

# THE CHAOS CALLED 'ORDER'

IT WAS a very bad thriller. The Cabinet Minister had a call-girl mistress who was also the mistress of a Russian agent. There had been some crooked financial dealings by Cabinet Ministers and an ex scrap-dealer was found mysteriously dead on the railway line. A former diplomat was paid by a financier (without the approval of his directors) to give advice with regard to an African state, which owing to a revolution was not taken advantage of. The oil reserves of the country were sold by a Cabinet minister to private companies (they were actually the property of the navy), the President was somehow implicated in the scandal and he died suddenly under mysterious circumstances leaving a mistress and an illegitimate daughter. Semi-criminal groups controlled the politics and ran the finances of large cities for many years; their influence was such that they could control the Presidency. For example one man (an architect) had financial contacts high in the Government and he bribed men in local authorities and of some influence to secure contracts for him. The Cabinet Minister was unfortunate in his choice of friends and unwise in his financial dealings, he was forced to resign pending enquiries. Another character was born the son of peasants, he dealt in carpets and for a while he was a fireman. Eventually he got into the armaments business and by his deals with both sides he eventually attained respectability and the honour of a knighthood. Then there was the deserter who was reputedly returned by the Army to the insurgent group to spy on them, he was eventually recalled by the Army but unwisely went back home where the insurgents shot and gravely wounded him; however it was claimed by a newspaper that the ex-soldier was spying on the insurgents for them and he had found out how the insurgents had personally embezzled funds given them for the revolution.

Later the Allies of a South-East Asian State were accused of procuring the assassination of two brothers who were rulers of the State, these brothers were considered too reactionary for the taste of their Allies who nevertheless would not like to see a

Communist power overthrowing them, they, as usual preferred their own revolutions. A clerk in a foreign embassy was blackmailed by compromising homosexual photographs into selling State secrets, the head of his department resigned because of the scandal. One of the technical consultants on the South-East Asian war became disillusioned with the war and gave official papers to a newspaper which publicized them, by this time, even the Government was disillusioned with the war but nevertheless they were out to get the consultant and raided his psychiatrist's office for his case-history. Because of this, and because they approached the judge with offers of high office, the judge dismissed the official secrets case against the technical consultant.

The brother of the President became involved with a shady financier who sought to get exemption from prosecution by reason of large contributions to the President's political party. The shady financier was very friendly with socialist ministers and Trade Union officials and used to quote his friendship as an implication that he could get round official regulations. The candidate for the Presidency gave a girl a lift in a car, the car plunged into a river, the Presidential candidate saved himself but the girl was drowned. The inquest freed him of responsibility but his political enemies always used it against him.

And then there was the big commercial firm in the South American State that consulted its country's secret service to get the Communist South American President overthrown before he nationalized their company, they also made lavish contributions to the Party funds. A Federal Court Judge who sat on the Appeal Court was convicted for bribery, fraud and tax-evasion. The big power decided to invade the little power which it thought might go communist. It decided to set up an invasion force recruited from and by the Secret Service. The Government pretended by elaborate means to know nothing about it. Even their representative at an international peace conference knew nothing about it. Owing to bad planning and the lack of support from the air the invasion failed.

Some of the survivors of the invasion joined the Secret Service and one was said

to have contacted a fellow ex-marine who was running a campaign to support the invaded country. Eventually the other ex-marine was arrested when the President was assassinated but before he could be put on trial he was shot whilst in custody by an assailant who himself died in custody.

The Secret Service man was eventually, with four others, detected by a night-watchman in the office of the opposition party engaged in a clumsy attempt to plant microphones in order that their election strategy could be detected. The men were placed on trial, all except one pleaded guilty since they had been paid to keep quiet. However, the one informant was sufficient to implicate high-ranking Government officers, a number of whom resigned or were relieved of their posts and it appeared that the President himself might be impeached.



IS MY ARREST TO DO WITH THE WATERGATE AFFAIR LADS? ARTHUR MOYSE

To the totally innocent or isolated this all may seem like a far-fetched thriller by Ian Fleming, or Eric Ambler or the more nostalgic among us may think of Edgar Wallace or Harry Stephen Keeler, Phillips Oppenheim or William le Quex. But all these incidents are based on facts from fairly, or very recent history. Some of the corruption is of a familiar kind. The

Teapot Dome Scandal under Warren Harding was purely financial in its ramifications. The ideological corruptions of spy-trials and political assassinations are part of the history of our time.

The Watergate scandals seem in their scope to be purely the corruption of men in power using that power sometimes even to their own disadvantage. This makes it even more unforgivable to the American people. They have, unfortunately, learned to live with financial corruption, there may even be some lingering American individualist kudos in making money. Ideological corruption - real or imagined - seems to be a fever which now and again sweeps through America - and at the moment aided by the weariness of the Vietnam war and Nixon's peace missions to Russia and China - it would seem to be quiescent. The scandal, unless it is just an effort to get rid of Nixon, seems so pointless.

The just-as-abhorrent Spiro Agnew, Vice-President, was said to be President Nixon's insurance against assassination. He would seem to be an insurance against impeachment too. The only thing to be said about the scandal is that it does not disturb the status quo. Whatever happens there will still be a President, a capitalist system, a CIA (unless the Army succeeds in disciplining them). In all this chronicle of corruption one is forced to agree with an unexact quote from Warren Hastings who was impeached for accepting bribes in India when Governor-General in 1788 who said "When I consider my opportunities I marvel at my own restraint." One wonders if President Nixon marvels.

Finally to return to the genuine thriller. In Eric Ambler's *Mask of Dimitrios*, in the conclusion to all the trail of violence, deceit, corruption and double-crossing a character says "All I do know is that while might is right, while chaos and anarchy masquerade as order and enlightenment, these conditions will obtain."

Jack Robinson

tracted by the making of a fast buck.

The self-employed men can get a fat pay packet, especially those who also manage to dodge paying tax. The main contractor sub-lets the work so that they do not have to pay insurance and holiday stamps and the costs of administration which they pay on those directly employed. The lump sub-contractor firm equally has no obligations as its men are classed as self-employed. These firms contribute nothing to the training schemes funds. Main contractors have also not been starting the apprentices necessary to ensure the future skills to the industry. This in turn has led to poor quality work and bad housing which the community feels the effects of.

### Huge Profits

The building industry has in recent years been making huge profits. Only last week Taylor Woodrow announced "record results for 12th consecutive year". They

Continued on page 2...

## LIVING WAGE FOR STUDENTS

ON THE 15TH MAY the Government announced that student grants were to be raised by £20, thus bringing the maximum that can be awarded to any student to £520 per year. A slight improvement was made in the grants of married women students, raised to £275, and the level of parental income at which the means test begins to operate was also raised. These pitiful concessions have been roundly condemned even by the education authorities, for instance, the leader of the Inner London Education Authority called the increase "derisory". In fact, in spite of the "increase" students are now in greater financial difficulties and more dependent on parental benevolence than ever, due to the present

omenal rate of inflation. This situation, quite apart from the fact that it successfully eliminates a large proportion of working-class children whose parents are often unable and sometimes unwilling to support them until they are in their mid-twenties, forces those who do manage to become students to live a life of penury.

The fundamental importance of education is an article of faith for anarchists, a rational education system is an indispensable precondition for a free society, indeed without it such a society is not possible. Only by acquiring knowledge

and the habit of logical thought can fear and the prejudice and hatred born of it be eradicated. That is why access to educational facilities must not be the prerogative of the wealthy or those working-class children whose parents are willing to make considerable and prolonged financial sacrifice.

Students must be paid a wage sufficient to cover their living costs without any parental assistance being necessary, in the same way as other state employees, albeit meagrely, are paid. In this way one of the most blatant economic barriers to children from working-class homes can be removed. Discrimination against married women students must end and discretionary awards (grants paid at the whim of the local authority) must be abolished. This anachronistic system of State aid to the children of the middle class must be replaced by a student wage equal for all those in higher education. Let the Trade Union movement now show its regard for the value of education by giving full and active support to student rent-strikes, demonstrations and sit-ins, and let the anarchist appeal for a free and independent education system be heard above the apologetics of the State.

A Student

## A DEATH A DAY

ON 12 APRIL Marples Ridgeway was fined £150 for errors in the construction of supporting framework which led to the death of three workers, with seven others seriously injured. This work had been sub-contracted out to a firm called Gibson and Piercy who are well-known in the Reading area for doing lump sub-contracting on motorway jobs. The Factory Inspector had been to the site several times before the collapse but did not find anything wrong. But after the collapse they discovered enough evidence to enable them to bring charges against Marples Ridgeway. Although the prosecution was successful, the price which our present system places on the lives of people is very small. The fact that the main contractor was using lump labour was also covered up.

One of the reasons why "a death a day is a part of our pay" is the use by the big employers of a lump firm to do an increasing part of the work. These men are classed as self-employed and are paid a lump sum of money for their work. However a lump firm has no real responsibility to anyone. They go from job to job with little or no consideration for the standard of work carried out or the conditions under which men work. All are at-

### Thought for the week

For all the fulminations of leader writers, the truth is that money comes before ethics in the minds of many investors. We say this with no pride or approval but because in the financial world the end is often considered to justify the means, where the end is profit and the means are not actually illegal.

Investor's Chronicle  
18-24 May

## REVIEWS

### FILM REVIEW

#### TOO MUCH KETCHUP!

Box-Car Bertha. On general release.

LAST WEEK a small sensation was created by the refusal of the ABC chain to book HITLER: The Last Ten Days: all was well however because E.M.I. took it instead. Between them both they control practically all British cinemas (such as are left) and anything not taken by them is financially doomed no matter how much artistic or intellectual merit the film may have. So it is little to be wondered at that the film business is in such a depression and the refreshment interval rakes in the profits and the menace of Bingo decimates provincial cinemas.

A writer to the Times acidly commented apropos of the 'Hitler' film that the cinema magnate's remark that he turned down the film because it was 'poor' is odd because that sort of thing had never stopped the cinema chains showing a film yet! In the provinces this is only too true and as the grip of monopoly tightens, chances of seeing good films grow rarer and rarer.

But occasionally, just by exception to prove the rule, a small blessing falls into the laps of the forty-five p's (formerly the sixpennies!), but just to prove the rule they are rarely unflawed and often yoked to some outrage on the senses and sensibilities. Box-Car Bertha is one such; it should be at present making the circuits accompanied by Slaughter which we are told will 'blow your mind'. It had the effect on me of a fart in the face - perhaps that is what they meant. Either leave when it starts or don't come in till it's over. In such a case (if it's on first) the box-office attendant may ever demur at selling you a ticket, which does happen because they've 'cashed up'. Just assure her you'd be losing time and money by seeing Slaughter.

Slaughter is nothing but ketchup. The black hero (who is really a white man made over for the liberal trade) concludes his quest for vengeance by burning up the villain when the villain is trapped liberally sprinkled with ketchup under his crashed car. Box-Car Bertha has too much ketchup also, but this is practically all concentrated in the end. It is made by Roger Cor-

man whose gangster films, a science fiction film and a spoof horror film based on Edgar Allen Poe's stories have made him somewhat of a Cult-figure and the result is that he tends to be somewhat pretentious.

Box-Car Bertha is loosely based upon Dr. Ben L. Reitman's Women of the Road which, rather like his Second Oldest Profession, a study of pimps and prostitutes, is a sympathetic yet sensational account of the prostitute's trade. Reitman, in his chequered career was reputed at one time to have been resident-physician to Al Capone's brothels. He was a former anarchist (later turned preacher) and for a time was an I.W.W. organizer, during which period he was tarred and feathered by a lynch-mob.

Box-Car Bertha was obviously slated to be Box-Office Bertha judging by the film's posters but Corman succeeds in making sex pleasant and enjoyable; which seems to be a rare thing in the cinema today. His heroine (like Jerry Southern's Gandy) seems to get pleasure out of working in a brothel, which is probably truer to life than some presentations. There is a very funny scene where a Kinsey-like young man asks her questions like "Did you go to church?"; "Was your mother a whore?" which she neatly turns back on him. He then goes on to make a (verbal) survey of the most popular erogenous zones, she counters by telling him her tariff and in no time he is in bed. It is all good dirty fun.

However the slight plot of the film revolves round the picaresque career of Box-Car Bertha with her two 'steady' lovers, a Yankee confidence-man (based on Reitman) and a Southern hobo-labour-agitator of the I.W.W. stripe (based also on Reitman, the agitator). They rove the country by freight train a la Bonny and Clyde but their exploits are almost non-violent (save for one accidental shooting). This film also has a negro heroic character and with Corman's rather overwhelming symbolism he is the avenging angel in the massacre of the 'baddies' at the end. Corman also, consciously I think, makes the two rail-police goons look like Hitler and Mussolini which is too cosmic by far.

The final degeneration of the film comes when the hero, played by David Carradine (John Carradine plays the railroad boss) is crucified by his hands nailed to the sides of the box car. (It was pointed out in Black Flag that the orthodox crucifixion is physically impossible for the body's weight to be borne; but Roger Corman has Carradine standing on a ledge and only his hands are nailed.) It is after this atrocity that the negro

the site because the Tory controlled Council have refused to pay them any more money for the completion of the contract. But new tenders for the job are being invited and Cubitts say they have already submitted their own and so further profits will be made from the basic requirement of a home when the flats could have been built under a direct labour scheme.

#### Killed by the Week-End

Last Friday (May 18) Eric Heffer, M.P. and a member of the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians tried unsuccessfully to get a private member's Bill through parliament to outlaw the lump. The workings of democracy and the fact that Labour M.P.s were more interested in getting away early for the weekend meant that only 56 of them voted instead of the necessary 100 in order to have a vote on the second reading. Closure had to be moved at 4 p.m. being carried by 56 votes to 16, meaning that the Bill has little chance of further progress this session.

When Eric Heffer reported back to building workers in Central Hall, Westminster he was obviously disappointed and got angry when he was shouted down from the floor. But it was not clear that most of the workers realised that they had little chance of outlawing the lump but only the sort of action we had taken that day would ensure its removal. For the lump is well entrenched. The employers use it to ensure higher profits and to prevent and break up trade union organisation on jobs.

Employers are aware that the direct action is the real threat to their interests. In Birmingham charges of unlawful assembly and conspiracy have been made against five building workers who occupied

## TURKEY'S REIGN OF TERROR

TURKEY TODAY. The monthly bulletin of the Union of Turkish Progressives.

WITH THE MILITARY take-over of Turkey in April 1971 another NATO country has followed the fascist path of Greece and Portugal. Despite 11% unemployment and a very high illiteracy rate (possibly 40%), the new regime has embarked on a savage reign of terror. Torture and long terms of imprisonment have been used against all dissidents who question the morality or legality of the state, or worse still, who have left wing or vaguely left wing views. "Turkey Today" gives many examples of this. An editor, Suleyman Ege, whose sentence of 15 years was approved by the Court of Appeal, was originally given 30 years for publishing translations of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The son of a school-teacher tells how he was taken to a police station after his flat was raided and he was continuously beaten for 28 days, after which he was arrested and spent 10 months in jail before being tried.

The regime employs many forms of both physical and mental torture. The most favourite appears to be "falaka" (beating of the sole), sexual abuses, electric shocks and torture of wives in front of their husbands. The police and soldiers are so enthusiastic about ridding Turkey of all 'subversive elements' and take so much delight in torturing, that many people are now permanently mutilated as a result of 'interrogation'. Mere suspicion is enough to be arrested. A young schoolteacher from a village near Bhusa was thought to be a communist or an anarchist. He was arrested and spent 3 months in prison before being tried. In the court, the prosecution witnesses (who were also the informers) repeated the accusation; when asked to define Anarchism or Communism, they could not say a word. Not content to torture 'alleged dissidents', their friends and relatives, the state also imprisons and tortures friends and relations of those friends and relations.

Many more cases are quoted in "Turkey Today" including the case of Professor Soysal. He had been imprisoned and after much protest was released, retried, recommended for acquittal. Despite this he was given

Continued on page 3...

massacres the villains and the heroine goes mad (I think) and runs after the freight train into the distance. . .

Too much ketchup but some meat. J.R.

offices of a firm called SOS who supply lump labour to employers. These charges came two months after the occupation and are the employers' response to the continuing campaign being pursued in Birmingham by trade unionists.

#### Class Legislation

In Shrewsbury last Friday seven building workers were sent for trial on charges of conspiracy, fighting, causing an affray and intimidation during last year's building workers' strike. As we have seen from other conspiracy trials "a nod or a wink" constitutes a conspiracy in law. No direct evidence is needed for a conviction. The very nature of these charges exposes the class nature of legislation and justice that ordinary people in struggle can expect from the courts. When the employers feel threatened the State uses all the most repressive legislation at its disposal to frighten and discourage others from opposing their power and control of society. Such charges and trials illustrate how our society is divided into exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled. It shows that it is not only necessary to struggle against employers but also the State and all its repressive forces must be destroyed before men and women can be really free to create a just and egalitarian society.

The lump is another "ugly face of capitalism" which can set one building worker against another. But like capitalism only the rough edge will be removed by legislation. The direct action methods of strikes, occupations and demonstrations are the means to abolish capitalism. It is not in the corridors of Parliament that the battle will be won but at our place of work and on the streets.

Building Worker.



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# MORONS

LUDOVIC KENNEDY startled the world by describing his BBC colleagues, disc-jockeys on Radio One, as morons with little or no vocabulary. Jimmy Young, the well-known teapusher, audibly moved, spluttered out a reply on his programme.

He was no moron, he'd had Lord Longford, Margaret Thatcher and Harold Wilson on his programme - he was writing his autobiography, he'd written for the Daily Sketch! This outburst was rather spoilt by J. Young's announcement that he was going to be on Radio 2 from July onwards so he could expand his programme's scope.

I forget the name of the D.J. at breakfast time. Repetition has cast his name from me forever, yet I know I value his comments on the world alongside those of R. Nixon. The only worthwhile D.J. who mumbles his way beautifully through his shows is John Peel - who must be amused at the BBC leaping to his defence after doing their best to get rid of him for commenting he'd once had VD.

After that, although Kennedy's an arch-snob on the pronunciation bit, there's something in the lack of critical faculties among D.J.s, who must be the most overpaid non-productive people in the business.

As one who listens to Radio One for the music rather than the D.J.s (who tend to get in the way of the former and repeat certain records ad nauseam) I'd like to express a wish: Can producers of Radio One shows advise their D.J.s to play more jazz.

J.W.

## A HEALTHY INVESTMENT CLIMATE IN MALAYSIA

THE FOLLOWING is based on information in an article published in the Malaysian publication THE MIRROR (26/2/73, page 3).

I cannot vouch for the political orientation of this publication as I found its central pages only on a pile of old newspapers waiting to be put in the rubbish.

Nevertheless I would like to sub-title this article **OR THE CONTINUING SAGA OF NEO-COLONIALISM**, as reminder to all of us, superficially concerned with foreign affairs, that NEO-COLONIALISM is not another meaningless word to be used as "jargon" in our daily political discussions, but a terrifying economic reality and a continuation of centuries-old exploitation of the African and Asian natural resources, using local labour forces as white man's modern slaves, under the consenting eyes of the new black ruling classes.

\* \* \*

"The investment climate in Malaysia is healthier than ever before. Under the Second Malaysian Plan, the private sector's share of investments is targeted at about US\$2,400 millions and the Government is anxious that the flow of foreign investments should be stepped up after the disappointing performance of the last five years...

"The ready availability of land, labour and raw materials, together with relative political stability, is making Malaysia more and more attractive. Inquiries from foreign companies have doubled during the last 12 months...

"The government is also anxious to encourage extractive industries processing raw materials such as rubber, timber and palm oil for export in finished or semi-finished form, and it prefers them to be sited in rural areas where there is intensive under-employment, and no difficulty in getting unskilled and semi-skilled Malay workers...

"One important advantage for new investors is the government's ruling that employees of pioneer companies may not negotiate with employers until the period of pioneer status has elapsed. Consequently, very few pioneer establishments are unionized, and there are regulations limiting the power of unions so that very few have the resources to fight employers. The government will not tolerate industrial unrest, but there has been a rash of wildcat strikes in Kuala Lumpur recently...

"Nationalization is hardly likely since the government is committed to the private enterprise system and does not wish to frighten off foreign investments... At government level, Malaysia is one of the 'cleanest' countries in Asia...

"There are no problems in the remission of profits outside Malaysia, and exchange controls have not been altered since the dissolution of the sterling area.

"Tun Tan Siew Sin is a careful if conservative Finance Minister and is unlikely to introduce any changes to the present tax structures."

Not surprisingly, the Economic Report published in 1971 by Lloyds Bank Ltd., portrays the same neo-colonial situation in Malaysia.

"The Malaysian government offers various incentives, which were increased by the Investment Incentives Act 1968, to promote investment, including foreign investment, in Malaysia. The most attractive incentives are offered to enterprises which qualify for "pioneer status", meaning, broadly speaking, that they must be of special benefit to the economy. Two fields in which investments are especially encouraged at present are industries directly based on agriculture and export industries. Enterprises granted

pioneer status qualify for, among other things, exemption from income tax for a minimum of two years up to a possible maximum of eight years.

"Companies which do not qualify for or do not apply for pioneer status may qualify for an 'Investment Tax Credit' of not less than 25% and up to a maximum of 40% of capital expenditure during a five year period, to be offset against income tax.

"Among other inducements to investment which may be made available are export incentives, exemption from import duty on machinery and, in some cases, raw materials used in manufacturing, tariff protection against foreign competition and preferential government buying of locally manufactured products.

"Fully developed industrial sites are available in Malaysia at reasonable prices and all services required by industrialists are provided. Loan facilities for industry are provided by the Malaysian Industrial Development Finance Ltd., (MIDF), which also underwrites share issues...

"The United Kingdom is by far the principal overseas investor in Malaysia. No official figures exist, but it is estimated that foreign investments total over M\$5,000 million, of which about M\$3,500 million has come from the United Kingdom." (Rate of exchange M\$7.38=£1.00.)

"Malaysia's dependence on external financial assistance has been relatively small, but significant loans have been received from international financial agencies and foreign governments, including the United Kingdom. Loans received during 1970 included three from the World Bank, viz. two totalling US\$21.5 million to help finance land settlement and forestry projects in Jengka in the State of Pahang, and one of US\$20 million to increase the capacity of the Port Dickson thermal-electric power station. In addition, a number of loans were received from the Asian Development Bank, the main ones being for a water supply project at Malacca (US\$5 million), irrigation development for rice-growing in the State of Trengganu (US\$4.2 million) and the expansion of Sibuport in Sarawak (US\$3.5 million).

"The United Kingdom agreed to give Malaysia £25 million of special aid over the five years to March 1973 to help counter the effects of the rundown of British forces, 75% of the amount being tied to the purchase of British goods and services. By May 1971 nearly £23 million of this aid had been committed. In early 1971 the Overseas Development Administration granted a loan of £500,000 for the purchase of machinery and other items for a textile mill being built at Kajang...

"Malaysia is a striking example of a country with too great a dependence on a few basic commodities, especially rubber and tin, which are subject to fluctuations in world prices...

"In 1969 the United States was the principal direct buyer of Malaysian rubber, followed by the USSR and the United Kingdom. Exports of rubber to China have increased rapidly in recent years and following the conclusion of an agreement between the two countries in early 1971 it is expected that China will take between 14% and 16% of Malaysian rubber exports during the coming years.

"Singapore, the United Kingdom, Iraq and the Netherlands are the main purchasers of palm oil and palm kernels, while the United States is the most important customer for tin and Japan takes almost the whole of Malaysia's output of iron ore...

"The need to diversify the economy has been made more pressing by the run-down of British troops stationed in the country, which have been an important source of revenue. Defence spending has had to be increased and, as mentioned earlier, a significant proportion of the proposed expenditure under the Second Malaysian Plan is being devoted to defence and internal security.

"It is, therefore, to industrialisation that Malaysia must turn in order to absorb the increasing labour force and to provide the export income which is necessary to finance essential imports. The Government is taking a positive and enterprising attitude towards industrialisation, and their policy includes the dispersal of industries to economically depressed areas and preference for labour intensive industries. Great emphasis is being given to the development of industry in the Second Malaysian Plan, but the Government acknowledges that no serious inroads can be made into the unemployment problem in the im-

mediate future and the Plan aims at creating some 600,000 new jobs, which will contain the rate of unemployment at its present level."

After reading these pro-capitalist texts it is clear to us anarchists that capitalist and "socialist" countries alike are involved in the rapacious exploitation of the resources of "under-developed" Malaysia. Obviously, these transactions are profitable for the simple reason that a tamed working population is there, ready to be exploited by those who insist on calling themselves DEFENDERS OF THE FREE WORLD and the CHAMPIONS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

More than ever we, as anarchists, should question the unconditional support given to Liberation Movements in Africa and in Asia, although these movements speak today of Freedom and Independence from their colonialist rulers.

Real independence and genuine freedom never will be achieved by our African and Asiatic brothers through their insistence on copying or relying on industrially advanced countries and their vested political interests, that can be, at any moment, turned into political, strategic or economic blackmail against the real interests of the working people, thus opening the doors in Africa or in Asia to Western or Eastern NEO-COLONIALISM.

C.

## RAFT OR MILLSTONE

Review of 'Raft' Magazine Edition 2

I PICKED up this magazine and even before opening it I knew exactly what it would convey to me, sure enough my worst fears were realised when I scanned the editorial. There in all its ineffectual pomposity was the policy (and I use that term very loosely) of 'recidivists anonymous', which masquerades as a self-help organisation for offenders and ex-offenders. I have it on good authority that only one ex-con works in this organisation and that only part time in an advisory capacity.

This editorial then went on to say how without a revolutionary platform they were going to help habitual offenders (with all the energies of RA!) towards the ultimate goal of a more meaningful life style. By this RA means getting every guy who comes out of one of our rotten jails a job as boring as the one he has been doing in jail, get him into a hostel of one sort or another and all his problems are solved. In point of fact substitute one kind of institutional environment for another so that instead of actually freeing the individual they imprison him in one of their hostels and subject him to the restrictions that are invariably enforced in these types of hostels and restrictions are fairly tight in RA's London hostel.

In the waffle that is RAFT I did at least find one article that had something to say, though I suspect that it had come under the editor's blue pencil more than it deserved. This article, by a guy presently doing time at the Home Office's publicity baby, the 'psychiatric' prison Grendon, dealt with that age-old custom of police verbals - a well-written and practical guide to police verbal. Anyone who has ever stood in the dock and gasped as the arresting officer read out ".....the accused then replied 'Fuck you bastards you're all fascist pigs anyway', " will immediately recognise the style in which most of the better known phrases are written.

Finally (a word I could have begun and ended this review with incidentally) RAFT does appear to be a well-chosen name for this mag, there they are floating around unable to steer, hopelessly lost - waiting perhaps for a rescue raft that does not leak from every seam. Personally I hope that this mag and the RA venture as a whole sinks without trace, for dignity is what a man needs after the degradation of prison and he won't find that hiding under the anonymity of RA. He will only realise that dignity when he becomes aware of the fact that he is a member of society exactly the same as anyone else and ex-con or not he has rights, basic human rights, which he is entitled to; this is what rehabilitation is all about, not hostels and the like.

John Nightingale

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

-- BRITAIN AND RHODESIA

From the Belfast Ten Defence Committee, 88 Roslyn Rd., N. 15

While Peter Nieswand was being held in Rhodesia the British Press was full of anxious speculation as to his fate. The Press was inundated by outraged public figures with indignant letters talking of 'justice', 'freedom' and 'democracy'. At the same time detention orders were being issued in Northern Ireland and hundreds of people are interned in concentration camps there. The hypocrisy of these 'democrats' is seen daily as the civil liberties, hard-fought for by the working class movements in the past, are blandly ignored and political trials play an ever-increasing role in this country.

The most significant attack on civil liberties so far was the unlawful detention of ten Belfast people, seven men and three women, at Heathrow Airport prior to two explosions in London on 8th March. There is no evidence against these ten, except the common denominator of their country of origin - Ireland. It seems that being Irish is enough of a crime to enable the state to hold both men and women in top security Brixton Prison. These ten are being held in Brixton - until now an all-male prison - while the Special Branch try to arrange a formal trial. We stress the formality of the trial as we believe that in the hysterical and characteristically hypocritical aftermath of the two bombs the British Press acted as judge, jury and executioner and showed the impossibility of impartiality towards Ireland and the Irish in this country. Special Branch used the impetus of the London bombs in order to gain information on the activities of left-wing militants, trade unionists and Irish groups in Britain. Raids were made by the Special Patrol Group, the Bomb Squad and the Special Branch on homes throughout the country, including Coventry, Manchester and Glasgow, and people were arrested.

Groups are being set up to defend these people, and the Belfast Ten Defence Committee is a London-based group formed specifically to defend the ten people now being held in Brixton Prison. The Prison Governor has refused visitors, and even relatives have been obstructed in their attempts to see their sons and daughters. The privileges usually accorded remand prisoners have been denied these people. They are being held 23 hours a day in solitary confinement. Attempts to bring them food, clothing and literature in order to make their detention more bearable have been deliberately frustrated by the authorities.

The Belfast Ten Defence Committee has organised a regular weekly picket on Saturdays from 2 - 4 p.m. outside Brixton Prison.

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Turkey...Continued from page 2

6 years hard labour. More protests ensued, he was again released only to be rearrested, retried on the same charges, same sentence again - ad infinitum.

But these protests would probably come to nothing. It is well known that America in the disguise of NATO prefers to see 'strong' authoritarian dictatorships defending so-called Western democracies against imaginary future Russian aggression. This is obviously more important to them than people being permanently maimed through electric shock torture. While the majority of members of the Council of Europe (of which Turkey is a member) prefers to see the gross exploitation of Turkish workers in the "Uncommon Market". Throughout history, one state has never publicly accused another of torture for fear of being accused of the same thing itself. Rather silence than the embarrassment of being found out.

D.

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# Letters

PROFESSOR

EYSENCK'S

N O S E

Dear Comrades,

In responding to Tony Gibson's article "Professor Eysenck's Nose" (FREEDOM 20/5/73) I think it best to firstly establish that I was one of the fifty anarchists involved in the survey he carried out and that I have no illusions about the Communist Party, having myself felt a Siberian wind to my disadvantage.

Nor do I hold with breaking up meetings of academics, although if one has the advantage of a microphone and a stage another can legitimately interject, heckle or dispute if obnoxious things are being enunciated.

However, it is surely misleading to emphasise so much - as Tony Gibson does - the Jewish origin of Prof. Eysenck whilst ignoring the essential point of his work in genetics is aimed at black people. Tony Gibson remarks that "Violence and murder are much the same as far as the victims are concerned, whoever wields the axe of power" and this applies very much to black people who experience the insult and cruelty of the propagation of views by certain people - whether they are Jewish liberals or not.

It is perhaps understanding that is most lacking from Tony Gibson's article. To experience the use made of Eysenck's views to justify the system of apartheid or the justification for racial intolerance is to sympathise with those who are hurt - yes HURT, by a liberal academic's research into genetics. It is a reminder that he is dealing with people and a socially responsible attitude might have been to eschew inquiry into this particular field. Is it paranoid to draw a line between Jensen, Shockley, Eysenck and Enoch Powell and the campaign for the repatriation of black people to their country of origin? If these activities are coincidental then it has been extremely convenient for some.

Lastly I cannot share the respect for the liberal establishment or the academic world. If there are those one or two who smear Eysenck there are twenty who defend the status quo, there's also much truth in the saying that if you scratch a liberal you find a fascist. Anarchists have usually been one remove from the academic world to the advantage of anarchists, in my view. The greenhouse has a rarefied atmosphere but the people live in the world where struggle and suffering, pain, misery, joy and love are part of life.

If Eysenck and the liberals could establish an identity with people as being lovers of knowledge and workers for a better society they might get my respect, as it is they can be depicted as possibly the most dangerous element in society -- giving a veneer of respect and authority for those "who wield the axe of power".

Jerry Westall

## PRACTICAL ANARCHISM

Dear Comrades,

DURING THE past eighteen months I have been much involved in the Commune Movement. At the same time I've subscribed to FREEDOM and tried to call myself an Anarchist. All my energy has gone to the former movement because I've never believed that a libertarian revolution would come from selling middle class papers at factory gates. For me at least the change will come from direct community action and communal life styles. Incidentally, the latest "Communes" magazine devotes a massive article to the Sheffield Anarchist Commune.\*

However, this is not intended to be a criticism of the FREEDOM ethos, rather a broadcast of an idea that our commune went seriously into.

How many groups of anarchists live in our towns and cities each separately eaking out their various lives, some in offices or the

factory floor, others in our schools or on the dole. What a waste of energy!

Many of our towns have shops with massive living accommodation attached. The rents vary from one area to area but our group found that £1500 was nothing to X number of people. Get together in a group, carry on if you wish in your ordinary jobs and you have the best propaganda medium of all. No one is afraid of window shopping, of entering a bookshop. Sell libertarian mags and practice political window dressing (make papier mache models rushing into factories, with appropriate slogans -- where are YOU going?)

After some time you may even be able to make the shop pay - I hesitate to use the word profit - then people could retire from the system and channel their energies into establishing anarchism in that area. Does your shop have a large storage room where you could start a small factory employing outsiders on an anarchic basis.

The ideas and opportunities are endless. A group of people who are committed to an ideology can move mountains. I knew an anarchist once who spent all day sitting in a bed sitting dreaming of the revolution. It never came. Please come along and do it now, we have to learn the "rules" of cooperation and property owning concepts now. I don't believe they come automatically with the removal of the barricades.

Peter Good

\*now dispersed, according to a founder-member. --Eds.

## FROM 'SOCIALIST' CHILE . . .

Dear Friends of Freedom,

It is painful for me to tell you that I cannot renew my subscription to either Freedom or Anarchy as our Central Bank rejected my application for the necessary cheque or order of payment, and I cannot afford to buy bank notes in the black market. Furthermore, it happens often that letters are opened and the enclosed notes stolen. And then the risk of "breaking the law"!

Please put a notice in the papers on this sad state of affairs in Marxist Chile.

Fraternally yours,

L.D.

Santiago.

## Chile

The nationalisation of all telecommunications, whether run by Chilean or foreign firms, was announced by the Minister of the Interior on 19th May. The single national system to be created will be under the control of the armed forces, "in case of war or state of emergency". (Agence France Presse)

## . . . FROM CAPITALIST U S A

Dear People of Freedom,

I'm writing to tell you that you're all doing a fine job of things over there. The recent replies and argumentation over Anarcho-Syndicalism and Anarcho-Communism and just plain Anarchism were real good and I hope that type of thing continues. It is good that your paper can be a medium for anarchists across the world to express themselves and review one another's ideas.

Jerry.

Galesburg

## Correction

Dear Comrades,

Due to a small typing error, the third from last sentence in my article, "The State-Capitalist Controversy" (FREEDOM 19/5/73) did not make sense. It should have read:

"However, instead of the land and the means of production being owned by individual firms or large corporations, or partly by private capitalists and partly by the State, they are owned (in the Soviet Union) completely by the State, which serves a rich and powerful class of Party bosses and bureaucrats."

## PARTICIPATION?

- or -

## Workers' Self Management!

PARTICIPATION is becoming an "in" word in politics these days. But what does it mean and for whom? Harold Wilson made a speech, reported in the Sunday Times March 18, in the language of "Workers' Control" but really from the standpoint of participation.

Wilson sees the "wreckers", i.e. the militants, as the problem and wants to weaken them by fobbing us off with "participation". He recommends a "Compulsory system of Works Committees" but does not say what their relationship to management is to be. By the way, he is behind the times: many large modern industries such as motor works already have such committees, set up by the shop stewards. Here is the crux of participation. "In private industry, the T.U.C. is now considering proposals. . . for two-tier boards, an upper tier or council representing management and workers and a second tier for executive discussions".

Why not kick out the capitalist altogether? They are parasites. What do they supply? Capital? But is the worker who supplies this mysterious Capital since capital is only the accumulated product of the worker's -- i.e. YOUR labour. That is, capital is legalised theft. Know-how? Anyone can supply this, given a little training. The workers in an industry are in the best position. They do the work after all.

So kick out the capitalist and his managers. Workers' Self-Management is the proper way to run industry.

Now as to workers' control, who says this cannot work, even in a capitalist economy? An article in The Guardian (20.3.73) described workers' control functioning well at Immenhausen, West Germany. An inefficient, utopian idea? The Guardian says, "Under the management of Kem Sussmuth the company made losses throughout the late 60s. However, since the employees took control the situation has been reversed and a modest profit was made last year."

How does it work? For legal reasons, two separate but linked companies were formed: The Glassworks Employees' Association and Sussmuth Glassworks Ltd. All employees are members of the Association, control of which is in the hands of the entire work-force. The Association elects 10 of its members to be directors. Directors are elected every 3 years. This way, they retain their links with the workers and do not become alienated the way union officials often do.

The defects of this system are that a manager has been appointed and that instant recall is not available. But two directors were sacked for bureaucratic attitudes. Perhaps some sort of co-ordinator is necessary. That would be for workers at each plant to decide. But instant recall is necessary to prevent cliques from gaining an unchallengeable hold on the works.

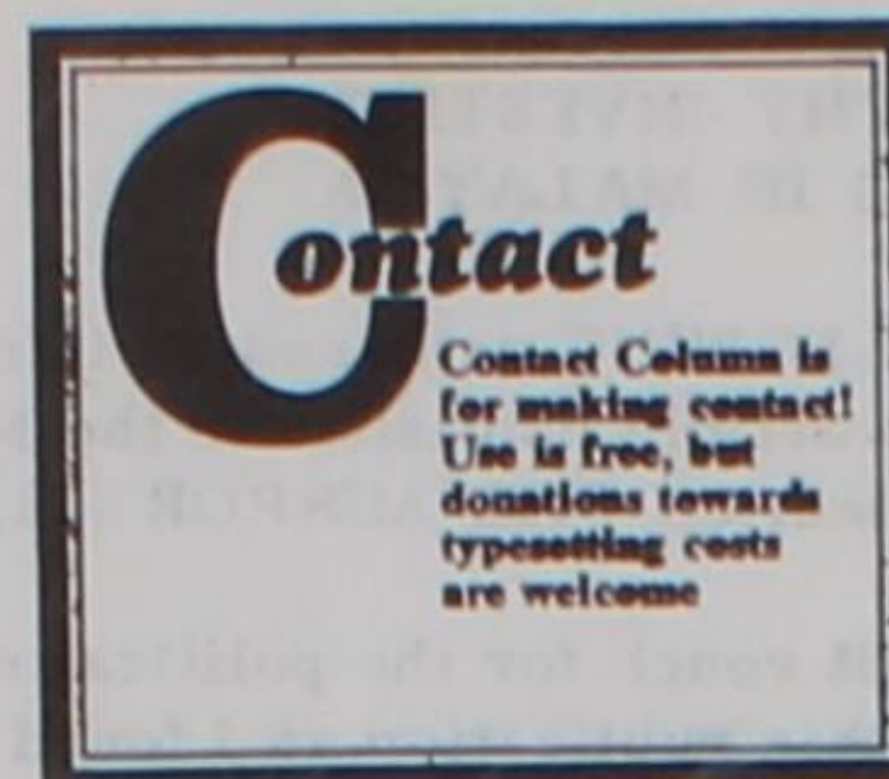
Now, if it works at Sussmuth's Glassworks, it could work at U.C.S., Plessey's of Alexandria, Briant's Printing Press in London...or Broadfords in Aberdeen for that matter. And if workers' control of one firm in so hostile an environment as West Germany can work, then Workers' Self-Management of the whole economy would certainly be a great success.

(Reprinted from The Fighting Mouse, Aberdeen. Obtainable from Ron Clerk, 65 Rose St., Aberdeen.)

Fraternally,

Peter E. Newell  
Colchester, Essex.

\*reprinted in the FREEDOM pamphlet Students for a Stalinist Society (5p + 2p from Freedom Press).



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CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meetings first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk 7.30 p.m. Phone Terry at Corby 66781 for details of other activities.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD area - anarchists/libertarians interested in forming group please contact Roderick Parkes, 90 Queensway, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION research group needs written evidence on the effects of electro-convulsive therapy, brain surgery and psychiatric drugs. All information will be treated confidentially. Send details to M.P.U., 97 Prince of Wales Road, NW5. 01-267-2770.

S.E. LONDON MENTAL PATIENTS UNION meets every Tuesday 8 p.m. at (new venue) The Albany Community Centre, Creek Road, Deptford, SE8.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone, C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA meetings - for details phone 226-0817. Black & Red Outlook always available, by post 5p + 2p from 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, London N5.

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent  
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GEORGE FOULSER is at present in St. Pancras Hospital and would like comrades to visit him. Ward 3. Visiting 2.30-8 p.m. every day. Telephone 347-4411

Young man requires job - not everyday boring grind. Committed to non-violent revolution and would like to work towards this. Contact John Nightingale, 14 Northside, Clapham Common, SW4. Tel. 01-720 3827 any time.

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OXFORD. "Spain - the forgotten Resistance". Films, talks by Miguel Garcia, Albert Meltzer (Anarchist Black Cross). Wed. May 30 at 7.30 p.m., Buxton Hall, Ruskin College, Oxford

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Total £13.85  
Previously acknowledged £690.71  
TOTAL TO DATE £704.56

Published by Freedom Press, London, E.1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.