

VIETNAM—WHO LOSES?

THE CURTAIN seems to be rapidly falling on the tragedy of Vietnam. We have been subjected for nearly ten years to the spectacle of the Americans failing to check the advance of the Vietcong, making a patched-up peace, and leaving the Vietnamese to their fate, a Vietnamised war. Now we have seen the shoddy abandonment of their one-time allies by a divided government and a powerless president of the United States. Left to themselves the Vietnamese have no heart for the war, and their corrupted officer-class has beat a hasty retreat.

For ten years this Americanized civil war has raged, but prior to this the Vietnamese (both North and South) fought the French, and before that, the Japanese, for their still elusive liberty. The shoal of left-wing propaganda of the 'sixties was primarily anti-American in form and pro-Vietcong in content.

The anarchists always maintained a neither East Nor West stance and stood (or marched) aloof from the 'Ho-ho-Ho-Chi Mihn' chanters. One anarchist poster showing the distressingly habitual picture of a woman refugee with her child read "Who loses in Vietnam - Always the people". And now we seem to have come to the pay-off of all our hopes and fears for Vietnam.

Without America, Russia or China the war could not have gone on so long, bleeding Vietnam (and America) of its men, its resources (particularly its food growing capacity) and destroying homes and families. There was always the hope of the puppet-masters that their puppet would have a quick victory. The Americans grew tired of the show, and now the show must end - for the time being.

A particularly cynical exploitation has



"BUT MILADY, I'M AFRAID HE'S BEEN AND WENT."

taken place in this war's closing stages. As we all know, the chief products of war are corpses, widows and orphans. The world-wide guilt (particularly of the Americans) for Vietnam's plight is thought to be assuaged by taking care of the orphans.

The popular press just loves children. So cute. So cuddlesome. So what better than a campaign to save the Vietnam orphans from the horrid communists who probably eat babies for breakfast.

Regardless of the fact that many Vietnam orphans were deprived of parents by the Americans in their indiscriminate and reckless bombing and search-and-destroy raids, the appalling *Daily Mail* (engaged like all Fleet Street in a circulation scramble) chartered a plane to take orphans from Vietnam. Babies and sentimentality sell papers.

Regardless of the fact that many of the so-called 'orphans' are children fathered by American soldiers, who have gone back home to something more approaching a natural civilized life than the exigencies of the hastily-gathered and soon-regretted pleasures of war, the colourless American president is seen fondling

an orphan. Babies and sentimentality gain votes.

It is not possible at this point to go into the difficulties of adjustment for an uprooted child - "a stranger and afraid in a world I never made" - but even granted that an indoctrination into communism is undesirable, so is an indoctrination into the capitalist-consumer ethos. Which can be resisted most successfully is a debatable point but there is no evidence, and in fact the contrary is true, that communists treat children badly. The whole operation reeks of a public relations stunt and, as the *Guardian* correspondent said, it would be more appropriate (but less rewarding) to ask for households prepared to take a middle-aged South Vietnamese army major (ret'd.) in their bosom.

There is no refuge from oppressive government and peoples who put their trust in one government or another must expect to be betrayed. Vietnam occupies the centre of the stage now, but shift the scene to Kurdistan and the same scene of long lines of betrayed refugees (this time by making a peace, not by losing a war) is played out against a different backdrop. So with Cambodia.

Who loses in Vietnam? Not the American politicians who will brazen it out; not the Vietnamese politicians who will have their bolt-holes; not the Vietnamese brass-hats who will die in bed; but the people. The Vietcong commissars and party members will win power unless the people refuse, as they have refused the power of the Japanese, the French and the Americans.

Jack Robinson.

PLIGHT OF HOMELESS

PROPERTY IS THEFT. This slogan is as true today as it was in the last century. Today the reign of the private landlord is coming to an end. Now most people are housed either by a local authority or they own their own house.

As with the employer, there is no such thing as a good landlord; some are just worse than others. But for many people the only chance of getting housed has been by the private landlord. This section of the population is composed of those who haven't enough points to get a house through their local authority. It is the single person, or families who find themselves at the bottom of the ever-increasing housing lists.

Such a situation comes about because ownership is the foundation of the capitalist system. Vast profits have been made and still are made by the ownership of property. Profits derived from exploiting one of the basic needs of people, a shelter over one's head.

But nowadays the small private landlord is no longer finding it profitable to own one or two houses or to let out rooms. As with the small shopkeeper,

they are being squeezed out of the market. Basically I suppose we should not shed any tears because of this, but at the same time it does mean that ownership and with that ownership, power over our lives is further concentrated into fewer hands.

However, because the small landlord is no longer finding it profitable to let out his property, it means less accommodation available to those who have already suffered the most. This has come about because recent legislation aimed at helping these people has in fact had the opposite effect. Because the 1974 Rent Act gave security of tenure to tenants of furnished property and also gives some protection against rent increases, it has meant that tenants have some control over the traditionally arbitrary way the private landlord treats his tenants. In retaliation, landlords are just not letting their property. It is estimated that this type of accommodation has fallen by a third. This figure came from a survey of "rental" noticeboards, and a similar

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Mr. Ian Smith said that "I believe we have got to accept that the time will come when the leaders will come forward from this [African] section who will be mature and responsible people." Mr. Sithole, previously detained by Mr. Smith, was allowed out to go to the meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Dar es Salaam. Mr. Sithole had previously been charged with plotting the assassination of his political rivals. This charge was dropped and he was detained on grounds of his advocacy of violence. Pressure is supposed to have been brought by South Africa for his temporary release, but Rhodesia explained that the (edited) speech by Mr. Smith did not mean to give any impression that Africans would become Rhodesia's new leaders.

At the Young Liberals annual conference, an office-worker delegate said, answering an attack on Jeremy Thorpe, "I am speaking in favour of the Liberal leadership. If there is to be any getting out to be done from the party it should be done by the libertarian socialists, these people who came into the party under the spurious guise of their anarchist policies."

A FEATURE article in Granma (the official organ of the Cuban Communist

IN BRIEF

Party - see this week's Freedom supplement p.) entitled "Identification card and population register: another step forward thanks to the work of the masses", concludes "Again the masses have been instrumental in another step forward of the Revolution for their own benefit."

Granma also claims that Henry Kissinger has a car with a back seat fitted with an ejector device "in case of fire or other dangers of this kind". I thought that was James Bond!

Sam Lovejoy, an American objector to nuclear power stations with their dangerous potentiality, wrecked a tower (strobe) light at Northeast Utilities power station in Western Massachusetts. He gave himself up to the police. In court he managed to put over a statement on the dangers of radiation from such plants, called several technical witnesses on this point but, unfortunately or fortunately, he was found Not

Guilty on a technicality. He had previously said, according to War Resistance, commenting on a friend's decision to go to jail for possession of psychedelic drugs, "I could see doing prison time, but not for something like drugs - it's have to be something I believed in."

IT WAS reported in the Basildon Standard Recorder (17.3.75) that a speech by Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group at Basildon Arts Centre was cancelled because only two people turned up. He was due to speak on unemployment.

The National Council for Civil Liberties put out a memorandum recommending that the defence of 'entrapment' should be available to defendants claiming they had been enticed to commit a crime by a police agent-provocateur. The Home Office has directed the police not to incite crimes but the law is at variance with the Home Office.

VILLAGERS at Paglesham, Essex, 'squatted' in trees threatened by felling and managed to hold up the destruction.

Colonel David Stirling has disbanded GB 75 (exposed by Peace News) and has advised members to transfer to the Movement for True Industrial Democracy. He says this organization has strong trades union links and 'will fight the militants at every level from the factory floor upwards'.

A HEADLINE in The Observer reads 'Rules for Casting Out Devils will be Changed'. This refers to a recent case when a man who had associated with a Christian group became insane and murdered his wife after an exorcism ceremony. One of the newspapers referred to 'an unspeakable crime' and have fairly full details.

THERE IS a possibility that Fakenham Enterprises, the Norfolk women's co-operative, may have to close down. With the business recession, sub-contracted orders have declined and Scott Bader of Northampton who gave financial help to start the enterprise says it is no longer prepared to help.

Sancho Panza.

HOMELESS

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one taken from newspapers showed a fifty per cent drop.

But as with all laws, this one can be circumvented in a number of ways. This is being done by offering rooms and flats as 'holiday accommodation' in such unlikely places as Paddington. A cup of tea and a piece of toast left outside your door can be classed as bed-and-breakfast. Other landlords just leave their property empty. There are 675,000 empty houses in England and Wales. The Greater London area accounts for 100,000 of these, of which 10,000 have already stood unoccupied for over two years.

Many of the larger property companies are selling to sitting tenants. Some are also selling to the local authorities. This might help the long housing lists, but it doesn't help those who are not qualified for council housing.

Certainly no property, whether council or private, should remain empty while people are in need of homes. Frank Allaun, Labour M.P., has this situation in mind with his Requisitioning of Empty Houses Bill. If the Bill becomes law (a second reading is scheduled for May 16), local councils can take over properties which have been empty for six months or more. If repairs are needed, which is very likely, tenants from housing lists can be moved in and charged "fair rents". However, the landlord would still get an income from his property, less deductions for repairs and management costs incurred by the council.

This is a very weak reform as it only forces the landlords to let quickly. It still gives them an income and, given the past records of most local councils in London, it is doubtful if they would make full use of such legislation. In fact, councils do not even repair and occupy their own empty houses, and in the current financial squeeze their budgets are being cut back. If Frank Allaun's Bill gets the required majority it will still only bring relief to a few families, for the reasons I have given. But with other social injustices that exist in a capitalist society, direct action if taken on a big enough scale could dramatically alter the plight of the homeless. That direct action is, of course, squatting. Such action is fully justified whether the empty property is council or private. Often it is difficult to know who are the worse offenders. But the self-help movement of squatters and their associations is a direct response to the misery and needless suffering brought about because of the profits that can be made from the ownership of property.

Such ownership should be held in common, for just as no one should be another's master no one should use the ownership of property to exploit and make a profit from a basic need. As with everything produced for human needs, everyone should have free access to a home. There is no human reason why enough homes cannot be built or made available for accommodation, except profit. Abolish the profit motive and the system it supports and then we could start solving the housing problem. In the meantime, all power to the squatters movements and those tenants associations who are fighting for better and more housing in their areas.

P. T.



"THIS BOY IS ONE HUNDRED PER CENT RELIABLE. HE WAS ON THE ESCAPE COMMITTEE AT BUTLIN'S HOLIDAY CAMP."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

WEST GERMANY. The raids on the George von Rauch and Tommy Weissbecker houses carried out by the West Berlin police immediately after the liberation of Herr Lorenz by the Second of June Movement, turn out to have been far worse than we were able to report at the time. In fact the police seem to have indulged themselves in an orgy of blind destructiveness as a reaction to their enforced impotence whilst Lorenz was being held. Over three hundred police not only smashed down doors and windows in the two houses, but destroyed the heating systems, washing machines, furniture and bedding. In fact, the two houses were rendered uninhabitable, and similar damage was done to a youth centre in Schöneberg, and a socialist centre in Stephanstrasse.

Over here we expect that kind of thing from our local council's housing policy, but not from our wonderful police.

MEANWHILE, the land of "industrial

THE FORECASTS made in the Italian anarchist magazine *A-Rivista Anarchica* are unfortunately about to come true. The Italian Christian Democratic party, led by that power-mongering "porco" Amintore Fanfani, have proposed a Public Order Bill which will drastically erode the average Italian's civil liberties. The excuse used by the Christian Democrats is that the bill is essential to stem the rising tide of criminality. However, various of the proposals are clearly intended to be of use in the event of political demonstrations.

Article 1, for instance, allows for "protective imprisonment" - the case of people suspected of serious crimes. In this country it is called "internment" or "detention without trial". This, surprisingly, was the normal way of things in Italian "justice" until the trial of Giuseppe Valpreda commenced. The Valpreda law (as it is known) took this heinous sanction, which had its origins in the times of Mussolini, off the statute book. Now Fanfani wishes to reinstate it.

Article 4 widens the powers of arrest to almost limitless proportions on the suspicion of carrying arms. Police in Britain are well-known for their tactic of busting people on the suspicion of carrying drugs and then framing the "suspects". If the Marini and Valpreda trials are anything to go by, the police won't even have to produce the alleged "found guns" in court.

Article 20 makes it a criminal offence to resist arrest. The possibilities that this sanction could have in the event of demonstrations are indeed formidable.

Thus, Fanfani, and the neo-fascists,

co-determination" (*Mitbestimmung*) has experienced its first factory occupation. The workers at a factory in Kalletal-Kalldorf for the production of machines used in the plastics industry have occupied it (and the management's offices) to prevent it being closed down and its machinery being taken away. Unemployment is running at a post-war high in the fatherland of the "economic miracle".

PORTUGAL. According to the *Sunday Times* there have been 465 strikes, lockouts, factory occupations and dismissal of directors and managers by the workers since October 1974, much to the chagrin of both capitalists and the Armed Forces Movement. Workers' councils and committees, with very high participation by the workers, are being set up left right and centre. Many of the multinational companies, who are only in the Iberian peninsula because of the cheapness of its labour up to now, are contemplating withdrawal. Labour unrest is scarcely less marked in Spain too. Whole pages of the Spanish exile papers, *Combat Syndicalist* and *Frente Libertario*, are devoted to detailing all the latest strikes in Spain.

Presumably the Multinationals will now turn more and more to Asia for

ORDER

will be delighted if this bill becomes law. Both are using the "public order" ticket in the forthcoming regional elections in Italy. The Christian Democrats and Fascists are not officially fighting the election on a joint platform but the similarity of the two parties cannot help but become painfully obvious.

What of the vanguard of the proletariat as regards this premeditated state crime? The Italian Communist Party's newspaper, *L'Unità*, has not yet even mentioned this proposed Bill. The reason for that being that the P.C.I. wishes to present itself in the elections as the proposers of the "historic compromise" between the Christian Democrats, the Church and the Italian Communist Party, and hence it is essential to appear "orderly" and "respectable". The fact that these proposed laws will cause political oppression of the proletariat is of little concern to the P.C.I., who know all about oppression already.

The Italian Socialists have, at least, voiced reservations about Articles 1, 4 and 20, and left it at that. There is no intention on their part to seriously challenge the proposals. The Italian political weekly, *L'Espresso* summed up the Socialists' attitude perfectly when it said that, like Napoleon in Russia, the P.S.I. have retired without actually having lost any battle. We all know what happened to Napoleon's troops during their retreat.

Francesco.

their pools of cheap labour. After the death of Chiang Kai Shek they will be wary of going to Taiwan, but there are still suitable right-wing governments and dictatorships in "free world" Hong Kong and the Philippines, not to mention South Africa and most of South America. For how long?

ITALY. Belgrado Pedrini, the veteran anarchist anti-fascist partisan is back in the "House of Labour" after his ten days' parole in early March. The three years he has to spend in this penal institution are supposed to "re-adapt" him after the thirty years he has spent in Italian jails. We are sure that immediate liberation would do far more for our old, and physically ill, comrade. Letters demanding his release can be sent to:

Guidice di Sorveglianza,
Dott. Antonio Giannipieri,
Tribunale penale di Pisa,
PISA, Italy.

D. L. M.

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WORKERS CONTROL OF CAPITAL

WORKERS' CONTROL OF CAPITAL

Dear Comrades,

The minds of people like Jack Robinson seem to constantly flit between past and future utopias, so that when someone tries to indicate lines of action that could be usefully followed in the present it naturally escapes their attention. Since I was not writing on the nature of past-capitalist society, I fail to see the relevance of his remarks on this subject and I am afraid that until the wageless, classless, moneyless, society arrives there are more immediate matters to be concerned with.

What on earth is this "classical idea of capital" that he refers to? I can only guess that he has in mind various component parts of capital such as instruments of labour, means of subsistence, raw materials and exchange values, but even in the economic textbooks these are discussed as an aid towards arriving at a working definition of capital. It is not a classical idea of capital that produces commodities but capital at work and, as Marx has said, "The quantity of these products can have no effect on their character as commodities." Calculations necessary to the operations of capital, whether aimed at with the aid of pencil stub writing on the back of an envelope or by a battery of computers have everything to do with capital when it is put to work.

As to my not being specific, I could hardly have been more so when I advocated that pressure be brought to bear on unions to make them invest their funds in enterprises involving a high degree of workers' self-management, and urged that the range of options open to unions in the field of investment be considered. If we consider the former course in concrete fashion, and not in abstract fashion as J.R. does, we can see what is involved; it would mean that workers were able to exert a measure of control over a specific portion of

Erratum

THE NATION STATE

Dear Friends,

Somewhere along the line, the meaning of the very last line of my letter (29 March) has been almost reversed.

"It is not, I fear, the shortcomings of man, that are to blame for the violent and unjust society", should have read:

"It is not, I fear, the shortcomings of the system, so much as the shortcomings in man, that are to blame for the violent and unjust society."

Many thanks & all the best,

Brian P. Boreham.

Hampton Hill,
Middlesex.

capital held in reserve by unions and represents a more positive approach than merely condemning the unions for investing their funds in capitalist enterprises. My concern that workers should attempt to understand the workings of the financial system springs from the fact that an increasing number of worker representatives will in future be elected, in some cases appointed, to boards of management. They will not be elected and revocable as the syndicalists would wish them to be, so another question arises. Who will guard the guards? Workers on the shop floor will need to have some knowledge of financial management in order to evaluate the reports of their "representatives" regarding the financial status of the company.

I also referred to co-operatives since all of the functions of co-ops can be performed by the syndicalist union. Such schemes could easily have been carried out by the Bourses du Travail of the CGT or District Industrial Councils of the IWW. Nevertheless, co-operatives are a very useful beginning and in some cases may lead those involved towards syndicalism. Note how quickly the Italian glassblowers I referred to moved towards the idea of industrial unionism.

As to alleged differences between anarcho-syndicalism and syndicalism I do not know of any but the prefix anarcho is often omitted for the sake of brevity, and some like myself would hesitate to use it for fear of our ideas being identified with those of people like J.R. There are, of course, differences between some forms of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism as the record of relations between the FAI and the CNT bears witness to. For the rest, there have been some differences in priority and emphasis between various syndicalist unions but these can be accounted for by reference to specific local conditions and historical factors.

I fail to see what relevance Mussolini has to anything I wrote since he did not borrow his ideas from Labriola, nor did he borrow the ideas of anti-patriotic or anti-military campaigns from the CGT. But J.R. has raised an interesting point and it may be as well to deal with it. Professor Megaro has stated that, "In 1911, Mussolini clearly saw how certain deformations of syndicalism would cause it to end up in a theistic, patriotic, nationalistic, anti-socialist caricature. This is an acute description of what was to be known as fascism." (*Mussolini in the Making*, by Gaudeno Megaro, 1928.)

Mussolini stated in an interview in 1926 that he owed more to Sorel than to any other thinker, and here is a specimen of Sorel's "syndicalist" thinking: "The Confederation of Labour will prove an officious council of labour, a sort of academy of the proletariat which will confer with the government as, for instance, agricultural societies do." Here,

in embryo, is the idea of the industrial corporations forming an integral part of the fascist state, and the resemblance between fascism and the ideas of guild socialism, another deformation of syndicalism, as propagated in Britain by G.D.H. Cole and others, is worth noting. Syndicalism aims to replace governments and the political state of capitalism and the idea of a federation of industrial unions consulting with and subordinate to government represents the very antithesis of syndicalist ideas on this subject. But speaking of fascism reminds me of Michael Tobin.

The Nation State

Tobin, the author of that mess of slushy sentimentality bearing the grandiose title *Of Man and Revolution*, is busy promoting fascist ideas at the same time as he is warning of creeping fascism. The analogy between the state and a human or animal organism is one of the basic tenets of fascist theory and is peculiar to no other political philosophy, although modifications of it are often used by conservative politicians in Britain. The social implications are obvious; no member of the body ought to fight against another member, and it is a recipe for social passivity. Individual citizens are to be subordinate to the state as individual cells are subordinate to the human body as an organic unity. Hitler put it very simply, "You are servants of the nation, but you alone are nothing. As part of the organic whole you are everything".

Tobin claims that the state is "an organism made up of people just like the human body is made up of cells". I wonder where he borrowed that idea from? I could name quite a few leading fascists who have propagated this idea. Followed to its logical conclusions it will lead Tobin and others like him towards fascism. Particularly so, since he seems to have rejected rational attitudes and his ideas are couched in highly emotional and romantic terms - just like the fascists.

To judge from his latest epistle his mind seems to be wandering in ancient China among other places. I don't know how many varieties of the Chinese language there happen to be but in Europe the solution of national languages with a codified grammar* had to await the invention of printing, just as the development of commerce had to await the trans-

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*Codification of grammars was basically a late-17th century--early 18th century activity. Chaucer and Dante both wrote long before printing presses. (not to mention "Beowulf"), Goethe a long time after - national literatures tend to arise from individual writers of genius, who may exploit technological innovations, they are not created by printing presses. D. L. M.

ONE OF the major objections to the classless society is that it is "against human nature", in other words that everyone is only looking out for themselves and to hell with everyone else. The usual reply to this is that many primitive people actually live in societies without government or inequality of wealth (not that one is ever found without the other) and that therefore anarchy cannot be at odds with human nature. This, of course, isn't true for all primitive people, not by a long way. Peter Kropotkin (in *Mutual Aid*) scrupulously gave accounts of head-hunting and cannibalism as well as examples that fitted in better with his anarchist theories. But I am not concerned with showing that anarchy is inevitable (it is not), only that it is possible. From studies made of primitive peoples it is obvious that a society is possible where no individual or group has more wealth or power than the rest.

I consider that a fairly recent study* of a primitive people throws light on the questions of the relationship between the individual and society, and on human nature, and that in doing so, it makes some important political points. The Ik (pronounced eek) are a small tribe, about two thousand strong, living in mountainous country on the borders of Uganda, Sudan and Kenya. The author of the study, a professional anthropologist called Colin Turnbull, spent about three years in the mid-sixties living with them and his book is a chronicle of the total collapse of a society. Apparently the Ik were formerly nomadic hunters, following their prey all year round and rarely stopping long in any one place. Presumably they were like other peoples who live this sort of life: Turnbull writes that "hunters frequently display those characteristics that we find so admirable in man: kindness, generosity, consideration, affection, honesty, hospitality, compassion, charity and others" (p. 26), and he produces strong evidence to show that the Ik were once such a people. All that has changed now.

The old hunting grounds of the Ik are

**The Mountain People*, by Colin Turnbull, first published in Britain in 1973 and currently available as a Picador paperback at 75p. All quotes taken from this edition.

WORKERS' CONTROL OF CAPITAL Continued from Page 4

sition from a natural economy to a money economy. Nor did any national literatures exist before the invention of printing. It has been truly said that there is no German literature before Goethe, only legends and fairy tales. If Tobin had any idea of how very complex in its origins is the modern nation state he would not rush in like a fool where angels fear to tread. As for his description of myself as a statist and not an anarchist, I cannot think of anyone less capable of defining statism, anarchism or anything else than Michael Tobin.

Fraternally,
Henry Bell.

LESSONS FROM THE IK

now a National Park, which means that they are not allowed to hunt in them. Instead they are supposed to farm infertile land that is visited by a drought at least every fourth year and this without any tradition of farming. The Ik were apparently persuaded to settle themselves in the mountains just before the Second World War and so, when Turnbull studied them, they had spent thirty years on and below the starvation level in an environment they could not come to terms with. Faced with death they have stopped being a society and instead have become an agglomeration of individuals. Any food acquired by an individual is hidden away from everyone else, including spouse, children and parents, and eaten as rapidly as possible in order to avoid having to share it. One of the book's photographs shows two young boys, one a few years older than the other and is captioned "Liza starved to death, while his older brother Murai thrived, eating food in front of him. Yet Liza showed no hatred, no regret, nothing. As Murai said, surely it is better that one lives than that both should die." The book abounds with scenes of this sort: perhaps the worst are the deaths that Turnbull describes, particularly that of the young girl Adupa who, by the standards of the Ik was mad, since she took food to her parents and wanted love in return, as if love still existed among the Ik. Finally her parents let her into their stockade. They then left and locked the stockade behind them. The caption to the photograph of this small child, obviously starving, reads, "She was too weak to break out, and after a few days her dead body was unceremoniously thrown out."

This, then, is the life of the Ik. Turnbull draws one conclusion himself: "The Ik teach us that our much vaunted human values are not inherent in humanity at all, but are associated with a particular form of survival called society, and that all, even society itself, are luxuries that can be dispensed with." (Page 243) We can now see where the ideology of our capitalist masters is leading us: to the stockade where Adupa starved to death. As Benjamin Franklin said in another context, "We shall hang together or hang separately," and we now know exactly what the "hanging separately" means. We will cooperate, treating each other as equals, or we will live as the Ik do. Human nature is on our side only as long as living in society benefits us, and "The Ik have successfully abandoned... qualities such as family, co-operative society, belief, love, hope and so forth, for the very good reason that in their context, these militated against survival" (p. 239).

Survival is humanity's basic urge. Those who lacked this urge died off thousands of years ago and left no descendants. The fate of the Ik is therefore a possibility for all of us, particu-

larly in a competitive/capitalist society such as ours, where the philosophy of "Sod you Jack, I'm alright" is supported by the forces of economic production. This is the trend of competitiveness and the question is by what means we are to oppose it.

One answer is state socialism but this is already known to be a failure. As Bakunin predicted last century it is nothing but a dictatorship, one ruling class having been exchanged for another. This leaves us with libertarian socialism, that is, anarchism, which is divided into two currents, individualism and collectivism. The final lesson from the Ik is that individualism, Max Stirner's "union of egoists" is a fraud. We now have a picture of what a "society" composed merely of individuals would be like and individualist anarchism is refuted in practice as well as theory. The road to the classless society must therefore be one of the collectivist anarchist theories, either anarcho-syndicalism or anarchist-communism.

B. H. Moseley.

Another view:

There is a case to put forward for the necessity for anarcho-syndicalist methods of supplying society's needs; there are criticisms to make of the egoist position. If we are to persuade our Stirnerite comrades (or wish to have a bash at them) it will be necessary to find more relevant illustrations. No kind of anarchism enters into the situation of the Ik. It is doubtful that there is individualism. They are a people whose life has been deliberately destroyed - in their case by the British - , as the North American Indians were destroyed (in terms of morality, the US and that means all who live in them, have no right to exist). Many peoples with a good and caring society have been and are being destroyed; individual Eskimos die of hunger, the pigmies can survive little longer, the people of the Brazilian rain forest are soon to be buried alive under concrete. All of them dying in a doomed attempt to continue living as themselves among other people who will not let them be.

The Ik people appear to be motivated by the simplest instinct for species survival ("surely it is better that one should live (i.e. the most successful in the struggle for survival)..."). Adupa is a girl child - not a hunter. Would a "union of egoists" have meekly given up their hunting grounds which were their whole life, physically and spiritually? Probably the greater number would individually survived had they merged (been permitted to merge?) into the motley components of the artificial nation states of Uganda and Kenya, then under the British, when they could not defend and hold their hunting grounds. Even after

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LAND NOTES

IN 1940, when I started farming, there was a crisis when the British method of selling manufactured goods and importing cheap foods was interrupted. British farming was then not so committed to the use of oil, and a substantial part of the horsepower required to make farming work was still supplied by horses. Since then they have all but disappeared, so I was interested to learn from a recent farming programme that a firm was actually starting to manufacture horse-drawn implements.

Agricultural production was very much increased in 1940 and provided a substantial part of Great Britain's food. The contribution of individuals with allotments was also quite substantial. Boyd Orr, who was partly responsible for a more rational food and agricultural policy in Britain during the war, was keen to get the nations to do this on an international scale, but the commercial and national interests were too great.

Agriculture has since been developed on the same industrial and financial lines that dominate western civilisation. Farms have grown larger, more specialised and completely mechanised, run by a few specialists, and the old family mixed farm with rotating crops and animals has largely disappeared.

LESSONS FROM THE IK

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that catastrophe they might have provided an existence one step above starvation for all their individual members had they learned or been taught how to get some food out of their miserable soil; and perhaps with the best chance of all as collectivist farmers. Either way, the Ik, nomadic hunters, are dead. Dead without ever having heard of Stirner or Sorel or Manotte or egoism, conscious or unconscious, or communism or anarcho-syndicalism. Only knowing that there is not food to keep all of them alive. Because people who live in a different way will not let them live in theirs.

We are not able to live in our surrounding society as anarchists of any "ism", but it is not the individualist anarchists who stand in the way of our being anarcho-syndicalists. If indeed the forces of economic production and competitive capitalist society faced us with the fate of the Ik, the collectives and syndicates could get food and cloth and shelter only by doing and taking what was in our power. If we did persuade a sufficient number and triumph over the remainder of our liberal, conservative, socialist, communist, individualist, capitalist, Trotskyist, Maoist and don't know neighbours to actually possess the means to grow food, spin and weave cloth, make bricks, catch fish, dig coal, generate electricity, gather and purify water and dispose of sewage in a network of collectives, our last problem as anarchists would be to ensure that we did not leave the fate of the Ik to any outside them.

M. C.

The advocates of the industrial methods contended that it was the only way to feed the rising population of the world, and indeed, to western populations in the period of 'never had it so good' affluence with the chickens turning on spits on every high street and the supermarkets obscenely bursting with products, this may have seemed so. In Bombay and the Third World, the reality was very different.

Although there were one or two warning signs and people like Dr. Schumacher and books like *Silent Spring* were sounding the alarm, it is only in recent years with sudden shortages and great price rises that the idea has impinged on people's consciousness that all is not well. Circumstances in Britain changed after the war but the behaviour and attitude of politicians and economists did not. The difference in circumstances was recently emphasised when the price of oil added to the basic difficulties that were already there. An economy based on making things and selling them abroad depends on how far the prospective purchasers are able to make them themselves. The days when Britain, first on the industrial scene, was in a position to command the sources of raw materials cheaply, able to buy food cheaply, and power the factories with cheap power, are gone. The increase in manufacturing capacity has increased the demand for raw materials & food, therefore those countries with ample primary resources are able to compete. Britain is no longer in this category. The politicians and economists living in the cloud-cuckoo land of industrial technology are mortgaging the country against a flow of oil from the sea, ignoring the fact that the basic difficulties existed before this oil was discovered.

It is essential for survival that the emphasis be shifted from industry to agriculture. Industrial technology has reached its significantly sinister potential destructiveness in nuclear power with dangerously unsolved problems. This aspect is different in kind from the other ecological and social dangers that exist with the unrestrained growth of industrial technology. Agriculture too has been industrialised and presents similar ecological dangers. There is a conflict between husbandry and economics, the market place and monetary values dominate, and food as a commodity conflicts with food as a human need.

It should be self evident that a stable agriculture is essential for a stable civilization. Therefore the following questions must be asked and answered:

- 1) Is the relative balance of agriculture and industry the right one?
- 2) Is the method of agricultural production with regard to ecological and social factors the most efficient way of producing food?
- 3) In the face of world starvation can the continued use of imported feeding stuffs be supported?

In many respects agricultural activity has become just as joyless as most industrial activity. Gone is the cooperative nature of the work; monotony has replaced the hard physical work. One might say that this was a good thing if it led to a more satisfying life.

To analyse one farming activity of which I have some experience, that of dairy farming. When I first looked after cows there were two men looking after about 30 cows and their followers. The food was largely produced on the farm and the dung put back on the fields. The cows lived much longer and 8 or 9 lactations was by no means uncommon. Now one man rushes a hundred or more cows through a parlour, feeds the cows on large quantities of imported feeding stuffs and when a cow becomes troublesome from disease or low fertility it is sold. Nowadays a cow only survives two or three lactations. It is alleged to be progress when instead of relying on a cow's ability to process the cellulose in grass into a human food, endeavours are made to increase productivity by feeding it imported concentrated cake. The result is more milk, but from many more acres -- of land so far away that it does not receive the benefit of the cow's dung. The great increase in the price of feeding stuffs is beginning to bring home the false economy of these activities.

It is obvious that as in all fields of human activity there has to be a change of motivation. The pursuit of profit is a joyless anti-cooperative activity. It has taken the pleasure out of most human activity. It has resulted in dangerous consequences from the point of view of human survival. The consequences are rapidly becoming self evident in these times of opportunity and challenge.

Alan Albon.

THE SOCIAL revolution is not a mere political change; it is a fundamental economic, ethical, and cultural transformation. A conspirative minority or political party undertaking such a work must meet with the active and passive opposition of the great majority and therefore degenerate into a system of dictatorship and tyranny.

--Alexander Berkman

IF SOCIETY were only released of the waste and expense of keeping a lazy class, and the equally great expense of the paraphernalia of protection this lazy class requires, the social tables would contain an abundance for all, including even the occasional lazy individual.

--Emma Goldman

TECHNOCRATIC TERROR

IT IS 6.55 a.m. on Monday 24 March 1975 in Newmarket, Amsterdam. A new week begins in this old Jewish area of Holland's foremost city. Few Jews live here now. For most of its former population were exterminated during the Second World War years of Nazi terror. On this fateful morning a new kind of terror envelopes this neighbourhood. This time it is the terror of the technocrats.

Though it is not yet 7 a.m. many of the Newmarket's residents are already astir. Rumour has it that on this particular Monday morning the police arm of the Dutch State is going to hit the area very hard. The reason: a number of very large houses are 'in the way' of a planned Metro line. But the people who live in them refuse to budge; and they are getting widespread popular support for their courageous stand. Far from budging, the people in the threatened houses have, on the contrary, sought to make their homes more liveable - with pots of paint and plenty of hard work. And in the street outside they have created a menagerie full of ducks, geese and hens, which is the delight of the neighbourhood's children. But the quiet rustic atmosphere generated by the farmyard fowl extends no further than the surrounding houses, on the high outer walls of which large slogans have been stencilled by the local people.

Suddenly at 7 a.m. the normal pattern of the Newmarket's working day street life is shattered by the noisy arrival of a virtual police army with vehicles and equipment of all shapes and sizes. Hundreds of white-helmeted riot police pour out of small black armoured buses. Within a few minutes they are attacking fiercely four of the doomed houses. They have every kind of tool at their command - axes, sledgehammers, tear gas, fire hoses, water cannons, ladders, ropes, guns and even a small tank.

Minutes tick by but they make no impression on the houses. Well constructed barricades have been built over a period of many months behind all the entrance doors and lower windows. The police cannot even fire tear gas grenades into the buildings. Some people in the surrounding houses not due to be demolished begin shouting at the police. They are answered by fire hoses and water cannon which the frustrated State bullies play on their windows until the glass is smashed and water pours through to flood their homes. At the same time other people rush out and run desperately through a veritable wall of water to save the fowl in the menagerie which are almost drowned.

In desperation the police begin using their tank - driving it into the thick wall of one of the houses. Very slowly the wall shows cracks and holes begin to appear. Immediately gas grenades are tossed in through the hole. The defend-

ers inside move upstairs before the relentless police onslaught. Having decided on passive resistance only, they have absolutely no means of countering this massive show of State violence. Without gas masks and coughing and spluttering while trying to cover their pain-filled eyes and burning faces with rags soaked in lemon juice, they are picked up one by one by the highly trained human robots of the Dutch State as they gradually move from floor to floor of the gas filled houses.

After some one-and-a-half hours of this very one-sided 'battle', the police army finally achieve their objective and are in control of the houses and of the surrounding streets now covered with debris - on top of which lie the bodies of several cats which jumped to their deaths in an effort to escape from the tear gas. By this time some forty people have been arrested, and a large group of onlookers and protesters have gathered all around the police cordon encircling the whole area where stand the houses under attack - which at times are barely visible through water jets and tear gas clouds. Many of the watching people can hardly believe their eyes - that this massive show of naked force is taking place in Amsterdam. For nothing quite like this has been seen in this tourist paradise since the Second World War. But this is no nightmare from the Nazi Occupation. For the outwardly democratic Dutch State is showing that it has both the capacity and the will to be just as tyrannical and as brutal as any other one in the face of what it considers to be a challenge to its power and authority.

Throughout much of the rest of that day, which the residents of the Newmarket will never forget, some thousands of people tried to force their way back into the police-occupied part of their town. But each time they were driven back by tear gas, water cannons, and charges by shield-wielding and stick-waving riot police. At times during the evening scenes in the Newmarket might have given the casual tourist the impression that a revolution was in the making - as massed thousands surged back and forth hour after hour against the well-packed police lines to the accompaniment of the loud pealing of the Zuider Kerk bells (rung whenever the police use gas in the Newmarket), the bursting of gas grenades, the flashes and explosions of fireworks, the fierce people's chanting of "Fascist Pigs - Sieg Heil!", and the wailing sirens of racing ambulances taking away the injured.

All this was happening because of the orders given to the police by the technocratic bourgeoisie who now rule Amsterdam. This new bourgeoisie is being backed by the Liberals, the Social Democrats, and the Stalinist Communist Party of the Netherlands. These estab-

lishment political groups provide the dominant and controlling element of the present Amsterdam City Council under the overlordship of state appointed Lord Mayor Samkalden.

The Newmarket people knew only too well the political colour of their city council. And this awareness and what it means for them was clearly shown in the slogan so big as to be readable from hundreds of metres away - on a wall of the house first attacked by the police. It read: "Beware of people of the Right dressed in Clothes of those of the Left for they are our worst enemies".

While the people of the Newmarket have felt most keenly the heel of the technocratic jackboot, most of the other ordinary residents of Amsterdam have also fallen victim in recent years to their new masters: the city planners. As in the case of so many other urban areas in the capitalist and state capitalist world, the life of Amsterdam is now in the firm grip of technical "experts", who form perhaps less a technical bureaucracy than a feudal technocratic aristocracy far removed from the ordinary people. The long-term plan of these experts is to complete several dormitory towns on the outskirts of Amsterdam linked by a Metro system to Amsterdam proper, which they want to see turned into a glass and concrete jungle of office blocks and hotels intermingled with tourist attractions.

In the eyes of these arrogant technocrats the ordinary people of Amsterdam do not matter. They are seen in terms of "things" to be used and manipulated at will. The notion of people *en masse* being directly involved in the planning and organising and general running of their urban community is totally foreign to these technical boffins who see Amsterdam as a kind of social machine requiring to be driven by highly trained experts, i.e. themselves. The end result of this situation is that the technocrats have established a form of dictatorship over the people of Amsterdam.

However, these dictatorial technocrats are not by any means having a clear run. For opposition against their neo-feudal rule is rising daily from amongst the ordinary people of this city - headed by those in the Newmarket area. It is very significant that this grassroots libertarian opposition is not just on the defensive, but has got positive and constructive ideas of its own which if put into practice would solve their city's many problems. For example, they have pointed out that the acute traffic congestion in the narrow streets of the city centre can be easily solved by making the area an auto-free zone; while the severe housing problem can be completely ended by using the Metro money for building houses (the cost of one leg of the Metro alone would be more than enough to pay for all the housing needed; and this is leaving aside the fact that there are some eight thousand empty houses standing idle in this city).

All in all, while the technocrat order-givers and their "Left wing" machine

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TECHNOCRATIC TERROR...

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minded backers have won a tactical victory in Amsterdam with the use of unlimited State force, they have not beaten the ordinary people of Amsterdam whose eyes have been opened by recent events. Judging by the vigour of the Newmarket Action Group and the popular reaction against Black Monday's evictions and police savagery it would seem that the "victory" of the Amsterdam ruling class has been very much a Pyrrhic one.

28.3.75

Michael Tobin.

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Thursday, April 24 in CARDIFF. "Free the 14". 6.30 pm in the Marchioness of Bute (upper room) Frederick Street, Cardiff. (Brit. Withdrawal from N. Ireland Defence Group).

14th April LONDON. Wildcat readers' meeting 7 p.m. in Museum Tavern, Gt. Russell St. WC1. MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Enquire Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M17 2DU

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April 24: Robert Barnes, Class, Culture and Revolt

May 8: Paul Avrich, The Anarchist Ideal

Alternate Sundays London. Hyde Park Anarchist Forum 1 pm at Speakers Corner. Speakers, Listeners & Hecklers welcome.

CONTACT

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM Thursday 24 April. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. (You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding, and informal get-together.)

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

FREEDOM needs an editorial secretary two nights weekly (Monday & Thursday), Whitechapel, 6-9 pm shorthand not necessary, electric typewriter, no pay, fares paid, Contact Editorial Collective,

The Peace Centre needs two new workers, starting summer when Dave and Victor leave. Please reply to Peace Centre, 18 Moor Street, Queensway, Birmingham 5 (tel. 021-643 0996)

We would like to build up an Anarchist Workshop. Our first meeting takes place at FREEDOM, 84B Whitechapel High St, E.1 on Friday April 25 at 6 pm. Please come and let's see what we can do together. Abraham, International Freie Arbeiterstimme.

Chinese Anarchism, its history & its influence on Maoism. Information or contacts to Alan Charles, P.O. Box 460, BERKELEY, Calif 94701 U.S.A.

Poems & Songs wanted from all over the world, for Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology. Anarcho-Pacifist, Anti-Militarist, Anti-Racist, also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements, any language. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church St., London S.E. 5.

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CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick, Coventry.

EDINBURGH. Contact Bob Gibson 7 Union Street, Edinburgh (tel. 031 226 3073)

GLASGOW contact Gerry Cranwell, 163 Great George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson at 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants.

N. London Anarchist Workers Association for working class anarchist activity. Write BCM-N. Lon. AWA, London WC1V 6XX

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