5/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Stoke-on-Trent: R.B. 3/6; Watford: J.R. 17/-; Newry: J.O.H. £3; New South Wales: M.S. 5/-; Falmouth: R.W. 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Birmingham: R.B. £11/1-; Peterborough: A.W. £2; Hitchin: L.A. £1; Menlo Park: I.U. £2/10/-; Victoria, Australia: B.F. £10. Omitted from Decem- ber statement: Arizona: A.T. £3/10/-. TOTAL £28 11 0 Previously acknowledged: £145 0 1 1965 Total to Date £173 11 1	

*Denotes Regular Contributors.

Contact Column

Delinquency, Maladjustment and the Community. Homer Lane Society series of Lectures, Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, March 23, Joe Benjamin.

Demonstration. Australia House against conscription, February 25 (Thursday), 5 p.m., starting Trafalgar Square, London. Anti-Conscription Committee. Poster-making Committee of 100 office, Tuesday, February 23. Committee meeting February 16, P.P.U. office, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Touring. Anarchist Comrade wishes to tour as many groups as possible in June, July, August this year. Those interested and who can accommodate, contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

Accommodation wanted: London. Young couple (no children) require furnished or part-furnished accommodation S.E. London. Maximum rent £4.

Edinburgh thanks those who sent donations to the 'Anarchist'. As not enough money is yet available for next month's edition, a foolscap leaflet has been produced instead on the Vietnam crisis. Distribution urgent, 3/- per 100 from Edinburgh group.

Country Job Wanted. English Anarchist girl, with love for children and experience with them; Animals, light farm work, clerical, seeks job in Country with Anarchist family of sorts, where own daughter (15 months) would be welcomed, for six months or longer. Apply Fauser, 246 Leggatts Rise, Watford, Herts.

Way Out? Investigate constructive alternatives to life-negating culture in 'A Way Out' bi-monthly 32-page journal \$4 a year; 'The Green Revolution' monthly newspaper, \$3; samples 25c. each; The School of Living, Brookville, Ohio, U.S.A.

Notice to American Anarchists: We are trying to get a lively newspaper going, and to contact one another. If you are in the U.S. contact us—'The Voice of Reason' at P.O. Box 3641, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Room Speaks! On the Challenger Case, Benson Hall, Magdalen College, Cambridge, Tuesday, February 23, 8.15 p.m. Cambridge Anarchist Group and Cambridge C.N.D.

Anarchist International. The above to be produced by Birmingham Group for the AFB. Copy for Conference to Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1. Group and International news to Martin Bragg, 5 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Abolish the Criminal Law Against Abortion!

Continued from page 1

of cases that 'go wrong' is very small, and the number of prosecutions is also small. One reason for this is that the authorities know full well what is going on, and are, in their usual hypocritical way, prepared to allow the back-street operators to carry on as long as there is no trouble.

THE LAW IS THE CRIMINAL

For thousands of women and girls, however, the problem is not dealt with—hence the thousands of unwanted

illegitimate babies. And for those who do manage to get sorted out at 'back street' level, there is a very trying time of worry and fear until some kind of cloak-and-dagger contact is made, the fee haggled for and found, and some degree of inevitable pain suffered.

All of this is unnecessary. And the law is the real criminal in the case inasmuch as it is the law that makes the racket and the law which enforces this unnecessary mental and physical suffering.

The abortion law must be abolished!

Public opinion is now ready for a change—and a really radical change is called for. The serious newspapers discuss the abortion issue sensibly and sympathetically; even the *Daily Mirror* a few weeks back gave a great splash to the problem—and came out with a demand for radical change in the law.

But this is not the whole issue. The present Minister of Health, Mr. Kenneth Robinson, tried to bring in a Private Member's Bill some years back when he was an Opposition back bencher. The Catholics ganged up against it and it never even got its second reading. Now that Robinson is Minister of Health, is there any better chance?

It seems there may be. A television programme last week devoted to this question (most sympathetically) used as its starting point a meeting of MPs who are gathering their forces to present another Private Member's Bill and it is said that a free vote will be allowed in the House. So perhaps in a short time the law may be amended.

But how far will it go? Kenneth Robinson's previous Bill sought to do no more than ratify in law what is already practice—that abortions can be carried out where there is good medical or psychological reason. This would certainly mean that doctors need no longer have any background of fear and many more recommendations would no doubt go forward to hospitals.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

But what of the thousands of healthy girls and women who find themselves pregnant, but for whom having a child would be disastrous? Girls living at home with their families for whom it would be a 'disgrace'? Nurses struggling

to make ends meet who would lose their jobs, their training gone for nothing; students in the middle of their courses; married women who already have enough children, thank you very much.

There are dozens of categories in which a woman has perfectly sound personal reasons for having a pregnancy terminated which would not be acceptable if the 'mental and physical health' criterion were applied—by somebody else.

Why should this important decision be somebody else's? The simple right of every woman to decide when she shall have babies is what has got to be established, and any law which holds this back is going to do no more than scratch at the surface of the abortion problem.

The abortion law must be abolished, and abortion made freely available on demand on the National Health. If the moralists object to this—then let them suggest a realistic alternative! There is one—but they won't like it. For the answer to abortion is prevention. Unwanted pregnancies occur through inefficient practice of birth control.

Abortion is a bad method of birth control. It is sought when other methods have failed—and this is usually through ignorance. Are the moralists prepared to face up to the real needs of the situation—a sexual revolution and a revolution in sex education? Are they going to accept that young (and old!) people are going to make love without necessarily wanting children and that the sensible attitude is to prepare them for it?

If the Christians cannot accept this; if they still want to force their mumbo-jumbo about abstinence, their own stilted restrictions down the throats of those who don't even share their nonsensical beliefs, then they must be told to pack up their tents and go. Get out of the way of human happiness!

P.S.

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Trade Unionism is big business

A EU IS BORROWING free of charge one of ICI's leading business efficiency experts. Jim Conway, the new general secretary thinks big, his goal the American trade union set-up. In terms of union membership, new members only slightly outweigh wastage (not necessarily natural). Conway wants AEU offices in every major industrial centre with more full time officials to compete with T&GWU.

On one point every member of the AEU will agree with their general secretary, the rule book is well out of date. The difference of opinion will occur when it comes to the amendment of the said document. If full time officials have their way even the remotest amount of rank and file control will go out of the window—full time officials for life, etc., etc.

Conway has made his ideas perfectly clear. I quote: 'The days of a "movement" are over. We have got to be as efficient as ICI or Marks and Spencer, but we have got to do it with a soul.'

There you have it Bro.; the only thing the matter with capitalism is that it has no soul. We know why, but we are old fashioned, and old fashioned enough to know how the

AEU will wind up if James Conway and his side-kicks have their way.

The National Union of Mineworkers has really gone modern. It is employing a firm of management consultants to devise a system of group incentive payments for the coal industry's 270,000 day-wage miners. If 'imitation is the best form of flattery', American unionism will be chuff to hell, the most applause will come from the Appalachian miners where modernisation has worked them onto the industrial scrap heap.

I have always thought that workers who do the graft determine payments. The Coal Board must be highly delighted that the NUM has engaged 'management consultants'.

The AEU and NUM must have really believed George Brown's bed-time story about the 'class war being over'!

MARKED MEN

NUVB members are in dispute with Fairview Caravans over the sacking of nine militant trade unionists. These members were sacked last November and the strike has been continued ever since.

The firm was originally at Rom-

ford, Essex, where it had a domestic agreement which was not less favourable than the National agreement. They then moved to Dovercourt, where the employees were invited to elect a work's committee.

The 'Terms and Conditions of Employment Act 1959' is normally used to compel employers to concede *proper wages and conditions*. At the beginning of this month the National Union of Vehicle Builders attempted to use the Act to gain trade union recognition before the Industrial Court.

The managing director of Fairview produced a manifesto before the Industrial Court signed by 136 employees declaring total support of the management in its handling of the strike. Sir Roy Wilson, QC, Chairman of the Court, asked why a list of signatures should contain what looked like clocking-in numbers by the side if it was not to check who had signed and who had not?

Obviously Fairview have had a sort-out of militant workers, these nine men must be reinstated. There cannot be another 'Fords 18'.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Reflections on Automation

IT MIGHT BE WELL, in the 401st year after Shakespeare's death, to be reminded of his maxim:—'He who controls the means whereby I live, controls me'.

In our age, in which the socially 'in' people let such terms as technologically speaking, and automation, punctuate their every sentence, and the psychological aspects of this, that and the other problem, are in the forefront of all thought and speech, to the extent that the original problem is lost in a maze of incomprehensible jargon—401 years is not too soon to remember that the maxim holds the same truth in peasant England as in an Automated 20th Century world.

The working man, who is in ignorance of how capitalist production operates and by his lack of knowledge of what happens outside his own specialised field plays the part of a machine, feeding another machine which in its place feeds another machine; and has absolutely no say in marketing, or creating the end product (useless or otherwise); and who in other words fulfills the functions that the machine will eventually fulfill for him—is an Automaton. The difference often being that a second-hand machine keeps its market value longer than a human being.

The replacement of the worker, as a unit of production, which is what modern capitalism is seeking in its quest for profits, by machine, is well under way. In America and to a lesser extent England, the automated industries have changed their human conveyor belts to new and shiny ones with the unions apparently powerless. The ever-growing army of unemployed in America is subjected to the constant propaganda that the economic needs of all Americans will be catered for in the near future whether working or not. As a stopgap alleviator to 'temporary' economic misery, the arms industry is employing more people, and utilising more capital investment than during the entire second world war. Part of a pattern emerges; the ironic necessity of capitalism to overproduce the useless in order that the mass of people can obtain the most basic essentials.

Another point I feel also worth raising in regards to automation, concerns the 'prepacked' culture (which we are presented or subjected to), has a direct bearing on automation. The input and output of machines is easily computed by its very simplicity. Petrol scooped by the handful from a pool into a motor car would make it difficult to assess the performance derived; but from

a measured can, or pump, input and output can be easily assessed. Also, of course, the value, in the monetary sense—the same applies with canned or is it 'prepacked' and chemicalised eating habits. The 'anal' jokes of input and output are taken very seriously by the chemists and vitamin experts and also by the time motion study experts, who themselves paradoxically enough are made redundant by computers. We are surrounded by facts persuading us that the ingredients of one packet of this or that gives us more vitality, strength, etc., etc.—for what purpose? To pursue creative interests? to live long and well? to be happy?—what do these mean to a clerk in an office or to an industrial worker? The finest restaurants and more expensive hotels never use the 'pre-packed' to supplement the great energies used up by the stockbrokers in wheeling concrete around day by day until arthritis makes them into night watchmen; on building sites their needs are still gauged by the fresh caviar and asparagus, not the plastic wrapped cereal.

The full circle is reached. . . . Automations are being created from our bodies, our waste is processed and put to use, our waste being probably the only thing that automated capitalism will have a use for. Our energies will become superfluous to production. Into our mouths will be poured the same things (if not already) as are used to lubricate machines with maybe an alteration in the chemical structure. Our minds and bodies manipulated by the economics of destruction, behave in the same way as those of computers. (I read, recently, that I.B.M. of America is training computer psychologists in the eventuality of computers 'running away' or 'rebell'ing.)

Automation as anything else in the control of an avaricious and neurotic class of people, spells our doom. In the control of a sick mind, people are manipulated to their destruction and the weapons of war are automated down to one button. Yet the operative factor is surely that if a sick society grasps for something dangerous, it must be wrested away from it. The control of industry must be in the hands of those whose every-day being is the enslavement to industry so that their lives can be liberated from the humdrum existence they are subjected to.

In automation can lie the possibility of liberating the starving masses, whose existence the western economists, in falling over themselves to claim credit for creating the 'affluent' society, have conveniently forgotten. Modern methods

can help speed up the production of essential foods, materials and know-how, but only in the control of those who need it.

The aims of Anarchism are that the individual controls his or her own life and that the problems that beset a society be the responsibility of the society, and that the control of production be so that all have free access to all that makes living. Technology has made the achievement of this possible; only our lack of control over the technology makes it impossible—this is what is worth striving for.

F.H.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 5

WORKERS' CONTROL

WHERE Anarcho-Syndicalism differs most from trade unionism is in its revolutionary aim, and the divergence in approach to social and industrial problems naturally stems from the fact that the goals at which the two schools of thought are aiming are in fact worlds apart.

For the trade union leader, things are going to-day just the way he wants them. The managerial organisation of society, the nationalisation of industry, the growing dominance of the State in all our lives; these are the natural fruits, implicit or declared, of trade unionism. It is doubtful, however, whether the rank-and-file trade unionist fully realised this when voting, at conference after conference, for nationalisation, for State control instead of private enterprise.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists, however, have always realised this, and that is why, although the unions have used the direct action methods of syndicalism before collaboration became so established, although they have expressed anti-war, international sentiments and have in some cases organised industrially, the real difference between them has never been clouded except in the minds of those who thought the unions would help to usher in industrial democracy. For where the unions have led to centralisation, nationalisation and State control, Syndicalism has always pointed to federalism, socialisation and workers' control.

There is the great difference. The one singing the praises of planning, of regimented efficiency, of dictation from above and obedience below; the other demanding freedom from the dictation of any class (even the proletariat!) proclaiming the responsibility of the worker, his ability to organise and his right to free access to the means of production and distribution on a basis of equality.

Against Anarchism, many people still make the mistake that 'Anarchists don't believe in organisation', but against Syndicalism they cannot say that, since the syndicalists have always stressed the need for the workers to organise. So the critics, victims of someone else's domination, say instead, 'But you must have leaders if you have an organisation.' And so many people confuse organisation with leadership that it is often a very hard job to make them see that there is a big difference between *organising* and *being organised*.

In a society like ours, which is based on leadership, we are, all of us, constantly being organised from above. And because this has been so for so long, even those who profess

Freedom For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 20 1965 Vol. 26 No. 6

Sackings at Pressed Steel

WE KNOW THAT at the moment the unemployment figures are low and throughout the country there are more vacancies for jobs, but although this may look all right on paper, the fact still remains that if there doesn't happen to be a demand for your particular skill in your locality, then mate, you are out on the stones. After a few weeks of this, the average working class family begins to feel the pinch.

This could well be what is going to happen to about 380 workers at the Pressed Steel Company's car-body factory at Linwood, near Glasgow. The company say that when a wagon contract for British Railways has been completed, these workers will have to be sacked. The company also makes the bodies for the 'Imp' car of Rootes, whose factory is just across the road. Rootes have recently had to cut back the production of this car and this in turn has affected Pressed Steel.

Since the autumn at Pressed Steel, short-time working has been in operation in order to avoid redundancies and as a result the bonus scheme has been affected. This scheme, under which individual piece-work was scrapped, is a complicated one of incentive bonus which everyone gets 'from the general manager to the office cleaner' and is paid monthly according to the plant's productivity. It is a variation of the Scanlon Plan which was devised by a one-time union official turned industrial relations expert at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Although

everyone is involved and the same percentage is paid in bonus, the recent short-time working has reduced the pool of bonus earnings in the kitty and in fact it is now in the 'red'.

THE OLD CAPITALIST WAY

When this scheme was first introduced, it was hailed as a method of achieving 'teamwork' among all sections of the employees. This statement seems to have been justified, for the turnover of labour at the plant has been reduced from 50 per cent per year to around 6 per cent, but the rub is that it was also thought it would prevent redundancies in an industry of fluctuating demands. On this score it has failed for the demand for the products of Pressed Steel Company is just not there and as a result the management has resorted to the old capitalist way of solving the problem, by SACKINGS.

Last November the same situation arose across the road at Rootes. Here, once again, the management was preparing to solve the problem by sackings, but the workers came up with their own plan of a rota system involving the whole factory by which the men had one week off in every four or five weeks*. Surely some such plan can be worked out for Pressed Steels. The example is there so let the workers solve this problem in the human way of real co-operative teamwork and solidarity rather than the inhuman methods of the employers. P.T.

*FREEDOM, November 21 & 28, 1964.

the desire to change society think it must always be the same. But the Anarcho-Syndicalist rejects this. He sees the evils of present-day society as springing from the very fact that it is based on leadership—on the concentration of power over the many in the hands of the few.

Now, we expect the organs of the authoritarian State to reflect the nature of the State. We expect the armed forces and the prison service to be organised from above, with the control directed downwards from the top to the bottom. But in organisations which are aimed at changing the old order of things, it is logical to look for the reverse, and so Syndicalists base their form of organisation on the reverse of the leadership principle, which now has such a hold in the trade unions.

Social and political organisations always reflect the form of society they are striving for. That is why the Labour Party and the trade union movement have become monolithic and dictatorial, and why the syndicalist movement should always recognise the autonomy of its smallest unit, and that control must always flow from the bottom up, not from the top down. In fact, of course, there is no feeling of 'top' or 'bottom' in libertarian movements. As I discussed in the last chapter, there is no room in the syndicates for permanent officials, and thus there is no sense of 'working your way up' in the organisation.

Anarcho-Syndicalists do not set out to organise the workers. We want to see the workers *organise themselves*, in such a way that the control of the organisation never passes out of their own hands. And from workers' control of their own fighting organisation, it is only a step to workers' control of the means of production. And that is the expression on the industrial field of the classless society.

For the Syndicates have the dual purpose of being the organisations for defence and attack in present-day society, and the organs of reconstruction after the social revolution. I shall be dealing later with the means by which Anarcho-Syndicalists advocate the waging of the class struggle today. Let it be sufficient for now to say that all those means are forms of *direct* action, action which keeps the initiative in the hands of the workers and through which they learn the responsibility of making their own decisions, and realise their own strength and ability to run their industries.

P.S.

(To be continued)