

# Freedom

## Anarchist Weekly 4c

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# Productivity for What?

JUST AS THE Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson has been touring the capitals of political influence selling not a "socialist foreign policy", if such a thing is conceivable, but the idea that a Labour governed Britain is a more rational, stable ally in the realm of international power politics, his lieutenant, Mr. Brown, has been busy persuading employers' organisations and Trade Unions to co-operate with the state in putting into practice, not socialism, but a planned drive for efficiency and productivity.

In themselves, efficiency and high economic production are excellent objects, and many of the restrictive practices that have been used as objects of derision by the capitalist press are equally condemned by anarchists for the different reason that they divide workers against each other when they should be united against the boss. However, the policies which Mr. Brown and his Department of Economic Affairs are trying to bring into being are fundamentally anti-socialist. It is for that reason that we attack them in the columns of FREEDOM and challenge the so-called left wing M.P.s and their supporters in the broader socialist movement to do the same.

First of all, if a thing isn't worth doing it isn't worth doing well, and if increased efficiency results in more military aeroplanes and rockets being produced, or more effort being expended on projects designed to win national prestige rather than to satisfy the needs of ordinary

people, then no one is any better off as a result. One of the important problems that working people should be facing is what their work is being used to produce, not just how efficiently they are producing anything. The Brown approach, that it doesn't matter what is being produced so long as there is a lot of it and it gets sold, is both dangerous to our welfare in general, and dangerous insofar as it diverts the attention of workers and trade union organisations from these real social problems into chasing the false objectives of capitalist production records.

Secondly, the plans make no progress towards ending the exploitation of man by man which is inevitable in an authoritarian society. (Anarchists differ from Marxists in seeing that it is inevitable in any society where power is held by a minority, or 'government', whether social democratic or communist in outlook, as well as in capitalist states.) Nor do they take any step towards increased control of the production process by the workers. The accounts of the declaration of the intention to seek an incomes policy do speak of "two sides" in industry, 'management', and 'the unions'. We prefer to think of the two sides as being 'capitalism', despite the fact that it often prefers to present itself in the role of manager, rather than profiteer, and 'labour' which is unfortunately so badly misrepresented by most union leaders. It is true that over the last half century, the advance in technology has resulted in an increase in the material standard of living of almost everyone in societies like the United States and Western Europe, even though it has left behind the submerged seventh, or fifth to which Brian Abel-Smith and Michael Harrington have been drawing attention. However, the position of the workers relative to

the profiteers has not improved, and it almost seems as if the economic reward a man gets for his labour is inversely proportional to its social value. All this comes about simply as a consequence of the fact that the control of society lies with coteries of directors, executives and financiers, with the top ranks of the civil service and with professional politicians, and not with the people who do useful work, by hand or brain.

In discussing questions relating to economic policy on the large scale, it is much more difficult to present a clear anarchist alternative, than it is for questions like sex, freedom from censorship and so on; but it is necessary for the very reason that it is difficult, that economics and the power that goes with it lies at the basis of everything else in society. It may be true that at present nothing can be hoped for except minor reforms, but even if this is so we should see that the reforms are in the right direction, that more effort goes into useful production and less into waste and the war industry, and that workers win a greater degree of control over what they do and how they do it. If there is a crisis of production, a sterling problem, and a need to export more, the working class should not be allowing its representatives to sit in Whitehall signing agreements to co-operate with the bosses and the state in getting rid of these problems, but should be exploiting the opportunities presented by these crises to get every ounce of advantage over the bosses in terms of wages, conditions and taking as much of the control of production over as is possible.

There is only one worthwhile restrictive practice in the long run, and that is to restrict the capitalists, politicians and other parasites from living on the workers' backs. P.H.

## POLICE CONFISCATE WAR ON WANT COLLECTION

MEMBERS OF THE Scottish Committee began a 36 hour fast at Govan Cross, Glasgow at noon on Xmas Eve. Two members, Isobel Lindsay and Ian Sutherland, began at noon and were at once approached by police who informed them that although they had permission for the fast that it was necessary to have a permit from the town clerk before a street collection could be taken for War on Want. They persisted however, and a collection was taken. After several police warnings they gave up for a while and sat talking to passers-by until tea time then crowds began to form at nearby bus stops.

Tom McAlpine, managing director of the factory for peace, had phoned the town clerk during the afternoon and asked for verbal permission. Full of the Xmas spirit, this bureaucrat said No. Only bureaucrats decide who collects for hungry kids in Glasgow, it seems. After hearing of the town clerk's decision, Ian Sutherland openly

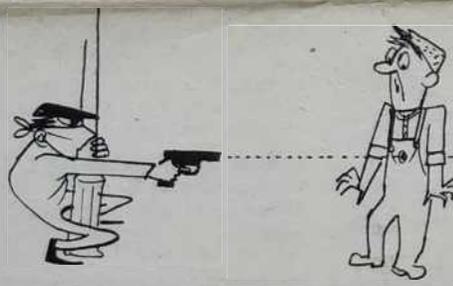
picked up the collecting tin and approached a bus queue. He had only collected a couple of bob when two cops, one in plain clothes, materialised from an alley and grabbed him.

He was hustled over to the adjacent police box and charged with collecting for charity without a permit. Isobel Lindsay demanded that she be charged with the same offence, since she had collected earlier. The law declined her request.

Since the tin and £2 9s. 4d. was confiscated, the fasters gave up collecting and after 29 hours during the coldest night of the year, they gave up the following night.

The Court will decide what is to be done with the money. If they refuse to send it to War on Want, Ian intends to sit-in at the Govan police court and is asking everyone who can come to court to do so and to take similar action.

SCOTTISH COMMITTEE OF 100, GLASGOW.



## Have a Go?

THIS WEEK there has been an outburst of violence in London. People have been fired at in the streets, and the gutter press have of course raised a howl of indignation. Huge headlines have been emblazoned across front pages. The increase in crimes of violence has been dragged up, no doubt because some are angry that capital punishment looks like being abolished (for a time anyway).

But what have the police (those

protectors of the British peace) been doing? Well, they have been busy making statements through one of their spokesmen. "Have a go," he says. If you see someone with a gun you are supposed to tackle him.

We are always told by the police that if it wasn't for them we would be robbed, raped, murdered in our beds and that society would collapse, for you wouldn't be able to go outside your house without being knocked down and robbed. But at

the first sign of real trouble they come to the public for help!

This of course is not taken up by the Press, who see nothing extraordinary in the fact that the police have to be assured that if police work is taken on by traffic wardens, they won't be given power to prosecute. THIS POWER MUST REMAIN IN THIS CASE WITH THE POLICE. But if the 'criminal' is armed—well, Boy, get stuck in. 'Have a go'. After all you've nothing to lose but your life (in defence of someone else's property, which in any case is probably insured if it's a robbery). However, I thought it was the police who did this, if not why have them at all?

JAFSIE.

## APPEAL FOR THREE SPANIARDS

We feel your attention should be drawn to a trial due to take place in Madrid on January 7th, 1965, arising out of an appeal made to the Supreme Tribunal by defence lawyers representing three Spanish workers against sentences meted out against them by the Tribunal of Public Order on August 4th, 1964.

Francisco Calle, José Cases and Mariano Pascual were arrested at the beginning of 1964 and after trial were condemned to sentences of 6 years 4 months, 5 years and 3 years 3 months respectively with fines ranging from 25,000 to 100,000 pesetas.

We are therefore calling upon world democratic public opinion, on

working class trade union organisations, and on all organisations and individuals who defend liberty and justice, to send telegrams, letters of protest, and petitions for their release on behalf of these men to the Minister of Justice, Sr. Iturmendi and to the President of the Supreme Tribunal of Madrid, Spain.

What were the "crimes" of these three men? The struggle for the right to have working class trade unions, for the right to strike and for the freedom to hold meetings and for freedom of the press, as recognised by the Charter of Human

Rights approved by the United Nations in San Francisco, which is now trampled on by the Franco regime.

We would like to assure all those who respond to our appeal for the release of these three men that this pressing call comes to them direct from Spain.

A. ROA, Secretary.

### CNT in Exile

210 Bravington Road, London, W.9. Tel.: LAD 6321.

## Are British Students Revolting?

IF ONE accepts the continually implied exhortations to man the barricades apparently inherent in all their publications the Solidarity pamphlet on the Berkeley Students Revolt is an excellent description of what happened. What is needed now is an analysis of what factors were involved in this astonishing display of militancy on the part of a section of the American population that in the past has not been classed among its most progressive components. Such an analysis is needed because, at this point in time, 'it couldn't happen here'; indeed the saddest part of the whole publication is the question posed at the end of the essay: 'Will British Students too, fight for (their rights) and go to jail for them, and be their own masters?'

For there can be little doubt that the wave of militancy that we have experienced in Britain in the last eight years has now ebbed, and that the undergraduate is more apathetic than most. One reason for this could be the present pressure for places which, by putting a premium on high "A" level grades tends to select the studious rather than the intelligent. Another could be the high rate of wastage; with most universities tending to take on more students than it can adequately cope with the knowledge that a certain percentage are going to be thrown out at the end of the first year acts as an effective deterrent to any extra-curricular activities at all. Again the pressure on the potential undergraduate at school is such that he or she often reaches university in a state of mental exhaustion incapable of anything except the work put in front of him. Whatever the reason behind this total apathy, it exists, and such militancy

that appears tends to be from the right rather than the left, at least in the Redbricks.

At Hull the Students Union has consistently refused to accept motions condemning apartheid; with a student population approaching 3,000 the Socialist Society is lucky to get 30 people along to a meeting; Hull University CND has ten members and so on. Part of the blame for this attitude must rest with the schools. The students with whom I have spoken are interested only in getting a degree, any degree, and, as a generalisation are interested in little else, not even to any real extent in their subject. This attitude is a distinct shock to the adult students at the university who had expected, if not political radicalism, at least the rebelliousness of youth among the undergraduate population. It isn't there. What is there is a staggering degree of conformity to the mores of contemporary society reminiscent of a science fiction anti-utopia. And the working class undergraduates are among the worst in this respect. If there is to be any major change in society in the future the driving force will certainly not come from the Redbricks; the forces making for conformity are too strong. Among the few radicals this writer has met most are too frightened of possible repercussions to take any active part in activities that might be frowned upon by the administration. (Even this writer has timidly taken refuge in a pseudonym.) The answer to the question posed in the Solidarity pamphlet is, at the moment, a very large NO!

JOHN MICHAELS.

### STUDENTS IN REVOLT:

The Battle of Berkeley Campus Solidarity Pamphlets No. 18. 6d.

# Books!

## NEW BOOKS

Oswald—Assassin or Fall Guy?  
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## FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

### SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

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Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano  
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists  
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters  
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era  
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair  
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IN April of 1917 it was necessary to withdraw Alla Nazimova's film *War Brides* because, to quote the top brass, "the philosophy of this picture is so easily misunderstood by unthinking people that it is found necessary to withdraw it from circulation for the duration of the war", but despite these second thoughts the film industry has from 1916 poured forth its shadow play-carnage to amuse a paying and a willing audience. The studio raid on the old barbed wire, the lukewarm mud yea even in high summer and the bit player miming death in a silent and twisted pose have long come to be accepted as the clichés of cinema mass slaughter, and always we are asked to delude ourselves that our hired enjoyment is but a passive part of a protest against war. The latest of these films to make the hit parade of a polemic against sweet nothing is James Hodson's story, vamped into the play *Hamp* by John Wilson and re-vamped into the film *King and Country* by Evan Jones Larry Adler who supplied the musical background, has publicly described this film as the greatest anti-war film since *All Quiet on the Western Front*, so we cannot be accused of failing to get the message when the tablets are so clearly marked.

The outline of the story is held to be factual and in the gory mess of 1917 one can accept that this particular event took place and that a volunteer private of an infantry battalion finally broke after the stress of three years of war and, without any display of outward emotion, literally walked away from the forward trench.

Arrested in the rear area by the carrion military-police, he is returned to his own battalion for a drum-head court martial.

Joseph Losey has cast his production of this film in the same bitter and intimate vein of his previous film *The Servant*, and the camera work of Denys Coop has captured an acre of misery in this field of ancient sorrow, and the broken house that forms the set for the action of this film becomes for a few ill hours a brief halt on the road to death. For this is the point that at all times must be borne in mind, that every man within the action of this puppet play will within a few hours be marked for death, and who shoots who is a matter of casual indifference. The officers of the court-martial must decide whether a man who wanders off from the field of battle suffering from the first phase of shell-shock shall be judged suitable either for military execution or be added to the long foul list of the military useless and returned to the rear area to join the army of the physically mutilated.

The film is ill-served by the per-

# The liberal myth

"KING AND COUNTRY", distributed by Warne-Pathé.  
Directed and produced by Joseph Losey

formance of Tom Courtenay as Hamp the private soldier, for Courtenay's puppet face resolves itself into only two emotions, the closed mouth for tragedy and the slack mouth for pathos, but Dirk Bogarde as the defending officer, Captain Hargreaves, brings an added dimension to his part that transcends the 86 minutes of this film. Of all the actors in this shadow play we can sense his reason for being upon this stage.

We know that here is a humourless man performing his full military duties in the knowledge that there is no alternative, and when we leave the cinema he will rejoin his company and lovelessly and efficiently die with them in pursuance of his accepted duty.

But the premise of the film that it is wrong to shoot a man because he is no longer mentally capable of controlling his physical actions is part of the liberal myth that we must reject the lesser evil while accepting the major evil. The chief function of the State is to survive and before that all else is expendable. Mercy, justice, charity, love are but the luxuries that a magnanimous victor can afford to dispense, for once begun all war is total war.

In 1917 the French army mutinied, and the French High Command ordered the public slaughter of their own troops until the French army was once again a unified and obedient whole. They shot men who were completely innocent of any part of this mutiny, and by their own standard they were justified by the result, for the French army once more became a fighting organization. In the film under review Private Hamp is found guilty and ordered to be shot, but the officers of the court-martial of their compassion plead with the High Command that the sentence of the court shall not be carried out. And the High Command correctly and logically demand that Private Hamp shall be publicly shot for, as they point out, the battalion has just come out of the line, it is battle weary and tired and within a few hours it must return to the battle area.

If Private Hamp can walk away and draw a spell in prison while the others

face death or mutilation then the inference is obvious, forward lies death while to the rear, at the worst lies a spell in the Glasshouse so Private Hamp must die.

Just over twenty years ago an American-Polish conscript drafted from the slum area of one of America's major cities was seated in the back of a lorry on the way to join for the first time his new army unit. A burst of shell-fire and Private Slovik and his companions jumped for cover. Private Slovik wandered off and joined up with a Canadian unit and became the pet and mascot. He worked in their cookhouse until he was picked up by the carrion-police. Slovik had to go through the formal process of court-martial and the usual sentence of death was handed down with a recommendation for mercy which it was assumed would automatically follow, but this was the time of the Battle of the Bulge when the German army broke through the American lines.

Up and up through the Command went Private Slovik's automatic request for mercy and with a broken American front it was rejected. Finally it landed on the mobile desk of General Esenhower and he, with a broken army, ordered that this American private soldier who had never even seen the front line should be executed and Private Slovik became the only American soldier of two world wars to be shot for cowardice.

Two or three years ago Sinatra decided to film the tragedy of Slovik with the blacklisted writer Dalton Trumbo to script the story line but the pressure of the American right forced Sinatra to abandon the film. And what would the

## FILM BACKERS WANTED

A comrade is making an anarchist anti-war film based on the recent Peace Pageant. I have seen the "rushes" and they are brilliant. The film is an attempt to shock people out of their apathy, but is by no means completed, and our comrade intends to enlarge on the existing material by using animation, with still photographs of police brutality and stills of war scenes and also wishes to add sound. I think it would be a great pity both from an anarchist and artistic point of view if this film is not completed. Concord Films are willing to distribute it on a wide scale and it would be shown in schools, factories and cinema clubs of peace movements here and abroad. Our comrade is not charging for his time and expenses and therefore the budget is only £100 5s. 6d. If comrades wish to see the existing material a private view can be arranged in the New Year. In the meantime a fund is set up and all contributions (loans or donations) should be sent to "Nobodaddy Films", 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

JOHN RETY.

## AND AT THE NFT . . .

The National Film Theatre is now back on the South Bank, where the cinema remains much as it was before (save for 70 mm. projection), "and the programme". Apparently the government had second thoughts on giving more than the usual Arts Council grant towards rebuilding and buying of more films. At the same time the BBC buys up more mediocre films for an audience that is, by now, quite sick of Astaire-Rogers, and 'socially-aware' westerns (my own survey).

The NFT's first programme of 1965 should be exciting and the following are a selection which are worth every effort to cross the Thames.

Jan. 10 VIRIDIANA.  
Jan. 19 ANARCHIST ATTACK — L'age d'or, A propos de Nice and Le sang des betes.  
Jan. 24 SHADOWS—Cassavetes.  
Jan. 18 THE ITALIAN STRAW HAT—Clair.  
Feb. 7 THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME — Official Army record, which somehow doesn't manage to get across what it intended.  
Feb. 22 CITIZEN KANE.  
GUTHRIE MCKIE.

# 50th Christmas

On December 23, 1964, the Sunday Telegraph published an article about Christmas by Dermot Morrah, the *Arundel Herald Extraordinary*, which began as follows:

ALL THROUGH the year now ending, the thoughts of the old have been reverting to memories, and of the young to the records, of half a century ago. This has never perhaps happened with deeper emotion than now, as Christmas comes round again after fifty years of that new epoch of history which began on the day the bomb was thrown at Sarajevo.

For the first Christmas of that epoch was the day when the guns at dawn fell silent along at least a section of the trenches on the Western Front, and men of both armies looked at one another with a wild surmise, resolving that if the conflict must needs begin again when Christmas was over, they at least would not fire the first shot.

The memory of it will long outlive that earlier legend, already half-forgotten, of the Angels of Mons, said to have been seen coming to the rescue of the "Old Contemptibles" in the great retreat. . . . Whatever its origin, it was soon vulgarised and tarnished by its use in propaganda. But nothing could vulgarise the memory of the Christmas truce. That was something real, coming out of the depths of the human heart, more real, it seemed for an inspired moment, than war itself. It has been described in fiction and translated into drama; but no accounts are so moving as the surviving letters—some have been published—of young officers who were there, many of whom saw no other wartime Christmas.

They told how the Germans on Christmas Eve sang carols in their trenches, and the British only a hundred yards away joined in; how in the morning men stood up on the parapet,

first hesitantly in ones and twos, then in platoons and companies, and uncontrollably swarmed out into no-man's-land, to shake hands with the enemy, exchange cigarettes, show photographs of home, play football matches—and help one another to bury their dead.

There is embarrassment in some of the letters, an uneasiness about the propriety of such unbellicose behaviour; there was something like consternation among the higher staff far behind the lines, who feared that if this thing was not stopped the engine of war would run down and might never be wound up again.

Looking back in the retrospect of fifty years, the imagination may still play with the fancy that it might have been so; that here for a little while the survival of the immemorial institution of war hung in the balance, that the revulsion of simple men, infecting their neighbours all along the hundreds of stricken miles from Switzerland to the sea, might have put it beyond the power of the warring governments to continue their quarrel. What would have happened if both armies had cast down their arms and stood together in defiance, no one can now say.

To the authorities at the time it no doubt seemed that the consequence would be anarchy, the collapse of ordered government. Very probably they were right; but over a great part of Europe there was to be, in any case, the collapse of government four years later, after millions of lives had been spent. Whether, if the "war to end wars" had been thus prematurely cut short, the following fifty years would have been less tragic for humanity is a question that echoes unanswered down the corridors of history. . . .

The rest of the article was a re-statement of the Christian message of Christmas—but what a beginning to a *Colour Supplement of the Tory Press!* (Monitor: N.W.)

## FILMS

recorded and the unrecorded film protest? Not at war, or the necessity of war, but that in the prosecution of those wars, justice and mercy were made to take second place. But if you can accept the bombing of London and Berlin of Dresden and Guernica as a sad but necessary part of war then you cannot puke at the death of Hamp and Slovik, for by the same token and by the same logic the death of these two innocents are as necessary to the winning of a war as the death by fire of children in the burning ruins of Hamburg and Coventry.

In the third world war we shall all burn like Christmas candles and who then will weep for the innocent?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-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

JAN 10 Philip Sansom  
Just Speaking.  
JAN 17 Max Patrick  
How it was. How it is. How it will be.  
JAN 24 Sid Parker  
Individualist Perspectives.  
JAN 31 Maurice Goldman  
Happiness through sex.  
FEB 7 London Anarchist Group  
Future activities?  
FEB 14 Bob Coster  
Subject to be announced.  
FEB 21 Philip Holgate  
The Council Republic of Bavaria.  
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.

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 UNITED LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, c/o Harris, 22 Holyrood Crescent, Glasgow. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Contact Graham Leigh, 5 Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire. Meetings: Black Lion Hotel, Chapel Street, Manchester, 2nd and 4th Tuesday of the month, 8 p.m.

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

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, January 17, 2 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. Monthly Forum—Last Sunday of each month. Enquiries to Bill Fletcher, 104 West 11th Avenue, Vancouver.

## 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.

# FREEDOM Opinion

## IS MONEY REALLY NECESSARY?

We live in a society in which it has been said by many people, 'Money is God'. A society which is run for profit. Never a thought is given to what people need, except by a very few do-gooders. "What can they pay?" is the question that is asked.

Things in this society are not made or grown because people need them in order to live; this is completely incidental. Millions starve or are homeless because it is more profitable to take the land out of production or to build giant office blocks than it is to feed and house people.

No one is really to blame for this. This is the way things have always been (in history anyway). It has grown up over thousands of years. Someone somewhere long ago made a wrong decision, and we are still paying for it now. But we could change this if we wanted to. We could make a world where money, this new 'God' would be useless.

In an anarchist society, we would not have to buy the things that we need, for we would have freedom of access. That is to say each man would be entitled to his share, a share that would be no greater or less than any other man's. By share, I do not mean that each man would have for example five bananas issued to him every week, for everyone does not like bananas, but that he would have 'freedom of access' to what there was. If there was a shortage of some article there would have to be rationing till the scarcity had passed, but the community, that is to say the people would plan ahead, to overcome shortage before it occurred.

The motto of such a society would be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". This would not be achieved in every way, at least not at first, but it would be the objective to strive for.

The basic idea of anarchist-communism as I see it, is that the world is there to be used, and its natural resources should be exploited by all men, for all men. The easiest way to achieve this, is by co-operating, as authority breeds war, want and slavery by its very nature. In this country the slavery is comparatively comfortable, in others it is not. Also anarchism teaches that competition far from being healthy is harmful as it only wastes time, as well as leading to greater and greater conflict.

Of course the exploitation of the world's resources must be done with care, as it certainly isn't now, or they will quickly be swallowed up, but there must not be vast prairies uncultivated while millions of people starve, who have committed no crime other than that of being born.

In a society where freedom of access was the norm, money would cease to exist. It would have no use would it? At the present time the best that can be said for it is that it is a means of exchange, and people might say that we should keep some means of exchange 'because how will we know who has worked, and who has done nothing?'

But it would create the same enormous army of wasted talents that we have today, doing no really useful work, in order to check up on this. Lazy people in any case are sick people, as the rehabilitation schemes they have even in this society show. For it is natural for a man to work and to be creative. I myself would dearly like to think of a way of dealing with those who wish to take and not to give, but whatever one thinks of, always leads back to what we have now, which is millions of people engaged in useless unproductive work, as well as the present crop of parasites.

Money must be abolished. As long as we have it men will be divided one against another. Millions will continue to starve whilst more land is taken out of production. 'You cannot give food to those starving, because if you did the market would collapse and we would all starve.' This something I once heard from a speaker from War on Want. How crazy can you get?

JACK STEVENSON.

# Welcome to 1865

TWENTY COMMUNIST PARTY members left the party rather than lose their official jobs with the E.T.U.; Mr. William Laughlin, national organiser of the Communist Party has resigned his position on the advice of his doctors and has taken a part-time job in a theatrical agency promoting folk, blues and pop singers; Sir Alec Douglas Home did not relinquish his seat in spite of Hugh MacDiarmid's complaint of broadcasting irregularities to an electoral court. Mr. Quintin Hogg, according to the *Sunday Telegraph*, has accepted a retainer to act for the Mirror group of newspapers in libel actions. . . .

ON THE TWENTY-FIRST BALLOT a new President for Italy was chosen after the Socialist had withdrawn and the Catholic and Communist parties both supported Giuseppe Saragat the Social Democratic candidate. Nigeria had a phantom election with one of the two main party alliances boycotting the poll, three out of six of the electoral commissioners opposing holding the election and with scores of polling booths destroyed. Miss Jinnah, sister of the founder of Pakistan, failed to get elected in Pakistan. Mr. Geoffrey Johnson-Smith and wife, rejected by the voters of Holborn, were chosen by the Conservative party of East Grinstead to fight a safe Tory seat. Mr. Rippon, late Tory minister, was passed over as candidate, as was the local boy who failed to make good.

### LETTERS

## Did CND ban the Bomb?

Dear Editor,

I would like to say something in reply to Dorothy Forsyth's assertion that we have banged our heads against a brick wall for seven years and got no place.

If Sir Alec Douglas-Home took any single decision that was his undoing it was the decision to go to the country on the Bomb. Thinking people of all parties and of none didn't have any feeling for the Bomb any more—on all sorts of grounds, moral, political, economic and even military. Even the argument as to whether it was a deterrent or not belonged to the past.

*The Times* in its current, rather tough common-sense type mood says: "The sooner everyone sheds illusions and Britain stops aping a false grandeur the better. Britain is not going to live by bombs but by trade." (Editorial 19.12.64.)

I'm not all that old but I can look back ten years quite easily and the difference between then and now is fantastic. Then the peace movement was a CP front job plus a few odd Quakers, etc. The Bomb was eminently respectable and peace was a dirty word.

Last week on Anglia TV they showed North Pickenham rocket base under the auctioneer's hammer. Yet it is only six years since that place was first built and invaded by the Direct Action C'ttee. And sure enough it was the DAC that the TV commentator recalled as the only newsworthy thing he could say about the place. It won't be many years before Honington and Marham and their V-bombers go the same way.

The reason why the ban-the-Bomb campaign has gone flat is that it has been essentially successful. Pushing at an open door is not news. True, the carcass of the Bomb remains to be taken away but even Sir Alec, now, will know a cadaver when he sees one.

The fault of the Campaign, years ago, lay in not seeing that the Bomb had ceased to be the problem. Since 1958 (when the East-West nuclear equation was finally established) the sub-machine gun has been the real weapon of mass destruction in practice. CND as such can hardly be blamed for the continuing machine-gunning atrocities of the Congo and Viet Nam if CND has never understood that the machine gun is the essential problem.

This is why the period from now up to Easter is so important. There is time enough for these new truths to dawn; all the more so since the truth about party political reliance is at last out. If at Easter CND can reappear on the

streets thousands strong in a new kind of anti-war campaign (directed at real wars and particular dangers) then we shall be back in business with a vengeance—with a very considerable seven-year accumulation of experience behind us. I think that Dorothy Forsyth will then see once again many of those CNDers "who used to protest 'at the drop of a hat'".

Cambridge PETER CADOGAN.

### VR

I should like to add a few words to P.S.'s farewell to Vernon Richards. I have known Vero for only five or six years, and I think we must have disagreed about almost every theoretical and practical issue we have ever discussed, but he has always listened to what I have said and has always printed what I have written. I shall remember him as the most genuine anarchist and the most anarchist editor imaginable, and despite all our disagreements I shall never forget how much he has done for what he believes in. We all owe him far more than we know.

N.W.

### Mersey sound

43 Millbank, Liverpool, 13.

Dear Comrades,

Many people have written to me about the group based on Merseyside and for various reasons not had an answer, or have had an answer and not turned up at meetings. The group hopes to get going properly in the New Year, and hopes that people who are still interested will contact me, despite all. If you do, you will be assured of an answer this time—that's if you didn't get one last time. If you received information and didn't attend a meeting, please let me know if you are still interested; if I don't get any reply by the end of January I will be forced to presume that you are no longer interested.

I am now hoping to be flooded out with letters. Please don't disappoint me. Fraternally yours,

VINCENT JOHNSON.

## Wanted: Foreign Correspondents

Dear Brothers,

In an era when anarchist activity seems at a low ebb news from overseas correspondents should be most welcome. Yet the articles on Bolivia and Brazil, particularly, are disappointing. They are of a sort which one would expect to read in the *New Statesman* or the *Manchester Guardian* i.e. liberal bourgeois.

Comments such as "... we therefore ponder whether he is a fitting replacement..." as President suggest that the author is concerned with what type of person is elected President. The whole tone of these articles runs in similar vein and while it may be sound political commentary none of it seems relevant to anarchism.

Anarchism once flourished in South America—there was even a daily newspaper in Buenos Aires. Surely news in your tiny paper should keep us informed of anarchism there today or at least point to the potential which undoubtedly exists there. I think Brazil, for instance, would be a very fruitful field for

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD chides the Committee of 100 as "masters of double-think, double-speak and double-act" "... who thought that they were helping to get rid of the Bomb by revealing the whereabouts of the emergency government centres." The S.P.G.B. lectures the Committee on its study groups on Cyprus, Israel and South Africa saying "These problems, just like the others which the Committee of 100 dabbled in in the past, are bound up with the tension and disputes of property society. The Bomb itself springs from those very disputes. There is only one way to abolish them, altogether and at once. That is to end capitalism and replace it with Socialism. And what does the Committee of 100 do toward that? Exactly nothing. In fact with their contradictory propaganda and their inconsistent activities they only add their weight to the many other organizations which confuse the working class. In that is their indictment."

THE COMMITTEE OF 100 bulletin *Resistance* contains hints on how to sabotage official telephone switchboards by making calls. Also it informs us that Sir Frank Soskice has informed the National Council for Civil Liberties that Mr. Bert Bensen will be deported (by a Labour government too!) if caught. One of the things that influenced Sir Frank Soskice was Mr. B.'s behaviour after the order was made. Thus is Bert Bensen's touching faith in a Labour government rewarded. Any chance of a Liberal victory this year? . . .

sociological research. In some ways, at least, the situation there today resembles that of Spain in the 1930's—the military juntas, terrible poverty of the masses and peasants, wealth and political hegemony of the Church to mention a few features.

Treatment of international topics will receive a warm reception from your readers. No anarchist can forget Spain and the inspiration it has given the cause emphasises the value of internationalism. In the past there has been too little co-ordination and information in this field. So let there be further articles. But let them be relevant.

Fraternally,  
W. G. LANGFORD.

## We end 1964 £127 down

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London: N.D. 10/-; W.C.1: M.G. 10/-; Cumberland: R.E. 10/-; Glasgow: A.J. 2/10; Hants: T.B. 1/-; Woldingham: F.B.\* 5/-; Montreal: W.F. 17/3; Blandford: K.G. 5/-; Leighton: B. & A.T. 15/-; Stockholm: O.H. 10/-; Warrington: L.A. 2/6; Maidstone: W.E. 5/-; Woodstock: H.C. 13/-; Southend-on-Sea: P.O. 5/-; Sale: A.R. 2/6; San Francisco: Social per L'Incaricato £35/10/-; New York: R. £3/10/-; S.W.6: J.B. £2; S.W.6: Anon £1; Alberta: B.G. 13/8; E.15: E.M. 4/9; Landes: M.P. 17/6; Oxford: Anon.\* 5/-; Glamorgan: I.T. £1; Woldingham: F.B.\* 5/-; Hartfield: D.M. £5; W.C.1: J.W. 4/10; S.E.26: P.S. £5; Australia: H.M. 15/-; Batley: H.N. 10/-; West Bromwich: H.T. 10/-; East Rutherford: A.S.\* 7/-; N.W.3: L.P. £1; Wolverhampton: J.W. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 6/-; J.L.\* 14/-; N.10: G.M. 5/-; N.W.2: D.S. 7/6; St. Louis: J.D. 17/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W. £2; Boston: R.D. £2.

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1964 TOTAL £849 16 1

\*Denotes Regular Contributors.  
Gifts of books, N.W.3: D.R.; N.W.6: S.F.

AN AMERICAN SERVICEMAN in Germany, signed up for three years decided "he didn't choose to kill or contribute in any way whatsoever to an organization devoted to killing". He refused to obey orders, wear a uniform, accept pay or eat. He was jailed for disobedience and discharged on December 29. Paul Valentine, a British naval objector, appeared before a conscientious objector's tribunal in handcuffs but the tribunal did not advise the Defence department to discharge him. The Supreme Court of the United States is hearing a case brought to challenge the draft board's narrow definition of conscientious objection as only applying to believers in a supreme being.

THE SHOOTING TIMES writes "Tomorrow is a New Year. This is the moment we may justifiably look back upon the past year and forward into the new one. We know, of course, what has happened in the last 366 days: we can only guess at what the coming 365 have in store: 1964 was certainly not a bad year. The summer, after all, was a proper summer and the settled warm days continued far into the autumn. One has to go back to 1955, perhaps even to 1949 or 1947 to find a parallel." Elsewhere in this periodical run sub-headings "What makes a hard shooting gun?—and what is the right gun for a boy?" An Irish reader asks "Is there such a thing as a harder-hitting or better-killing gun as opposed to another?" The paper carries six pages of advertisements for guns and accessories including "Czech Arms for Finest Quality and Best Value" and "The Shooter's Bible" (published in the U.S.A.). *The Shooting Times* deplores the plans of the Hunt Saboteurs to snatch foxes from the huntsmen by means of a helicopter because, it says "their concern for the feelings of the fox, must be remote, to say the least. They might argue that fox hunters do not ask the fox if he likes being hunted, which is quite true, and they might try to show that the animal would prefer to try and escape the helicopter rather than the hound." The "S.T." editorial notes, "We may hope that there will be no political interference with traditional sports legitimately conducted".

JON QUIXOTE.

## Contact Column

### Delinquency, Maladjustment and the Community

Homer Lane Society series of Lectures, Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, January 19, David Wills: 'Influence of Homer Lane Today'. Tuesday, February 16, Mervyn Turner. Tuesday, March 23, Joe Benjamin.

### Folk Song Concert

Songs for Banning Bombs and Other Good Causes. Rossellon, McCarthy, Davenport, etc. Hampstead Town Hall, January 8, 8 p.m. Tickets 5/- and 7/6 Hampstead Group, Committee of 100.

### Agony Column

Will A.A.G., Melbourne, Australia, send us his ADDRESS? Freedom Press.

### S.F.

Join the Science-Fiction Club for meetings, book-exchanges, etc. Send s.a.e. for details Box 5, Freedom Press.

### The Anarchist 6

Will be produced by Edinburgh Group. Copy to Bill Jamieson, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Copy date, January 23, 1965.

### 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.

### Book tokens

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If you wish to make contact let us know.

# ANARCHY 47

### DISCUSSES

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# Cinderellas Stake their Claim

The Confederation of Health Service Employees have submitted a claim for a substantial wage increase for all nursing staff. The talks will take place with the Whitley Council on January 12th. One can hazard a guess that the offer from the 'Council' will be around 4%, which will still leave the nurses trailing in the wage rat race. If C.O.H.S.E. will not accept the 4% and demand more and the Whitley Council say No, and No again,

where do the nurses go from there? Early in 1964 a wage claim by the nurses was turned down, and we heard a lamblike bleat from the workers in industry, sure, protest resolutions were submitted to branches and from branches they were submitted to waste paper baskets. Is the same thing going to happen again? Surely industry could do with a couple of days' rest. George Brown will understand, he's a socialist.

## BRICKYARDS NEED SOLIDARITY!

ANY FORM of piecework, no matter what its *nom de plume*, is the employers' best friend. Not only from the point of view of keeping production workers hard at it, but it encourages competition between workers. Whilst one is trying to beat the other, the management gain.

The brick industry has created for itself a nice little problem. The semi-skilled process workers are on piecework, and therefore bash up their weekly earnings, whilst the craftsmen of the A.E.U., and E.T.U., are on time work. Obviously the A.E.U. and E.T.U. boys don't reckon this and are demanding a substantial wage increase. The employers have turned down the claim partly

because of the fear of 'leap frogging'. Strike action will become effective on January 25.

This is a classic example of workers cutting each other's throats and such action is, in fact, being condoned by the unions, semi-skilled process workers being in the T. & G.W.U. Obviously under the present system that operates in brick building, some workers have to be on time work. A solution could be found at rank and file level but there would have to be some climbing down from high horses, the conception of 'skilled', 'semi-skilled' and 'labourers' tags would have to be dropped, thus presenting a united front to the employers.

## DIVIDE AND RULE

Recent pay award to London tube workers will certainly 'stir things up'. London busmen will be well pleased, about as happy as the T.S.S.A., with their award of 4.5% compared with the manual railway workers 9%, excluding railway shopmen who for the moment are waiting to see the Railways Board. Transport workers are about as divided as they can be. This is crazy any time but with a government wages policy in the offing it is suicidal, this must be apparent to all transport workers.

## SPARKS TO BREAK 'PACKAGE'

The E.T.U. voted against the package deal for the engineering industry because it left the problem of the low paid worker as severe and acute as ever. The E.T.U. is to exploit the possibilities of using the clause in the agreement which allows for claims submitted on behalf of individuals or groups within an establishment, provided they are based on alleged anomalies or inequities.

When this plan of action was first mooted by the E.T.U., one of the engineering employers is reported as saying this clause is not a way around the three-year deal. Presumably the E.T.U. can expect trouble a plenty.

# Freedom For Workers' Control

JANUARY 9 1965 Vol. 26 No. 1

## Pittance for Ford Workers

46,000 Ford's workers are to receive a 4.2% wage increase on the first week after Christmas. The new rates for 40 hr. week £17 10s. for skilled men, £16 3s. 4d. semi-skilled, £13 8s. 4d. unskilled and £12 15s. for women.

The company refused equal pay for women on the grounds that few women, if any, do precisely equal work to men.

It is reported that the two larger unions represented in Fords, A.E.U., and one of the General Unions, were dissatisfied with the amount, but were outvoted. Fords made it perfectly clear that this was their only and final offer.

The interesting part of the negotiations was the desire of the Company to persuade the unions to sign a statement recognising the need to achieve "constant improvements in efficiency".

George Brown has set the fashion and from the employers point of view, the style suits them nicely.

This improvement in "efficiency" can mean the introduction of diabolical strokes, e.g., belt speed up, less men on the belt, transferring men all over the plant at a moment's notice, even shifting them from one Ford plant to another. Ford's Management wants human automatons. The company's production figures were only 5% higher in 1964 than they were the previous year so one can imagine they are virtually at the door of bankruptcy. Perhaps one should offer up the "Ford's Prayer".

Our founder who art in Detroit, Henry be thine name.  
Thine executives come,  
Thy will be done as it is in Dagenham,  
Give us this day our daily schedules  
And forgive us for our Un-American activities.

For thine is the foundation,  
The power and the old glory,  
Forever and ever Yeah Man.

## The New Back Page

IN RECENT YEARS, in the Anarchist Movement in Britain, there has been a lack of interest in the industrial scene and this has been reflected in FREEDOM. It is only in the last two years that there has been a regular coverage of this field of struggle. Although important, we feel that it has not been enough and so with the introduction of the new layout of the paper, it was thought that the whole back page should be given to the industrial scene. It will cover not only disputes, but will also include articles on theory and history.

Even though all comrades may not feel that this field of anarchist propaganda is 'up their street', a number of us, not only on Freedom Press, but also in the various groups, think this side of Anarchism, the Anarcho-Syndicalist facet, has been neglected and from now on we hope to remedy this. To achieve this we ask for assistance from readers and would welcome 'copy' from anyone involved in any industrial dispute as first-hand accounts are always much better. Even news-clippings from local papers or other national editions would be a great help.

### WHY THE CHANGE?

I would say that the vast majority of the present readership of FREEDOM are not industrial workers and so it is hoped, with the new back page, that more workers in industry will buy the paper, leading to the spread of Anarcho-Syndicalist ideas. This in its turn should help the workers in their day-to-day struggle for higher wages and better conditions. We want more men and women in industry to accept our ideas. This is the job we must do and if we don't, we will remain small and ineffectual.

There is the tendency to think of anarchist ideas as being all right for a primitive agricultural society, but not for the complex industrial one in present-day Britain. I feel we have to refute this notion and show that our ideas are just as valid, in fact even more so today than they were in the 19th Century. As Anarchists at that time prophesied, the State is playing an ever increasing role in our everyday affairs. This was highlighted recently with the signing of the Declaration of Intent, the first stage of the incomes policy, by the Government, the employers and the Trade Union Congress.

The Labour Government's assistance to capitalism was foreseen by the weekly journal 'The Economist', who advised

its readers to vote for Wilson & Co. By the time the incomes policy is in full operation, we shall have reached the stage where production will be slackening off. There are signs that this is already happening and as it increases, it will weaken the strength of the workers' bargaining power at national as well as the all-important shop floor level.

The employers will be in a stronger position and no doubt they will press this home, trying to increase the productivity of their employees. The workers are in for a tough time with the Government, the employers and the trade unions united on the incomes policy, for not only will there be a speed-up of production, but also a certain amount of redundancy. This will not be too much, just enough, say about 2%, to keep them on their toes.

I am not saying that we are approaching a slump or even depression, for it is more likely to be a period of higher profits made at the expense of the workers. The Marxist parties and similar smaller groupings seem to look forward to a period of slump as the answer to their prayers. They appear to think that all that has to be done is to sit back and wait for this and the workers will suddenly become revolutionary. This is far from the truth for though these periods may be more fruitful for revolutionary ideas, a basic change is required in people. They must want an Anarchist society and until there are enough people thinking like this, no amount of hardship and misery will bring about the change of society.

### PROPAGATE OUR IDEAS

As a stepping stone to this, we as anarchists can propagate among the workers the idea of greater militancy concerned not only with wages and conditions but also with the control of industry. They, themselves, must control and run their own industries. We of course support industrial action for higher wages and improved conditions, but from the struggle for these should come a consciousness of and an involvement in other aspects of a private or state capitalist society.

There is also the question of our relationship with one another, whether it be our wives and children or our work-mates, whatever their nationality. Workers in their unique position as the producers of all wealth can play a decisive role in the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons and against apartheid. In fact we as anarchists should do our utmost to put this over to the working people of this country. P.T.

## SYNDICALISM: The Workers' Next Step

This is the first of a series of articles which originally appeared in 'Freedom' in 1951 and were then published under the above title as a booklet. This has been out of print for several years, hundreds of the printed sheets having been destroyed in a fire at our printers. We must have many new readers for whom the ideas of Anarcho-Syndicalism have not been adequately expounded, so we are now reprinting the articles, which will once again be published as a booklet when the series is complete.

### 1. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORKERS

PEOPLE who consistently defend both the workers' point of view and the actions they take to further their interests, are frequently accused of "glorifying the workers". They are told that the working man is his own worst enemy and deserves the lowly position he holds in society.

Well, it is not the intention of this writer to glorify anybody. Glorification implies holding someone—some individual or group of individuals—in higher esteem than yourself, looking up to them and lowering yourself in front of their superior powers. This is the basis of all authority, of patriotism—"My country right or wrong"—and can easily become "The workers right or wrong".

This attitude very obviously prevents clarity of thought, and if ever there was a time when clear thinking—and plain speaking—were necessary, it is to-day. For to-day the necessary ingredients to provide a full life for all are available, but they are withheld from us both by our outworn economic system and the abortive reformist "solutions" for its more blatant evils.

No, it is no desire of mine to glorify the workers, or to flatter them into complacency. Instead, I shall endeavour to put before them a reasoned case for what I believe to be the only way in which industrial workers can remedy the mistakes they have made in the past.

Not how can I remedy their mistakes for them, but how they can do it for themselves. And those who hope to find in these chapters detailed instructions of what they should do, may as well stop reading now, for they will be disappointed. Any politician can come along with a policy or a blueprint and ask you to give him the power to carry it out. But it is no part of the Anarchist or Syndicalist case to set ourselves up as leaders or messiahs. The workers have had plenty of those—and look where we are to-day.

What we have to do now is to assess our position honestly and ask ourselves if it is not the very fact that we have given power to those who have sought it that has brought us into the present position. Is it not time we admitted that we have made colossal blunders in the past by giving our power—and I shall show later that it is our power, not theirs—into the hands of political and trade union leaders? For it would be boring and quite unnecessary—if not impossible—for me to catalogue here the unending list of leaders who have used the support, the loyalty and good faith of the workers to get into positions of influence and affluence only to forget the workers when they got there.

This is something practically every worker will admit, and it would indeed be foolish to ignore the logical conclusions—that it is dangerous and useless to continue giving this power to leaders and so we must adopt means of struggle that will keep control in the hands of the rank-and-file.

These means have already been clarified in the ideas of Anarcho-Syndicalism, which is the expression in economic and industrial fields of the social ideas of Anarchism itself. Basing its approach on opposition to capitalism and to the State

which protects it, Syndicalism starts from the point of view of the importance of the productive worker in industrial society.

I say "productive" worker deliberately, and it would be as well from the outset to draw the distinction between the productive and unproductive worker. According to one definition, a worker is one who has "nothing to sell but his labour power", but under capitalism there are millions who fall into that category, but who do no useful work. They sell their labour power to an employer, they are wage-slaves and they may work hard and long, but their productivity is nil because their activity is purely administrative or bound up in some way, direct or remote, with money, its distribution or collection. Too often these 'white collar' workers identify themselves with their employers, whereas their real interest lies in alliance with the productive workers in a common struggle for freedom, in which they could play a key role.

By productive workers, however, I mean those who are concerned directly with the production and distribution of goods, materials or services, even if their products are socially useless, as are armaments, for example. And within the general definition must be included technicians, research workers and advisers—so long as the advice is on production and not on finance.

All wealth is produced, and all social services rendered, by these productive workers, and it is no glorification or flattery to state quite bluntly that they are therefore the most important section of the community. The railways, for example, could function to-day quite efficiently without ticket collectors, but not without the train crews or signalmen, and the more industrialised society becomes, the more reliance must be placed upon, and the more essential become, the productive workers.

This is not apparent to all to-day, because the control of industry is not in the hands of the workers, and the controllers—private employers and State boards alike—are very concerned that the workers shall not realise their strength. For their part, the workers themselves have appeared quite content to remain in a subservient position, asking for, at the most, representation through their unions on joint production committees and other bodies which clearly serve the boss's interests first, the unions' part being mainly limited to issues of welfare and discipline.

Under conditions of full employment, the workers are in a strong position. But the outcry that accompanies every strike of any size (especially in the export industries) shows how modern capitalism depends upon the worker keeping his nose to the grindstone, while the bosses are continually seeking means to reduce labour costs and increase profits. This, and the perennial needs of the export drive, means that ways are continually being sought (not only by the employers, but by the State) to control labour more efficiently. Thus, simply to defend our existing standards of living, vigilance and militancy are constantly needed.

For this purpose, and for others to be outlined later, the workers should realise that their strength is greatest at the point of production, and that action is most effective which is direct and which keeps the initiative in their own hands. For them to look to political parties which take control away from them; to hope that State boards consisting of ex-employers and ex-trade union officials can have their interests at heart, is throwing away their most important advantage—the fact that on the job they are indispensable and union officials, employers, and political leaders are not.

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P.S.