

THE EARTH IS BEING RAPED!

Let's have a Powwow!

CONSERVATIONISTS GET THE POLICE TREATMENT

WE ARE ACCUSTOMED to seeing the police using their batons on the heads of demonstrators. Whenever decent human sentiments well up into mass action the reaction of government—ALL government—is predictable . . . smash in their heads with police batons.

We have seen it in America against blacks fighting racial discrimination, in Northern Ireland against people fighting religious discrimination, in England against rent strikers and anti-war demonstrators, in India against the hungry and the homeless, in France against students and workers demonstrating for a better way of life, in Italy against the unemployed and, of course, in all the 'Socialist World' against all who stand up to dictatorship.

Now the conservationists are getting the treatment. Last week the TV screens showed film of the Swedish police smashing the heads of people who were trying to preserve some elm trees against the vandals of the Stockholm Municipal Authority who had decreed they should be cut down to make room for a new station booking hall.

ANGER OF THE PEOPLE

On-the-spot press reports are agreed that it was a truly mass demonstration which included old age pensioners as well as students. The most pathetic little group were the tree-fellers themselves. There they were, doing a job for wages—whatever the job. They reminded me of those workers in London who, for wages, will go round empty houses taking out the windows and doors and floorboards so that the homeless cannot occupy them.

The police gave the workers protection to do their job by unleashing an absolute fury of head bashing among the angry crowd. But the crowd fought back and the police were forced to retreat and call off the operation. Three of the trees were badly cut, but the rest remain intact and are now occupied by youngsters in hammocks waiting to repel further attacks. The crowd is passing up food and drink to them.

Meanwhile the resistance is having its effect. The managing director of the tree-felling firm has cried off. According to press reports, he said that he had not realised how people would react and he now favoured the trees being allowed to stand. The trade unions also have now been drawn in and the leader of the Municipal Workers' Union has said that he would urge members to refuse the work if they were called in to do it.

THAT WORD AGAIN!

But the five political parties which make up the Stockholm City Council remain adamant and are making plans to renew the assault on the elm trees. The leader of the Council is reported as saying that it was a democratic decision to fell the trees and that it is a question therefore of democracy or anarchy!

Just as in England, the councillors take 'democratic' decisions behind closed doors. When the people find out about it and demand that the decision be reversed, the cry goes up that it was a 'democratic' decision and not to carry it out would be to encourage 'anarchy'.

The answer to these 'democrats' has been well given in the current issue of the *Ecologist* (a monthly publication which is well worth its 20p) where the authors of an article on the long and unsuccessful attempt to stop the planners and big business despoiling the Clyde conclude with these words:

'In a society blinded by the myth of economic growth and technological

Continued on page 4

We have received this Manifesto from Sweden. We don't know who wrote it or what organisation (if any) is behind it, but we don't think that matters. It is a fine statement which deserves the widest possible circulation in the hope that it will inspire the sort of decentralised actions which the authors desire. By their healthy distrust of politicians, their obvious intention of getting people themselves to act in their own way, this statement follows the best anarchist tradition. We commend it to our readers.

A MANIFESTO FOR LIFE

ECONOMIC GROWTH has become a God for whom life on earth is crippled, natural resources are plundered, and man is enslaved.

Each day more and more people realise that we must Create a New Way of Life, we must change our views of Man, of Nature, and of the purpose of Human Societies.

Man is not the Master of Nature, but a Part of it—an Active Modifying Part of the ensemble of species in the Ecosystem. He has developed technology to modify nature ever since he first threw a spear at an animal.

Now we must learn to work WITH nature instead of against it.

Maximum Economic Growth, Maximum Production, Maximum Consumption—these cannot be sane goals for a humanity living inside a thin Membrane of Life on a Limited Planet.

Each day more and more people realise the madness of striving for these goals as they experience the litter and dirt, traffic jams, polluted air and water, poisoned food and vanishing nature.

These goals lead to the building of Artificial and Inhuman Cities that favour the Growth of Bureaucracies, Alienate Man from his Nature, and force him to live in Gloominess, Crowding, and often Misery and bottomless Poverty.

THE REALITY

These same goals hide a reality of material wealth for some, impoverishment for many, and a reduction in the overall Quality of Life for all of us.

These goals are also used to justify the ever-increasing Centralisation of Influence and Power in Giant Multi-national Corporations, Powerful Governments, and Monstrous Military Machines.

This development turns people into Objects, controlled and handled by Men of Power, Alienating Man from the Products of his Labour and from his fellow man.

Now we must find new ways of production that enable us to live with the Resources of the Earth instead of poisoning and devastating them. We must find new ways of Sharing and Utilising this production for Human Liberation.

CO-OPERATE

What we must do is to co-operate in order to Seize Control of Our Own Lives. In this struggle we must anticipate powerful antagonists, and we must analyze their strengths, interests, and intentions.

At the same time we must intensify our discussion on Strategy and Viable Alternatives for a new way of life, where free people freely co-operate with each other. We must be in solidarity with oppressed people struggling for liberation in poor countries and everywhere.

Forced by the intensified discussion of the Conditions of Life on our Limited Planet, Politicians, Governments, and International Organisations have begun to talk about the 'human environment'. With this title the United Nations is planning a huge conference to be held in Stockholm, Sweden, during June 5-16, 1972. The Conference will be visited by some 1,200 delegates—primarily politicians—from more than a hundred countries.

NO TRUST IN POLITICIANS

But politicians from all over the world, assembled for a couple of weeks in Sweden will NOT be able to solve the problems we face. What the politicians can do is to refer to Foggy Clouds made by the Experts and thus make us believe that the problems are too difficult for us to understand.

As reflected already in the conference title, they will present a picture in which politicians heal the wounds of Man's Environment, while Man Himself is left powerless and without a creative role.

They will formulate the Issues so that the task appears to be to Modify the Consequences of the current development rather than to create a New Way of Life. They will present Endless Resolutions to convince us and maybe even themselves that our future is in Good Hands.

The 'message' from the conference will be propagated all over the world. At least 500 journalists from newspapers, magazines, radio and television, will be present.

OUR TASK IS CLEAR

Get together and do some Thing during June 5-16. Join these actions, which will be DECENTRALISED. Every group undertakes the kinds of actions they prefer, and no one will act as international bureaucrats.

In Stockholm many events are planned under the common name of POWWOW. This is an American Indian word meaning a gathering of people talking about important things or performing magical feasting and dancing for the cure of disease or to reach victory.

Your contribution could deal with global as well as local problems.

Continued on page 2



WHO NEEDS AEROPLANES?

RECENTLY, whilst flicking through copies of the *New Yorker*, my eye was caught (as it was meant to be) by an advertisement for Pan Am 'the world's most experienced airline'. It listed the achievements of the airline from '1927 First airline to offer international service' to '1970 First airline to fly one million passengers on the 747'. Between these dates come the peaks of achievement—'1945 First airline to show full-length movies on board.' '1948 First airline to develop individual frozen meals to permit menu selections aloft.' '1951 First airline to publish a comprehensive international travel guide.' '1964 First airline to relay in-flight messages via Satellite Syncom III.' This is illustrated with 'then and now' pictures of the first Pan Am machine (marked 'USA Mail: Cuban Mail') contrasted with a technicolor picture of the captain and crew of a Pan Am 747 (4 males, 15 glamorous females).

CUT-THROAT CO-OPERATION

All these services have been thrust forward because of the cut-throat competition between airlines, many operating the same routes and flying half-empty planes during the 'off' season. Airlines compete as to who will get the best meal, the best film, the best hostess, the best free plastic carrier, the fastest plane, the largest plane, even the safest plane.

This, the *New Yorker* reader (or skimmer) will say, 'This is great. This is competitive capitalism in action with the consumer reaping the benefits'. If he has had the good fortune to join in a cheap charter flight as, say, a member of the Steeple Bumpstead Anarchist Group, he says 'Better still'. Unless that is, he has his non-membership or the group's non-existence exposed and his flight cancelled when he will say 'Damn bureaucracy!'

The truth is, that there is competition between airlines in all but fares. The various gimmicks (for free) are all double-crosses by the airlines of each other. The charter party is the greatest swindle of all. As O. Henry, the American writer, once said, 'A trust is its weakest link'.

Another copy of the *New Yorker* carried an advertisement 'Remember how sumptuous travel used to be?' and shows a picture of a couple in a howdah on top of an elephant. The caption reads 'Not so long ago travel was either first class or no class. Elegance was reserved for the favoured few. But today almost anyone can travel in reasonable comfort. First class just doesn't mean that much any more. Now there's an airplane on its way that's going to restore the first class traveller to his rightful place. It's a cruise ship with

Continued on page 3

Airport 'Progress' in Japan

FIVE YEARS AGO the Japanese Government announced that a new airport would be built at Narita, near Tokyo. The farmers whose land is to be used have resisted every step of the way, with tactics ranging from court appeals to covering themselves with shit and running at surveyors.

Knowing that the Government was preparing to drive them off by force, the farmers built six small forts and a network of tunnels, where old people stayed; the tunnels were to prevent the Government from bringing heavy equipment on the land, for fear of causing them to collapse.

On February 22 the Government declared the ground public property; 2,300 policemen were opposed by 100 farm families and 1,000 students, with occasional assistance from some of the thousands of spectators. On the 23rd the police captured and carried away

two trees. On the 24th they attacked a fort, but were held off by the farmers' children, who were fighting in front of it. On the 25th, 600 policemen with a bulldozer attacked a fort; the bulldozer was burned by Molotov cocktails and the fort was not captured, although 141 students were arrested. The Government agreed to a temporary truce, but on March 2 attacked with a number of bulldozers, capturing 1 fort, which was reoccupied during the night. With the aid of the bulldozers the police were gradually able to demolish the forts, injuring several old farmers in the process by causing cave-ins. On March 6 the last fort was captured; a few days later the remaining farmers gave up and came out of the tunnels.

At present work is going ahead on the airport, with occasional harassment from students who swoop down and burn equipment.

HIROSHI OZEKI.

THE POLICE RAIDED the offices of 'stage one', the publishers of the *Little Red Schoolbook*, on March 31, seized all the copies of the book they could find, and also took other documents concerned with the book and its distribution.

The book, a translation and adaptation from the Danish original, is intended as practical advice for school students, an attempt to help them get the best of a bad system. It deals only briefly with the world outside the school, and political and economic control of the education system, and concentrates mainly on methods which students can employ to reform the schools. (The language of the book indicates that it is aimed at the 13-15 age range, this being in my experience the point before which revolt against the system is rarely articulated.)

So it is disappointing that the tone of the book is in places condescending, and liable to put off some young readers. This is especially true of its use of the term 'grown-ups' throughout—is 'adults' really such a difficult word? The introduction states 'Tigers are frightening'. But fear not, for it confides, 'But if they're made of paper they can't eat anyone'. And of course, 'All grown-ups are paper tigers'. A pity that the mock-maoism of the title has spilled over into the body of the book, resulting in patronising rubbish like the above. Another example of condescension is the advice to students bored by lessons. 'You all know some of these possibilities (of amusing yourself during lessons) very well'—so why bother to list them?

(And why do the authors feel it necessary to provide alternatives—none of them especially exciting—to these possibilities? They seem to give school

THAT LITTLE RED BOOK

students credit for precious little imagination. Incidentally, one possibility they omit was fairly popular in my secondary school—several of my contemporaries would regularly while away the time during boring lessons by sitting at the back of the class and masturbating.)

The section on lessons is the weakest in the book; the alternatives it suggests to the subject-centred class lesson are less 'revolutionary' than the 'Integrated Day' system used in some primary schools, and its refusal to call into question compulsory attendance of lessons and the rigid timetable is, even taking into account the reformist tone of the book, surprising and disappointing.

So much for the debit side. Despite my criticisms, I think the book is in many ways excellent and extremely valuable.

It affirms and stresses that kids have rights, and gives good advice about what can be done to demand and protect those rights. The section on Punishment, like the rest of the *information* in the book is faultlessly presented, down-to-earth and very useful.

But the most important and potentially revolutionary aspect of the book is its attitude towards teachers, and their place in the education power structure. The teacher is the authority-figure with whom the student has most contact, and it is

the acceptance of 'command and obey' by all parties which makes the day-to-day running of our schools possible.

The book shatters very successfully the mystique which teachers create around themselves, their power, their status, their 'ability to teach', their right to unquestioning obedience. It points out that trainee teachers leave college largely unprepared for the job they are to do, that they are afraid, afraid that their class will get 'Out Of Hand', afraid to experiment because the experiment might fail, because they might become an object for scorn and disapproval from their colleagues and the headmaster. It explains the hierarchy and how decisions are made in most schools. The section on the Staff Meeting is hilariously accurate.

And throughout, the book suggests ways of influencing the teacher, ways of gaining his confidence and breaking down the mutual fear present in most classrooms. Direct action is suggested as a last resort against intransigent teachers, and some good ideas on methods are put forward.

The Doomsday Book

Dear Comrades,

In reply to Terry Phillips concerning *The Doomsday Book*.

Homosexuality's contribution to the limitation of fecundity is that male or female unions with the same sex do not produce children. Originally (FREEDOM, 5.12.70) I wrote that 'homosexuality needs to be seen as a useful means of limiting the population'. By this I mean that homosexual men and women who think they *should* be heterosexual due to social pressures marry and have children, whereas if they could be encouraged to do as they wish there would be no children and more satisfaction.

The prostitute is, of course, subject to exploitation as we all are in an exploitative society. However I simply maintain that many women in work and sex life are unhappier and more coerced than prostitutes. Marriage is often no more than a licence for prostitution (only one man too) and many jobs women do are more humiliating than releasing men's sexual tensions, e.g. traffic wardens, policewomen, secretaries, office cleaners, etc., etc.

If prostitutes approach their meaningful occupation with 'erection-shattering indifference' (before or after?) they couldn't stay in business. One's knowledge on the sexual satisfaction obtained by prostitutes is obviously limited—some time ago I had a smashing time (not in grey old England) and the money involved was just for the presents that any bloke would buy his girl. She also bought presents for me—some underpants! Our sexual relations were not a matter of love (why should they be?) but the expression of physical needs.

Masturbation as a sexual outlet is certainly harmless and enjoyable but physical contact with another person is a fundamental requirement in obtaining satisfaction for many people. There

Mike Malet, Keith Nathan and Colin Williams were appointed delegates from the SAF to the World Anarchist Congress in Paris in August 1971.

The Conference thought that the Scottish anarchist movement was not strong enough at the present time to support a Scottish paper. It was hoped that the planned Glasgow magazines could later become a nucleus of this within a larger movement.

Dave Coull considered that a regular magazine was feasible now.

It was agreed that formal or informal meetings be held regularly every six months.

MIKE MALET,
Secretary.

MANIFESTO

You could make exhibitions, leaflets, bulletins, street theatre, comic strips, discussions, interviews, video tapes, press conferences, films, parades or whatever your thing is.

We have been working with POWWOW for some time in Stockholm. Our address is POWWOW, c/o R. Noonan, WGC/ M-22, Sveavagen 166, S-113, 46 Stockholm, Sweden.

So write and tell us about your ideas and plans (or just anything). Then we can pass it around to all groups that want to participate for Mutual Inspiration and to enable all of us to get in contact with each other.

Also, the mass media assembled in Stockholm can spread the message of a people's movement: that people around the world are beginning to co-operate for the creation of a new way of life!

POWWOW!

Continued from page 1

WHAT, NO STEWARDS?

THE RECENT SACKINGS and threats to sack militants at textile mills in Rochdale and Oldham will serve to underline the need for shop stewards. A group of textile workers working at mills in these areas are now forming a committee to fight for shop stewards in textiles.

Bob Lees, a cotton worker in Oldham, has already been threatened with the sack at his mill, as a result of distributing a leaflet calling for shop stewards in the industry, and much of what now follows is based on the leaflet which is now being reprinted and is available from Bob Lees, 6 Coniston Avenue, Werneth, Oldham, price £1.60 per 1,000 (post paid) or 25p per 100 (post paid).

For a long time now it has been dead obvious that the union officials have lost touch with the lads on the

shop-floor. When was the last time you saw a branch official at your mill?

The remedy is the election of stewards from the shop-floor to represent us. Then in the event of disputes, controversies, queries, etc., there would be someone on hand to present the workers' case. We think this would be easier than contacting a branch official outside working hours.

'As the first step towards getting shop stewards it is for all workers to attend their next union branch meeting and put this forward.'

The Shop Stewards Campaign Committee intends to hold a meeting soon to support our aim for textile shop stewards. So if you are interested, get in touch with us by contacting Bob Lees.

TEX TELE.

Scots Anarchists' Statement

THE CONFERENCE in Glasgow on May 8 and 9 was attended by delegates from Glasgow, Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen. Messages were received from Edinburgh and Motherwell.

It was recognized that those present represented most of the active anarchists in Scotland.

We therefore welcomed comrades from

the Organization of Revolutionary Anarchists, with whom we found ourselves in broad agreement concerning their analysis of the malaise of the British movement, and methods of trying to remedy this. We therefore look forward to co-operating with them.

Mike Malet was appointed secretary of the Scottish Anarchist Federation, and

'Freedom' & 'Anarchy'

Starting with *Anarchy* 4, *Anarchy* will be editorially and financially autonomous. All subscriptions, including joint ones, and back number orders, will still be handled by Freedom Press at 84B Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1. All editorial matter, bundle orders and street sales for *Anarchy* will be handled by

the *Anarchy* Group at 95 West Green Road, London, N.15, as from May Day. (Phone number to be notified.)

Press Fund donations for both publications will still be welcomed at their respective addresses, and it would be appreciated if, when writing, comrades would put on the


envelope some indication of the contents, such as **Editors, Subscriptions, Bundle, Bookshop**, etc. Freedom Bookshop will continue as now with new books and Freedom Press publications, but the secondhand department will be allowed to run down.

followed by the usual (and totally unnecessary for the purposes of prosecution) seizure of the books, and the charging of its publisher with 'publishing obscene material for gain'.

An extract from this 'obscene publication': 'The usual word for a boy's sexual organ is cock or prick. The usual word for a girl's sexual organ is pussy or cunt. The usual word for intercourse is fucking.' It is this, and similar down-to-earth descriptions of masturbation, orgasm, petting, contraception, wet dreams, menstruation, child-molesters, pornography, impotence, v.d. and abortion, that are, we are told, obscene. There is also a list of addresses from which young people can get advice on contraception, abortion, etc. I think what most really worry Nabarro and Whitehouse is that the book actually dares to suggest that fucking is fun.

The *Little Red Schoolbook* is useful reading for all teachers, trainee teachers and school students. You can get it from Freedom Bookshop or the Black Flag Bookshop, for 30p.

ALAN ROSS.



publish
FREEDOM weekly
and distribute
ANARCHY monthly

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are times that many people find that they are not at a stage with a bird when sexual intercourse is wanted—without all that flab about love and 'this is for ever' a willing partner can be found who will perform that small act all the crap about love is aimed at!

This is not to sneer at or belittle love. When it happens the union of souls, which doesn't even need physical contact, is an experience which can transform a world based as it is on legalised and constitutional hatred.

Originally my point about prostitution was that, in a world that will limit population by famine if the population continues to increase, prostitution provides a sexual outlet without unwanted children being born. As I later clarified (10.4.71) 'with women on the pill or sterilised, or their mates'. This limits population without repressing sexuality or resorting to masturbation for both the single person or the partner of a sexual union, when variety is desired and no blurb about love is required to get it. I made it clear (10.4.71) that female frustration might be overcome by a supply of willing, sterilised male partners.

Fraternally,

J.W.

Young Liberals and the Census

Dear Comrades,

My article on the recent census-form burning made it perfectly clear that it was the *Young Liberals* who were responsible for organising the public burn-up in Trafalgar Square on Census Day and it praised them for their courage and initiative.

However, the headline 'Anarchists Burn The Forms' might have given the impression that it was *only* anarchists who burned their forms which, of course, is quite wrong and I apologise to all those non-anarchists present in Trafalgar Square that day—and especially to the *Young Liberals*—for any slight on them which, I can assure you, was not intended.

Fraternally,

JOHN LAWRENCE.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, 1971

INLAND			
Freedom	12 months	£2.50	(£2 10s.)
	6 months	£1.25	(£1 5s.)
Anarchy	12 issues	£2.25	
	6 issues	£1.13	
Combined	12 months	£4.50	
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Freedom	12 months	\$6.40	
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Freedom	12 months	\$10.00	
	6 months	\$5.00	
Anarchy	12 issues	\$10.00	
	6 issues	\$6.00	



All correspondences to
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, June 6. Please send a delegate to Birmingham. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel. 021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: Secretary, Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster.
Cornwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, (M, Ma, B).
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.
Scotland: Temporary Secretary, Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

An Economic Power Bloc

BOTH THE MAIN political parties are divided over the issue of Britain's entry into the Common Market and the same applies to industrialists. Opinions vary according to the interests of those concerned and the financial and trading possibilities which membership will bring. Some see entry as a disaster while others see it as a step to greater prosperity.

Of course they cannot all be right. Those who have vast financial resources will welcome entry because it will give them new markets in which they will be better placed to sell their goods. For the smaller firms, however, such competition could mean ruin. The formation of a European Economic Community is a logical step in the growth of monopoly capitalism for it gives greater impetus towards this end. It means a further concentration of economic and political power which can only lead to

the growth of a political power bloc to balance those of America and the USSR.

Anarchists have always opposed concentration of power and centralisation of both economic and political power. Centralised power has not brought an end to the daily toil or any control over the decisions affecting our lives. Such centralisation removes the control that we are able to assert and decisions affecting millions of people are taken by a few heads of government and EEC bureaucrats in Brussels.

ONE CROP ECONOMIES

Britain's economic power has been built on the exploitation of raw materials and cheap foods of other countries. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of labour, markets, produce and food for profit. When those opposed to entry point out that this will mean an increase in the price of certain foodstuffs, it is

worth remembering that this might be because at present we are getting these on the cheap from Commonwealth countries. The little island of Mauritius, for instance, like Cuba, is practically a one crop island and depends on sugar for 95% of its exports.

Now the sugar importers of this country are suddenly concerned about these poor Commonwealth countries. They are saying that though we would pay more for our sugar these poor countries would get less. They do not question why these countries are still poor and their produce still cheap. For years it has been perfectly all right to exploit them in order to give the people of Britain cheap food, but suddenly they are developing a conscience about it.

The advantages and disadvantages for those who control the industrial and financial power of Britain have been assessed and they see that entry will

satisfy their desires for markets. This advantage outweighs those of Commonwealth preferences. British industry needs the markets and the same is true in reverse. Britain's entry is a deal between the industrial and financial giants of capitalism. The coming together of trading nations to form one economic bloc will not alter the economic and social conditions of their populations. Nations will remain class societies and while trading boundaries might fall, class barriers will remain.

ONE VAST MARKET

The European Community is not one of people, but of exploitation of people by a capitalist system which is seeking more power and is willing to drive the weaker companies to the wall in that bid for further power and profits. The

EEC will be one vast market protected from outside by tariffs and with a huge mobile labour force to supply the skill, knowledge and sheer hard work in order to ensure profit for monopoly capitalism. These nations will grow more powerful and prosperous at the expense of the poorer ones.

Although tariff boundaries will fall, national ones will remain. Anarchists want to eliminate these national boundaries. We want an end to the privilege and power of a minority of bureaucrats, industrialists and financiers. However such changes can only come from the people themselves. We want to break down the centralisation of power, to decentralise and to bring decision-making and control to the people who produce the wealth.

P.T.

'Stoking the Fires'

LAST WEEK there was another fire attack in Newham. A terraced house in Charlemont Road, East Ham, belonging to Mr. Clifford Bailey, a 73-year-old former seaman, was badly damaged when a paraffin-soaked rag was lit and pushed through his letterbox. Mr. Bailey and his wife just managed to escape in time with the assistance of the fire brigade.

Eight weeks ago, the house of his neighbours next door, an immigrant family, was also damaged in exactly the same way. As with previous attacks (reported in FREEDOM, May 8), the police have, as yet, made no arrests. They say they cannot establish a motive or link with the other burnings and attacks. In this instance, perhaps the attackers just made a mistake—and burned the wrong house.

Mr. Ronald Tear, the former Hitler worshipper and National Socialist who is now 'leader' of the National Front in East London, disclaimed all responsibility for the arson raids. 'We have no fanatics in the Party,' he is reported as saying. Perish the thought! Perhaps they've all joined the National Democrats.

Meanwhile a motley crew of 'patriots' continue to spew out their racist filth, in the local press, in an attempt to

create division and hatred between 'white' and 'coloured' workers. Here are just a few from the *Stratford & Newham Express* (in fairness to the *Express* it must be noted that they also print anti-racist letters as well). R. W. Hill writes: 'Newham has its fair share of immigrant and your (Mr. Westall's) excessive pampering of them will attract even more to our patch.' K. Alvey writes: 'Immigration is a case in point, where only the numbers game is allowed publicity. Significant genetic effects are discreetly brushed aside.' R. Huxtable writes: 'We, the British people, were never consulted in any way whether we wanted two million coloured immigrants, whose social, economic and religious ways are foreign to us.' J. Higgins puts the old well-worn Fascist view: 'One wonders if this country is being run by an alien force from without for the benefit of an alien force within.' But far more ominously, P. Bloom writes: 'The authorities are leaning over backwards to help the poor coloured, who get into trouble with the law, thereby stoking the fires red hot between poor white and coloured people.'

'Stoking the fires red hot.' Yes, indeed! But when is it going to stop?

EAST LONDON WORKERS.

Labour Troglodytes in Southwark

Catch: Labour Troglodytes in Southwark THE SQUATTERS have come up against their toughest nut so far in London—the Southwark Borough Council. Not accidental, as Southwark is one of the crowded working class boroughs where, as a rule, you get cast-iron Labour majorities year in and year out. These boroughs have at the same time the biggest housing problems and the most hide-bound bureaucratic councils, unused and fairly immune to public criticism.

There are signs that the squatters, by means of a vigorous and imaginative campaign, are beginning to make a crack in the complacency of these Labour troglodytes. They have so far occupied the Council Chamber and a room in Transport House, much to the indignation of Sir Harry Nicholas, General Secretary of the Labour Party.

SUPPORT FROM SOCIAL WORKERS

They have also enlisted the support of 56 of the borough's social workers, who sent a petition to the Council criticising their hardline opposition to the squatters. These 'rebels' were then carpeted by the Council and also by the secretary of the local branch of the union (NALGO),

a Mr. John Cooke.

Said Mr. Cooke, '... they cannot publicly criticise council policy... if they were sacked I could only point out mitigating circumstances to the council, and talk about the hardship being caused.' Following this warning, the social workers have decided against further expressions of support for the squatters.

NO SOLUTION UNDER THIS SYSTEM

Criticism of the squatting movement has been made on the grounds that it is merely taking the burden of the homeless off the backs of the councils. This criticism has some truth to it, but there is more than one side to the question. Of course, under the profit system the housing question will never be solved—but I feel that almost any action is better than none. If no action is taken, a vast pall of silence falls over the plight of the homeless—concealing enormous misery and desperation. The odd item in the local paper tells of children abandoned by parents driven beyond endurance, but that is all. The town hall bureaucrats are able to push the problem out of the way and forget about it.

Now, in Southwark, the squatters

make front page news every week in the local papers. Much as they would like to, the councillors cannot ignore it.

BRUTAL BUREAUCRATS

They have been calmly closing down streets and streets of houses ready for demolition in the indeterminate future. These houses, many of them quite habitable, are then left to rot, for years in some cases, awaiting the council's pleasure. Council workmen are sent in to board the houses up, often knocking out the upstairs windows leaving them open to the weather. This process, the squatters say, costs £25 per house of the public's money. Until the squatters kicked up a fuss, this brutal business went on without a peep from anybody.

ON THE MOVE

So, although it is only a drop in the ocean—and there can be no ultimate solution under this social order—squatting does give people hope—moves them into action, and lets them know they are not alone. If they can fight the bureaucrats at the town hall, one feels that they can deal with anything of the sort developing in the squatters movement itself.

J.A.

Who Needs Aeroplanes?

Continued from page 1

wings. . . . As a first class passenger you'll relax in a 600 mph drawing room. You can move sociably about under a room-height ceiling. Recline in a chair that's more like a custom lounge than an airline seat. And you'll have the privacy of cabin furniture with never more than two seats abreast. The contrasting furniture (like the Pan Am) is in technicolor with what appears to be the mahout of the elephant party sitting down to a foursome meal in the 600 mph drawing room, he is wearing a turban—every airline must have a coloured citizen! The advert concludes, 'So if you're a first class flyer, your day is coming. Soon.' Wait for it! 'By the end of 1971 the Rolls-Royce powered Tri-Star will be ready for your first flight. From then on, it will be your airplane. And the airlines that fly it your airlines' . . . and in small print 'Already ordered by Air Canada, Air Jamaica, Delta, Eastern, PSA and TWA'. We can see that the Rolls-Royce Tri-Star (Lockheed 1011) was merely another card in the game 'Beggars my Neighbour' between the airlines to capture the glossy customers.

THE AEROPLANE AS STATUS SYMBOL

The super-fast luxury airliner is not only a status symbol for its customers and clients but it is a symbol for the airline and for the country which gave it birth. National pride and honour are involved in the aeroplane, as are national finance and employment policies. Concorde is now regarded as an affair of national honour, as least by the French, to judge from the French flight last week. Mr. Heath is not so committed.

Such is the complexity and gigantism of the aircraft business that it is impossible for any airline to stand 'on its own two feet'. The 1927 Pan Am machine showing it mail-carrying func-

tions illustrates the method whereby many American airlines were subsidized. The enormous business in ferrying troops (especially in the Vietnam war) has helped along many airlines, not to mention the trips on official business. There are examples of direct subsidy of airlines to service remote Scots islands but with the Tory Government's insistence on profit-making this type of subsidy is likely to disappear.

An important function of government help is more obviously seen in the Concorde and in the Rolls-Royce development projects. In fact it has been estimated that no private company has sufficient money to finance the ever-expanding cost of research on building Concorde and the Lockheed 1011. Governments need the fruit of research for military use and when war comes they will exercise their patent options for war purposes. The Jumbo jet is a prototype troop-carrier, the Concorde and Tri-Star will make their contributions to warfare when needed. Governments, too, can subsidize aeroplane research that literally never gets off the ground. Somewhere in a hangar or a scrap-yard lie the remains of the giant plane Brabazon, and in some Australian desert lie the bones of Black Knight and Blue Streak, those damp rockets of jet propulsion.

VESTED INTERESTS IN NOISE

When it seemed likely that anti-noise legislation in New York threatened the development of Concorde, Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, and Robert Adley, MP, both flew to New York to lobby for the right of Concorde to land at Kennedy International Airport. Their patriotic spirit (Anglo-French too!) is explicable only by the fact that both of them are MPs for Bristol divisions and Bristol depends on the Concorde project for livelihood. The US Government's recent reversion to support of supersonic transport may be explained

by the necessity of the US Government to find employment for future voters. The obvious calamitous effects of the collapse of Rolls-Royce and the decline of Lockheed illustrate the point of the work-providing function of the aeroplane industry. The high-class haggling now going on in the US about Lockheed wanting a subsidy and Senators, Congressmen and manufacturers pointing out that Lockheed Tri-Star should have an American engine if American money is to subsidize it.

The troubles of Lockheed doubtless started with the running-down of the Vietnam war and it should not be forgotten that from the Lockheed stable there came the Starfighter used by the German Government—which has gained for itself the name of 'Widow-maker'. Hand in hand have marched the technological development of the aeroplane and the desire of States for supremacy in war. It is a sad fact that war alone has the ability to unlock the technological genius from the bottle to which capitalism has confined them. Only in war and in preparation for war can research be carried on without regard to the cost, so long as there can be offered some prospect of military supremacy. Research into the atom was solely for producing the bomb; the peaceful uses only play a minor role. Space flight and technology are mainly for purposes of rocketry and espionage—although prestige and the provision of a 'moral equivalent of war' may play a part.

AIR DISASTERS

It is unfair to belabour the aeroplane with the enormity of its disasters. It is obvious as technological civilization develops and as units become larger, disasters must become larger too. An additional factor (as with the motor-car) is that as the number of users of the sky grows, increases of accidents amass compound interest. Pilots become more nervous as the sky becomes more

Sell Freedom!

A NUMBER of comrades took additional copies of 'Freedom' to sell on May Day, but considering the announcements of a special May Day issue printed in advance, and the opportunities that the May Day weekend offered, the numbers sold were not as high as one would have hoped.

For my part, I will be writing to many of the former subscribers, suggesting that they renew their subscriptions. I have also received a few letters from readers, commenting upon 'Freedom' and making various suggestions for increasing its circulation. All comments and suggestions will be seriously considered, either by me or the editors. I would also like to ask those subscribers—including a number who take bundles—who have not yet paid their bills, which in a few cases now run into quite a few pounds, if they would do so. 'Freedom', like most working-class publications, is run on a 'shoestring', whilst at the same time we still have to pay our ever-increasing bills!

And now for another opportunity for those who sold extra copies on May Day—and those who were going to, but didn't—to see what they can do. A special 'broad left' demonstration is being organised by the 'Morning Star' for Sunday, June 13. I understand that this is going to be a big demo. Marchers, who will be coming from all over the country, and will include many non-communists, will assemble in Hyde Park from about 11 a.m. onwards, and then will march to Trafalgar Square for a meeting in the afternoon. 'Freedom' sellers should get to Hyde Park as early as possible. Would comrades please order bundles now? Furthermore, copies of our latest pamphlet (No. 7), 'Towards Workers' Control', which also includes an article on the anti-working-class policies of the CP, could be sold on such a demonstration.

Rates for both 'Freedom' and the pamphlet are: 40p for 10, £1.75 for 50 and £3.50 for 100 (post, or BR rail carriage free), to be paid for in advance where possible. Sell 'Freedom' on June 13. Sell 'Freedom' NOW!

PETER NEWELL
(Circulation Manager)

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JACK ROBINSON.

WIGWAM DEMOCRACY

Brian Behan, the author of this article, is a well-known building trades militant who, at the age of 42, is now studying history at Sussex University. As always, he is lively and provocative. The article (slightly abridged) is reproduced from 'Focus', the University magazine. We would welcome readers' views on the question of referenda posed in this article.

WHAT SORT OF DEMOCRACY have we? I term it Wig Wam democracy. It's a limited breed that consists of a delegation of power to an elected elite. These are our chiefs who meet in council for pow wow and then tell us what they have decided. At no stage except at election time can the ordinary person make an actual decision about society.

It's very much like an old cowboy movie with the goodies and baddies varying according to the times. This type of democracy in which the leadership issue is paramount leads us into some funny old war dances. One of these is the search for the great war chief to lead us all to the happy hunting grounds. With incantations we hear of the merits of this or that individual. He's brave, incorruptible, far-seeing, able to weigh up all sides of every question, off he trots to Parliament. Once there his mien changes from the election cowardly lion candidate to the haughty lord and master of the jungle. Now to get this beast to regard us with anything but contempt we have to approach him, begging bowl in hand, and ask him humbly to consider our plight. Our animal will howl about the nation and opposing the narrow view and shunt us off a bit lively while he creeps round the Chief Whip's lair. Up to now they have been able to get away with all this because the loony tunes of the Left have helped them stay the course. They tell us that what is wrong is the leadership. Elect us, imbued with the moo of Mao, the blood of Stalin, some precious hairs from the beard of the blessed Trotsky

and all will be well. Violence, they say, class violence will do the trick. But look at Russia, a product of a leadership putsch based on genuine violence. Krushchev says for twenty years we lived under the dictatorship of Stalin who was, according to his report at the 20th congress, a cross between Al Capone and Ghengis Khan. Only fear for their own heads made people like Krushchev reveal all, not concern for the ordinary mortal. They are state capitalists and in the search for a new leadership we throw up the old rubbish dressed up as state managers. To equate capitalism with private enterprise is laughable naivety.

I have been to Russia and China. The elite are living the life of Reilly, I should know, I was one. On the lakes at Hanchow I was being pulled along with ten other lazy bastards. The boatman poor fellow, was trying to grin and bear it. When I proposed taking a turn at the pulling I was told by a snotty-nosed young brat that 'I shouldn't, after all it's his job'. I pushed him out of the way and pulled, more through shame than anything else. The leadership cult leads some of our Indians into laughable positions. They run round proclaiming their true Popery while denouncing all other sectors with the venom of a cobra. Simply mention to a mad Maoist that you think an International Socialist might have real blood in his body and watch for the explosion.

But they will all unite in their role of political sheep herders trying to stampee the flock into action round their nonsensical slogans. Violence suits the

CIA, the Heaths and the Nixons. It strengthens them in a situation that they find difficulty in controlling. The shape of the world, in a sense, is going against the power centrists. Certain objective factors make it possible for the Radicals to unite and secure changes that up to now would be difficult. These are first the absence of a third world war. Since such a war would involve the destruction of the power seekers themselves, it's extremely unlikely that there will be one. Secondly the difficulty for the Capitalists in creating slump conditions. The combination of the two, the absence of war and slump, create conditions very favourable for long term change. For any change to be made it must in my opinion, preclude the violence that will divide one section from another and allow the introduction of reactionary legislation. It must proceed from the majority of the population otherwise we simply get a change of masters perhaps worse than the last lot. It must involve the exercise from below of power. It must involve decentralisation of power.

To my mind a possible solution is referenda on the major issues that confront us. The objections to referenda come from both Left and Right, the Right in the shape of the Tories want referenda in Trade Unions but not on the Common Market. The Left shy away, whispering about 'the tyranny of the masses'. They hope to be the new elite but it's as futile to expect them to be any better than it would be to expect a tiger to turn vegetarian. Granted there are dangers in the introduction of an extension of power. Of course people will make mistakes, what else can you expect from people who have never had the experience of direct power? However the history of referenda seems a progressive one. In France De Gaulle used it to block the Right and end the

Algerian war. In Ireland it was De Valera's barrier when he wanted to introduce a two party system instead of proportional representation. The alternative is to drift along with a Right backlash building up to the detriment of us all. In such a situation of referenda, MPs would be more accountable to the public. The arguments would be real ones. The issues could become what we want to discuss and settle. We have a chance here in Sussex to implement such a change. Why not have ballots on the issues that affect us. Then we would have an end to the carping about small meetings, etc.

This gives rise to the question of rewards in a free-for-all society in which what you can grab is very much dictated by your place on the tree of elitism. For example, Messrs. Heath and Wilson think it very natural that Judges and Admirals of a largely non-existent fleet should receive an increase of three thousand pounds a year. Yes, your eyes deceive you not, dear reader, three thousand green ones per annum. At the same time, those at the bottom are reviled for greed if they dare ask for a substantial increment.

This in turn gives rise to endless wasteful struggle in which the bottom gallops round and round like the hobby horse at the fair and ends up pretty well in the same place. We pay a heavy price to be led by the nose. Of course arguments in favour of elites are also based on the stupidity of the bottoms. This reasoning is very handy if you are to be one of the elite but in practice it seems that whenever mankind is threatened with disaster the elite turn out to be complete fools and it is the ordinary person who comes galloping to the rescue. Referenda would have the added advantage of bringing the skill and knowledge of the greatest number to our problems and I for one would be content to accept their verdict.

How could we be sure that the issues that people wanted to vote on would ever be raised? Alongside of the referendum principle I would advocate a system of polling for support so that a certain number of signatures would be necessary before an issue went to ballot. Before voting any individual would have the right as they have now to organise public meetings in support of their ideas. The question of expense can be dismissed at once. Set against it the appalling waste on rockets that just rise two feet in the air thus giving us a clear view of our ankles. Add to this the daily waste by a gang of nits on the army, etc., and we can easily foot the bill. Most MPs and place hunters will oppose referenda since they would be the first victims of leadership redundancy.

Conservation

Continued from page 1

solutions, what choice is left to the people but to unfurl the black flag of anarchy and continue their struggle without the law?

And that, more and more, seems to be what is happening. The manifesto from Stockholm reprinted in this issue proves it. People are beginning to stir and take issue with the decision-makers. Inevitably they clash with Authority and inevitably they get the baton treatment, but the best of them are not deterred. The *Guardian* reports one of the Stockholm conservationists as saying to the crowd after their battle with the police:

'The authorities have seen clear evidence of the people's wishes. In principle we are opposed to violence but we will use it if necessary.'

Clearly conservation is taking on a new tone. It is no longer a subject for discussion in middle class circles. It is beginning to clash with Authority. Human solidarity is once more asserting itself against the greed of the system. That, in my opinion, is the significance of the elm trees in the city of Stockholm.

IN LONDON TOO?

Right now in London a bloody great motorway is being planned. It will shear its way through thousands of homes, play-spaces and parks. Very few want it, but the planners have decided they should have it. As for trees, some august body has decided—'democratically' no doubt—that the few remaining trees in that motor-car wilderness known as Euston Road shall be cut down to make room for a road-widening. All sorts of well-meaning bodies will lodge their objections but it won't make a scrap of difference unless the people themselves take a hand. It is about time we did a Stockholm in London and everywhere else where the profit-making despoilers are at work.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Burrell House. Squatters need Plumbing and Electrical Materials. Contact Mike, Flat 16, Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.14.

Axis Bookshop, 6a Hunters Lane, off Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. Call if in town.

Manchester Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance have published a leaflet in Urdu calling for opposition against the Immigration Bill, 40p a 100 from MASA, c/o 33 Clyde Road, Manchester 20.

Anarchist Syndicalist Conference, June 12 & 13 in Manchester. Details from MASA, c/o 33 Clyde Road, Manchester 20.

Police Raided Paul's Place on April 30. Next Meeting. Hellenic Group on Thursday, May 20, 8 p.m., Peace News Hall, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Libertarian Book Club Dinner and Lecture, Dr. Irving Levitas on 'Proudhon and American Anarchism', Saturday noon, May 22, \$7.00 each at Grand St. Boys Club, 135 West 56th Street, N.Y.C., U.S.A. Tickets from L.B.C., Box 842, General Post Office, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10001.

Will T. P. Mytchett contact Farnborough Group, 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey.

Baby bath—good condition, large, but no stand. Free to anyone who can collect from Freedom Press, Tuesdays.

N.E.L.P. (Barking). Anarchist Bookstall, Friday lunchtimes, 'C' floor.

AFBIB. If any group has not got the 'Bulletin' it is because we have not received a subscription or a request for it.

Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.

Leeds Direct Action Pamphlets: 'The Japanese Anarchists', 1p; 'Who are the Brain Police', 1p (Breakdown of the Power Structure of yer Leeds University—stripping away of liberal bullshit, etc.). Coming soon: 'Listen Marxist', 5p. All these available from the Anarchist Bookshop, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Preston Libertarians. Please contact Dr. Charles Shaw (for Mad research work), 12 Elmsley Street, Preston, PR1 7XD. Telephone: (0772) 52659.

Proposed Group—Dundee. Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Dundee.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. 'The Revolutionary Catechism', Nechev, 5p + 24p post. 'Song to the Men of England', Shelley; 'Poster Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole', 10p + 24p post.

'Poems', Jim Huggon, 5p + 24p post. Discount available on bulk orders. Jim Huggon, c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Spanish lessons given in London. Rates on request. Write, in first instance, to Box 02/71, Freedom Press.

Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

PRESS RELEASE

SOUTH EASTERN CONFERENCE
SATURDAY, JUNE 5
SUNDAY, JUNE 6
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BRIGHTON

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The Mulangushi Dilemma

ON MAY 8, President Kaunda opened the 6th Conference of the United Nationalist Independent Party (UNIP) at Mulangushi. To an outside Syndicalist observer the issues at stake are the same old fundamental problems of power in a Revolutionary Government which are as old as government itself. But in an emergent young republic like Zambia they come more sharply into focus.

The big question of the day is what is the criteria for election to office both in government and party machine to be, arguments are put forward for criteria of area representation, tribal representation, those with a distinguished party record, ability alone as criteria, and those who have a stake in Zambia, various minorities all demanding voice whose ambitious politicians are manipulating in their struggle for power.

President Kaunda, philosopher and social revolutionary, is aware of the problems which face Zambia, he is endeavouring to implement his philosophy of humanism, the principles of which in no way differ from our own, through the medium of a state which he inherited from his colonial forebears, a state which was structured on the pattern of the British state, whose function was to maintain the domination of a ruling privileged caste, the British raj.

PROBLEM OF POWER

Having gained possession of this state machine, he is faced with the problem of using it to promote the welfare of the ordinary Zambian man and woman, whilst surrounded by similar state machines, some of which are directly hostile to his aspirations and all of which endeavour to influence the direction which the Zambian social revolution will take, by both political and economic pressures both within and without the country.

Since UNIP came to power, tremendous achievements have been made in a country beset by poverty, illiteracy, tribalism and usury, but as with all power machines it has accumulated many fellow-travellers seeking jobs for the boys or blatantly power-hungry politicians; furthermore, like all state machines, each cog resists the change of its position, status quo is desperately clung to regardless of the social pressures which exist outside, its lubrication consists of tenacious red tape and ink from the official stamp pad—the result a slow, cumbersome, bureaucratic instrument

which, instead of effecting change and bringing about the society needed based upon humanism as enunciated by Dr. Kaunda, is, in its effort to move, in fact standing still, or at least slowing down the potential of the revolution.

UNIP CONFERENCE

It is in this setting that the 6th Conference of UNIP meets at Mulangushi, attended by other heads of emergent states in Africa. As Syndicalists we know the nature of the state, the differentiating agent between rulers and ruled, we know the corrupting influence of power, that the power to lead is also a power to mislead, and in a society beset by illiteracy, in which communication is still in a process of development, laden with a legacy of the past colonial abuse based upon racialism, the ordinary Zambian man and woman is vulnerable to the cant and rhetoric of the ambitious politician who dons the cause of humanism to get mastery over his fellow man.

Syndicalists have many times said 'No man is good enough to be another man's master'. No statement could be more consistent with the principles of a humanist equalitarian society. This is the concept of a society which is structured horizontally, organically developed according to human need. The state always conceives of a society vertically structured with centralized domination at the top, unidirectional in its functioning rather than one of multiple integrated feedback, the component parts of which are not evaluated as superior/inferior but simply as a different contributory function.

PATERNAL CAPITALISM

Within a society which, dependent for its very survival upon the paternalism of capitalism, young Zambians are asking questions about the fundamental nature of a democratic socialist society based upon humanist principles, they are asking questions about ends and means, about man in relation to the state, and at the same time are engaged in a struggle for survival and identity.

The watchword of the conference has been 'UNITY' aware of the wild horses of economic greed, racialism, and political ambition which would tear the limbs of this infant republic apart.

Zambian society has not evolved to an industrial technical self-sufficiency where it could aim at an industrial republic under educated, responsible workers'

control from below; it is both technologically and sociologically suffering from a malnutrition, and yet Dr. Kaunda has set this noble goal of a humanist society before it, a goal with which the ordinary Zambian, regardless of education, feels an instinctive proclivity.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS

In the final analysis the question which is being asked at Mulangushi is 'Can the Administration of a Humanist Society be entrusted to Representative Government?'. Whether a political consciousness will emerge that will formulate the syndicalist principle of delegation subject to recall is doubtful at this stage of social development but at least the conference highlights the fundamental problems which beset man the world over.

The essence of democracy is a people's active participation in the decision-making process which affects their lives and well-being, it is an active process which cannot be entrusted to others to do for them, no matter how well motivated they may be.

Hence there arises the discrepancy in the definitions of 'by the people' and 'for the people'. Representatives can only be truly representative of a people's will when they are entirely subject to the censure of those who elected them, in other words they are delegated to administrate the decisions the people have made and are as delegates subject to recall and dismissal by those who elected them. It is only by such a principle that freedom can be safeguarded and the well-being of a people be assured by the people themselves.

CINDY KARLIST.

P.S. We print this article as a direct contribution on African politics from a libertarian-syndicalist humanist point of view. Our reservations about its over-optimism about Kaunda as a humanist politician were confirmed by a *Guardian* report (17.5.71) that nearly one hundred miners on wildcat strike in the Zambian Copperbelt have been arrested for contravening Presidential powers which declare mining an essential service. Fifteen of the arrested have been placed under restriction at their homes, the rest are released on bail. The *Guardian* comments that no public announcement has ever been made that mining is 'an essential service'. 'But,' says the *Guardian*, 'there is no doubt that Dr. Kaunda cannot afford to allow a small group of miners to continue to foment trouble to paralyse a vital prop of the economy.'

—EDITORS.