

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The highest moral aim of man is the attaining of justice"

KROPOTKIN (Ethics)

## RULE BY FORCE IN KENYA

AT the time of going to press it is announced that the Government have flown a battalion of the British Army to Nairobi "to ensure that adequate force is available to maintain law and order". These troops are being sent from stations in the Middle East.

In addition, the cruiser *Kenya*, fresh from service in the Korean war is being sent from Colombo to Mombasa. According to newspaper reports, "these measures follow requests from the Kenya Government to the British Government to help in dealing with terrorists of the Mau Mau secret society who have made a number of attacks on Europeans".

Students of colonial history are only too familiar with this pattern of bringing in troops to "restore (or maintain) order". Students of politics will know well enough the technique for making such martial rule palatable to the public in Britain. Even without looking below the surface, therefore, it looks like the rule of force to ensure the colonial dominance of the White traders and industrialists over the far more numerous native population.

### Denial of Peaceful Co-operation

In the last issue of FREEDOM, an article analysed the opinions of several well-known authorities on the situation in Kenya. For many years there has been unrest in this most valuable colony. This unrest is due to the land hunger of the native population and the way it has been determinedly blocked by the government on behalf of white settlers. In January last, the Kenya African Union sent a delegation to London to seek some redress of native grievances. They were refused an audience by both the Colonial Minister and the Minister of State. Visiting British officials have been warned that the economic situation in Kenya is headed towards disaster. There can be little doubt that the bitter comment of the

Kenya African Union that "The Africans are knocking in a peaceful way at the door of co-operation, and that door is not even open" represents the truth.

The situation in Kenya is the typically colonial one: there are thirty thousand Europeans and over five million Africans. The economic life strings of a vast territory are in the hands of the white settlers. No amount of improvement in the way of schools, hospitals, government undertakings—the stock exhibits of colonialism—can mask this basic pattern. And when the aspirations of the African population conflict with the interests of the white administration there is only one way of ensuring the maintenance of European hegemony—by armed force.

### Playing up Mau Mau

This is the real situation. But the newspapers in Britain say no word about that. They are concerned only with playing up every incidence of violence as a manifestation of the terrorist activities of the Mau Mau secret society. Informed observers appear to be unanimous in regarding Mau Mau as not of great importance. They say that such secret societies are in any case the product of native unrest at economic injustice and the failure of the white rulers to concede anything by peaceful negotiation. The newspapers give the impression that the Mau Mau is the dominant force for unrest and that its methods are wholly criminal and terrorist. They do not say that the principal African political organisations have publicly disassociated themselves from such activities.

The Mau Mau scares are being used to conceal the real issues and to justify the rule of naked force.

Similar attempts were made to conceal Jewish aspirations in Pales-

tine by dwelling on the terrorist activities of the Stern gang. In Ireland, acts of violence, provoked by the obstinate British refusal to make concessions, were played up as the justification for the Black and Tans. But no one now denies the social character of the opposition to British rule in these cases. It will eventually be recognised in Kenya—but not before the same army rule, the same shedding of blood and denial of justice.

### A Period of Colonial Wars

SUCH are events in Kenya. Troops are brought in to support the economic inequality which favours the tiny white minority and keeps the millions of Africans in dire poverty. But the situation is not wholly a domestic one, for events in any one part of Africa are eagerly and passionately watched by the rest of the African peoples. And colonial policy takes all this into account. Even if the British Government were disposed to favour the economic aspirations of the Kenya population, the necessities of maintaining colonial rule elsewhere would probably over-rule humane and far-seeing judgments. For what is done in Kenya will affect unrest in other parts.

To-day, colonial peoples have their own literate and educated spokesmen. It is not possible, as it was in the nineteenth century, to keep them in ignorance of what is going on elsewhere. And, since the war, colonial unrest has been evident all over the world, so that in several parts a permanent colonial war is being fought. For seven years a very large number of the French Armed Forces have been engaged in the war in Indo-China. The same is true of the British in Malaya. The Dutch had the same problem in

Indonesia, but not the same power to maintain their rule.

### Defensive Decline of Imperialism

Looking thus at the world, one cannot help but see the struggle of imperialism in its naked colours—the imposition of the rule of an incoming white minority over the native populations by armed force. In the nineteenth century and earlier, colonial wars were wars of conquest, wars to subdue and annex large territories. To-day, however, colonial wars are all defensive in character, to maintain white rule rather than to impose it. To make such observations is to expose oneself to the charge of Communism, but whether such situations are exploited by the Communists or not,

the facts of the situation are not changed. Actually, of course, the intervention of the political agents of Russian foreign policy in these colonial struggles has undoubtedly aided the imperialist powers by enabling them to describe the natural stirrings of the colonial peoples against imperialism as simply Communist intrigues for power. There can be no doubt that the Soviet Union would like to see the British and French out and the Russians in. But that does not alter (and rather underlines) the basic injustice of colonialism.

Broadly, however, the post-war pattern has been one of defensive colonial wars, of rearguard actions

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## U.N. VOTE TO DISCUSS "APARTHEID"

THE decision of the United Nations to discuss the racial discrimination laws of South Africa is a most curious one, and one which is not easy to understand. It would be pleasant to believe that the simplest explanation is also the truest—that world opinion really is shocked by Dr. Malan's policies. But the nature of the United Nations should make one chary of accepting such an explanation very readily.

The justification for such a discussion is the Charter of Human Rights of the United Nations. Obviously, if the U.N. are committed to supporting concepts of human equality and freedom, then they must be concerned with the practice of the member-states. Opposition to the admission of General Franco has its simplest basis in the absurdity of allowing a Fascist Dictator to enter so professedly humanitarian a body. South Africa, of course, was on the winning side in the war and so qualified for entry by a different door.

The British Government, through its permanent representative, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, has supported South Africa throughout and contends that the United Nations have no right to interfere in the domestic concerns of member-states. Furthermore, it is claimed that to do so endangers

the unity and structure of the whole United Nations Organisation.

The powers who voted against such discussion were the chief colonial powers: Britain, South Africa, Australia, France, Canada and the United States voted in favour. It is clear that Britain and the Dominions and France have good reasons for not taking a too definite line about the administration of their colonial colleague, Dr. Malan, as too much dirty linen might be washed in public as a consequence.

The United States' vote in favour of discussing the matter is on the face of it more difficult to understand in view of the similarity of American race laws with those of South Africa. It has, however, been pointed out that the U.S. Government have never voted to keep any subject from being discussed, and that their vote in no way commits them to oppose South African *Apartheid* laws.

After Sir Gladwyn Jebb's presentation of the British case about not interfering in the domestic affairs of other States, the Chilean representative reminded the Assembly that three years ago the British had taken the lead in having the U.N. intervene about the detention of British wives in Russia. He asked for consistency!

## London Anarchist Speaker Arrested

ONE of the speakers of the London Anarchist Group was arrested at Manette Street last Saturday evening (October 18th).

The meeting had only just begun and less than half a dozen people (apart from the group members) were listening when a policeman sailed round the corner and called the first speaker (John Bishop) down. Thinking it was simply the routine demand for name and address, comrade Bishop got down from the platform and, in order not to leave it vacant—and some people began to gather as soon as the policeman arrived—comrade Philip Sansom mounted the platform and began to speak.

The constable then switched his

attention to Sansom and arrogantly ordered him to stop speaking and get down. Our comrade refused and after some argument the constable grabbed him by the sleeve and pulled him down and then told him he was going to charge him with obstruction.

On Monday morning, Sansom appeared at Gt. Marlborough Street Magistrates' Court and, conducting his own defence, was able to question the constable and make a statement. Before the witnesses for the defence were called, however, the magistrate, Mr. Paul Bennett, V.C., adjourned the case for one week.

Our comrade will appear and his witnesses will give their evidence at Gt. Marlborough Street next Monday morning (October 27th).

## The Engineers: Increases Out of Profits?

AT the moment of writing, no further news has appeared about the Engineers' wage claim. The employers are presumably trying to gauge just how little will satisfy the unions without incensing the workers.

There is no doubt that the unions' determination to go to the lengths of banning overtime and piece work rather surprised the employers, who had said earlier that they were prepared to face a dispute themselves. In fact, of course, it was not the unions which were determined, it was the workers, who were pushing the unions into action much against their will.

In the game of bluff and counter-bluff which this sort of negotiation demands, there was one section looking on which was certainly not bluffing, and when the employers finally realised that the workers were quite prepared to put up with the temporary hardship of living on their basic pay for a time, they decided it might be better to come to some sort of terms.

Unfortunately for the workers, the terms will have to be agreed upon between the employers and the unions—and the unions have shown from the beginning their lack of enthusiasm for the £2 claim and their readiness to accept something much less. Just how much that will be will be decided more by the unions' fear of their own membership than their determination to get more out of the employers.

Harry Brotherton, president of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, in—way back last August—arguing the case for a £2 a week raise, asserted that the increase could come out of the "inflated" profits of the industries concerned, and need not raise prices to consumers or affect the export drive.

In arguing against this, Oscar R. Hobson, City Editor of the *News Chronicle*, assessed the trading profit (plus other corporate income) in the engineering trades at about £590,000,000, before tax and £325,000,000 after tax. At the normal rate of capital replacement, £155,000,000 of this would be saved, and £170,000,000 would be paid out as dividends to shareholders. These figures were based on the National Income White Paper for 1951, and Hobson maintained that profits in 1952 were not running at the same figures. That, however, remains to be seen next year, when the figures are published—for capitalists are notorious for always doing badly, and most of the time they seem to have nothing to live on but their losses.

There are 3,000,000 workers in the Confederation, so the total profit made on each one is nearly £200 a year—and this is after all overheads, rents, raw materials, processing, salaries and directors' fees and expenses, insurances, wear and tear, etc., have all been met. The amount of the increase would be about £100 a year—but the £2 a week was in any case being claimed only as the top rate for adult male skilled workers. Women, young workers, and the lower-paid grades would not have got the full increase anyway.

But assuming they were, that puts the total increase at £300,000,000. Hobson maintains this is an impossible figure to find out of £325,000,000, but it would not come out of the figure after tax is paid. Wages are paid before taxation, so it must be taken out of the £590,000,000. This still leaves £290,000,000 for taxation, saving and dividends—not a bad sum after all—still nearly £100 a year per worker. The taxation would come out at much less on this figure—and the State gets it

both ways, since the worker's £2 would be taxed before he gets it, so the Treasury would get quite a bit back out of that! For the rest—perhaps the shareholders could accept less than the comfortable percentages they have been used to receiving for so long!

Brotherton has maintained, however, that the total sum to be found would be nearer £200,000,000—even easier to find out of £590,000,000.

Should we concern ourselves with this sort of argument? As anarchists we despise the profit, wages and money systems altogether, but unfortunately under present circumstances we cannot ignore them. We are living in a society based upon them and we want to survive.

More than that. Mere survival is not enough. We demand the best out of life that it is possible to get. Under capitalism, however, the best of life is withheld from the very people who produce it. Until such time as the workers are sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organised to take over the means of production themselves, therefore, it is clearly going to be a continuous battle to get the best possible under existing circumstances.

In that battle the anarchists will play their part, but we will not be satisfied only with getting "the best possible under existing circumstances". It is precisely existing circumstances which we despise and which we set out to alter, so that the continuous battle and robbery can be ended.

The strength of the working-class is sufficient for both these purposes. The engineers have the strength to back up their demand if they so choose. Will their fellow-workers in all other industries have the strength to take over those industries when they so choose?

P.S.



# Anarchism, Anarchy, Anarchists

LET us identify and locate ourselves, the Anarchists.

I shall speak, necessarily, of Anarchists as I understand Anarchists, Anarchism as I understand it.

We are people who have values, aims, and methods radically different from the dominant. Our comradeship is neither in doctrine nor daily programme, on these we easily disagree, rather this: we face our nature, affirm life, stubbornly insist on the real and basic needs; and we understand that these are possible only as we are free from external oppression (authority as violence) and internal oppression (authority within us). We are people who insist upon, and affirm, liberty from authority, and freedom within the individual; we are those who assert (and follow our logic) that these ends of freedom and liberty can be achieved only by *directness*: freedom through freedom, liberty through liberty.

This last century, our oppressors, problems, goals, are specific in this way: the centralised political State, the dominant capitalist-military-political ruling class, an increasingly complex array of institutions binding these together, and the social organisation (and ourselves) to them; holding society in tension and violence of world war following world war, concentration camps and extermination camps of indifferent flags and ideologies; most significantly in the systematic, ruthless, even purposeless, destruction of the principle of life. (The ideally adapted human to-day is composed, as it were, of a small core of living substance, surrounded by a many times larger mass of deadness, confusion, violence; covered completely by a hard thin shell of customs, habits, and compulsions that constitute the daily economic rituals, the culture, civilisation: this is the basic disaster; the great bombs are consistent, but ironically superfluous.)

Living so: burdened, threatened, oppressed, exploited, enslaved, regimented, killed, and left (living) for dead: for a century we have risen in rebellion, adamant in disobedience, joined as friends and neighbours in solidarity and community; this handful of Anarchists; believing firmly that this need not be, we need not live so, will be free.

Our definition in space and time becomes more exact now: the day after a century of unmitigated disasters to movement, comrades, friends, strangers; a handful still, seemingly forced to choose between illusion and despair; on the day before other atomic facts, amid the potent demonstrations of giant nation-states planning our (incidental) extermination. And, seemingly without reluctance, our neighbours perform the necessary labour: mass homicide, slavery, regimentation, and the rest.

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These facts, the lack of even individual refuge for survival alive, the unimpassioned murderings by our neighbours—are these all there is? Are we to withdraw to museums and study histories of the decay of civilisations—or make peace, pact or armistice, so as to die a little later, in greater safety? (but not the safety of our *selves*). Or is it so, that there is work to do, joyful and rewarding work, and we may think and hope without illusion or despair?

There is this work, this illusionless, affirming thought, but it is easier not to see and do it.

Assume a worst: that it were so (if it were so), for example, that our neighbours, even our friends (our enemies cannot disappoint us as our friends can), are, forever will be, as they are (which we know too well); or, the same thing, the prevailing social orders are immutable in their central principle of slavery: were this really so (some argue) our Anarchism has no meaning, we

ought to become one with the ideals and acts of the society and its population. No! Not so that a thing is better for being inevitable; not so that our happiness and health would no longer depend on rejection of this social machine, its inhuman demands, its suffocating terms: so, on the other hand, that a man must be as free as he *can*, make a revolution of indefinite (most possible) extension.

Were it really so—some argue this, too—that the mass is by nature docile, unrebelling, must be led and herded, it then does not follow that we should lead, herd and slaughter them into our (former!) utopia. Even so, when we observe the State's seeming omnipotence, we cannot become its slaves, masters, or loyal opposition; again we protect ourselves, shelter our friends, undermine it in its locus of power (minds of subjects).

Or assume that no alternative to destruction can be: Could we then

## FABIAN ERRORS

IN a recent broadcast talk, Canon V. A. Demant, the historian, compared the recently published *New Fabian Essays* (Turnstile Press, 15/-) with the original *Fabian Essays* of 1889. "My general impression of the two sets of Fabian Essays," he said, "is that where the new writers are socialist they tend to repeat clichés, and where they are new in their thinking they are not specifically Left-wing. The original *Fabian Essays* represented, you might say, an idea looking for a movement—which it got; *New Fabian Essays* represent a movement looking for an idea."

Discussing the Fabian dilemma over nationalism, Canon Demant made this interesting remark: "There is no doubt that the problem of 'ownership for all' is a very difficult one. It is difficult because of the size of industrial units and their

complicated inter-connections; it is difficult because men, with the fear of insecurity still there, are naturally unwilling to share risks as well as profits. But it is the more difficult because the whole movement of thought and action for responsible status and ownership has been bypassed by the state socialism of the Fabians themselves. I notice in the introduction to this volume that the chairman of the group responsible for it—who I presume was G. D. H. Cole—resigned owing to a basic disagreement on policy. I hope it was on this point. If that is the case, then Professor Cole has stood out for what many had hoped would emerge before, namely his conviction that the workers' movement made its greatest mistake in seeking to become masters in the state instead of in their own house of industry."

## Lessons of the Spanish Revolution—15

# The Counter Revolution: The 'May Days' in Barcelona

DURING the life of his government, from September 1936 to May 1937, in which he was President and Minister of Defence, Largo Caballero had faithfully served the counter-revolution. He had, as Peirats puts it, saved the principle of government and had given it prestige. But in the process he had become deeply involved with the Communists and their Russian masters. It appears that Caballero had no illusions about the loyalty of the Communists, but that he had illusions as to his own capacities to control and direct the policies of the government; that he was indeed the "Spanish Lenin" who by his personality alone, could maintain the balance between the revolutionary and reactionary forces represented in the cabinet. He neither wanted the militias or a regular army, neither the old order or the revolutionary order; neither private property or the expropriation of property. To the Communists he promised conscription and the building of strong defences; to the anarchists a revolutionary war. All under his personal direction. He did none of these, and his period of government was marked by military disasters, the strengthening of the institutions of State and of the power of the counter-revolution to assert itself.

The "Spanish Lenin" had served his purpose as far as the Communists were concerned. His obstinacy and vanity had prevented him from becoming a willing tool of Communist policy, and by March 1937 almost completely isolated, even from the U.G.T. on which his power and authority (as leader of that organisation) depended, it was time to replace him with a man more amenable to Russian-inspired directives. The Communists and their reactionary allies also felt that they were now strong enough, supported by the armed forces reconstituted in the rearguard by the Caballero government, to finally eliminate the powerful influence exerted by the revolutionary organisations. Their first objective was the P.O.U.M. (the anti-Stalinist Marxist Party) in Catalonia, to be followed by a concerted attack on the C.N.T.-F.A.I. From the beginning of 1937 they showed their hand by isolated armed outrages and provocations (La Faterella, Molins de Llobregat, Puigcerdà). At the same time the Government of Catalonia put into operation 58 decrees (January 12, 1937) drafted by the Councillor of Finances, Josep Tarradellas, which clearly aimed at the strangulation of the social revolution, by increasing government control over collectivised enterprises and by imposing a new tax on them based on output. And in March a decree by the Councillor of Public Order dissolved the workers' *Patrullas de Control* (security patrols) and ordered that members of government-controlled armed corps in the rearguard would belong to no party or organisation. At the same time the plan to "disarm the rearguard" was put into effect. Any person who carried arms without official authorisation would be disarmed and sent for trial. There can be no doubt as to the intentions behind these moves.

be "realists", as we are bidden to be, argue the relative merits of a bomb now or two years from now; support (that is, help create) a war, be its soldiers, fabricate its weapons? No! if our belief is in life, community, and freedom, No! not by participating in a lesser evil (killing strangers, to the gain of our oppressors), but by rejecting all the evils will we mitigate them all. (And I deny that we will not one day abolish them!)

But let us not give these people the best of the argument a moment more! We are learning; there is work to be done; we know (our friends disappoint us; but not always) from day to day that there is ability for another life in us, our neighbours, strangers.

Experience and our science tell us that the nature of man is not such as slavery causes to appear.

If, less than of old, we have faith in the virtue of propaganda, dramatic insurrections, quick revolution; less than of old, in the inevitability of mass anarchic rebellion to economic misery; if so, we have learned much of the power of direct action, immediate action, personal action, group action, learning that what is revolutionary in time of revolution is not so much street barricades but the immediate revolutionary act: as the Spanish anarchists taught us, a village or a factory is enough. We have learned that as groups living the ethics and meaning of Anarchism we create an Anarchist community in and as our movement, and demonstrate by this new society our ideas, and their practicability. We have learned that as individuals we do most by this same living of ethics and meaning of Anarchism, creating a new environment for our non-Anarchist friends, creating the new society, a new life.

By daily acts of life we are more deeply angered, gifted with hatred at a kind of life (as it is); more deeply knowing, in our hearts, that we must live differently, more earnestly searching in each direction our strength allows us, ways and

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instruments and friends and comrades in a struggle which must have this form: the creation of new life, or continuing death.

More urgent work, a finer goal, labour more consonant with our persons and ideas, surely we cannot imagine. To those who wish immediate, simple, political answers to atomic problems, we would seem to give no answer: but it is by plotting the utilitarian murder of a million strangers in a far-off city that one can intervene in this politics, guide the hands of States. We select, for our goals, other weapons: the strong desires and dreams of man, the strength and joy and magic of life. We *can* do this.

DAVID WIECK.

[This essay was first published in the volume, *The World Scene from the Libertarian Point of View* (Chicago, 1951), a few copies of which are still obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, 2/9d. post free.]

## Our New Stage Censor

IT was announced last week from Buckingham Palace that the Queen has appointed a new censor of plays. He has an absolute veto on all dramatic literature, a veto which is above Parliament and beyond the law. Against his verdict there is no appeal; to a large extent, the future of the English drama depends upon his judgment.

The new censor, who is the eleventh Earl of Scarborough, has all the right qualifications for such a responsible post. He was Governor of Bombay from 1937-43; President of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1946 to 1949; and he published a history of the Eleventh Hussars in 1936.

Lord Scarborough is now Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England, and President of the South Yorkshire County Scout Council. Such experience may not seem immediately relevant to the job of a literary censor, but this appointment is in the great tradition of English unfree institutions.

Licensing plays is, of course, only a minor chore for the Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household—Lord Scarborough's official title. He is in charge of the Bedchamber, the Privy Chamber, the Presence Chamber, the Wardrobe, the Housekeeper's Room and the Guardroom. (Tribune, 17/10/52.)

On this occasion, however, the reaction of the rank and file militants was such that their "representatives" in the Catalan government were obliged to resign and yet another government crisis was provoked. The statements issued by the Regional Committee of the C.N.T., and by the anarchist groups of Barcelona, were outspoken, and though still remaining within the framework of collaboration between the organisations and parties, showed greater determination and revolutionary spirit than many previous ones. On the personal intervention of President Companys, a provisional government, "of an internal character" was formed on April 26, 1937, with C.N.T., U.G.T. and Esquerra representation. But it could not halt the real crisis in which the Catalan Government, with Communist inspiration, was to pit its strength against that of the Barcelona revolutionaries. Symptomatic of the atmosphere that prevailed in Catalonia was the refusal of the communists to join in any celebrations of May Day coupled with the activity of the police in the streets of Barcelona calculated to create disturbances. *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona organ of the C.N.T.) in its issue for May 2 answered these provocations in unequivocal terms:

"The workers in arms are the sole guarantee of the Revolution. To attempt to disarm the workers is to put oneself on the other side of the barricade. However much of a Councillor and Commissar one may be, one cannot dictate orders to the workers who are struggling against fascism with more sacrifice and heroism than all the politicians of the rear-guard, whose capriciousness and impotence no one ignores. Workers: let no one allow himself to be disarmed."

At three o'clock the following day (May 3) the government launched its first organised attack which provoked the armed battle in the streets of Barcelona that was to last several days at a cost of at least 500 workers' lives. More than a thousand were wounded, and the prisons were once again filled with revolutionary militants.

We do not propose to deal in detail with the "May Day" (as the bloody struggle in Barcelona, and Catalonia in general, is usually referred to). The literature on the facts is extensive, and the interested reader is referred to the published eye-witness accounts as well as to the official versions by the parties and organisations involved.<sup>31</sup> In the present study we will limit ourselves to an examination of the political aspects of the struggle.

<sup>31</sup> Augustin Souchy: *The Tragic Week in May* (Barcelona, 1937) is the official C.N.T.-F.A.I. version published in several languages. It contains a day to day account of the struggle in Barcelona as well as of events in the provinces, followed by comments on the results and as an appendix, the C.N.T. Manifesto on the May Days in Barcelona. The whole of the account of the struggle in Barcelona was published as a 4-page supplement to *Spain and the World* (London, June 11, 1937, Vol. 1, No. 14). George Orwell: *Homage to Catalonia* (London, 1938); Fenner Brockway: *The Truth about Barcelona* (London, 1937); Frank Jellinek: *The Civil War in Spain* (London, 1938) for a pro-Communist account with all the usual misrepresentations.

The government attack which provoked the May Days was the surprise action by police in three lorries under the command of Rodriguez Salas, Commissar General of Public Order, on the Telephone Building of Barcelona which dominates the city's busiest square, Plaza de Cataluña. Salas was bearer of an order issued by the Councillor of Internal Security, Artemio Aiguadé (member of Companys' party, the Esquerra), authorising him to take over the building. According to Peirats† this order was issued apparently without any consultation with the other members of the recently formed provisional government; the four C.N.T. members, at any rate, were unaware of the order. Taken by surprise, the workers in control of the Exchange were unable to prevent the police from occupying the first floor; but this was the extent of their advance! The news of the attack, not surprisingly, spread like wildfire, and within two hours the defence committees of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. went into action, gathering at their local centres, arming themselves and building barricades in readiness for any possible extension of the incident. Meanwhile, Valerio Mas, Regional Secretary of the C.N.T., contacted the Premier (Tarradellas) and the Minister of the Interior (Aiguadé) who both assured him that they had no knowledge of the incident, though it was subsequently proved that Aiguadé had in fact given the order. In the course of the negotiations the government promised to withdraw the police. There was no shooting that night, but the following morning when the police occupied the Palace of Justice, it was clear that the events of the previous day were not an isolated incident but the beginning of a concentrated effort by the government to occupy the strategic points of the city, and once in armed control to proceed with the liquidation of the revolution once for all. But the workers of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. showed the same courage and initiative as in the struggle against the military rising in July 1936. With the P.O.U.M. they successfully resisted the combined government and communist-controlled P.S.U.C. onslaught.

The reason put forward by Rodriguez Salas for the attack on the Barcelona Telephone Building was that the C.N.T. workers in control there were "tapping" telephone calls between the Ministers in Barcelona and Valencia. This justification was also advanced by Juan Comorera (Communist Minister in the Barcelona Government and General Secretary of the P.S.U.C. of Catalonia) at a public meeting in Barcelona:

"The Councillor of Internal Security, complying with his duty, decided to put a stop to an abnormal situation in the Telephone Building. The Telephone Building, as far as we know, is not the property of the C.N.T. It is as much the property of the C.N.T. as of the U.G.T.

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† José Peirats: *La C.N.T. en la Revolución Española*, Vol. 2 (Toulouse, 1952).



## A POLITICIAN'S PROGRESS

POLITICS goes on in very much the same way from year to year, from decade to decade. It is inevitable therefore that the criticism of politics should tend always to take the same line and employ the same arguments. Hence it is difficult to present a case against political methods with much freshness. Indeed, there is a tendency to use the deadly weariness with which an unprejudiced eye looks at politics as itself an argument. "The same old story," one writes.

This wearisome repetition is unquestionably tedious. Yet one cannot help marvelling at the way the political machine works. Comparatively honest, upright people go in at one end and appear at the other, well processed, as genuine politicians. Somewhere in the course of the machine operation, they have been relieved of their honesty, their respect for truth, their loyalty towards their friends, their concern for humanity. And they have acquired or had accentuated that brazenness, that ambitious will to power, that shameless claim to be able to run other people's lives that all expect in the finished article. The process is particularly fascinating in America for though there is no reason to think the raw material of any better or worse quality than elsewhere, the processing is much more thoroughgoing, the end product more stereotyped than elsewhere. As with other industrial processes, American efficiency is nowhere so apparent as in the production of politicians.

These reflections are occasioned by the transformation of General Dwight Eisenhower, the Republican candidate in the presidential elections. During and immediately after the war, this pleasant-faced soldier often asserted that he had no political ambitions. Simple folk took him to mean that he didn't intend to go into politics, but it seems likely that he merely thought that he could resist the processing mechanisms and not become a politician proper.

After the war, he sought the obscurity of an academic post in a university but was recalled to become Commander-in-Chief of the Western forces in Europe. It was from this position that he returned from the army and became a presidential candidate.

His programme was to provide a "clean" administration but one may sceptically doubt whether even Hercules Eisenhower can clean up the Augean stable of American political life. As an election campaign gathers force, the candidate and his advisers get an idea of what the electorate is chiefly interested in and they alter the programme accordingly. It is quite simple: having found out what is wanted, one just undertakes to supply it. In this case it appears to be a solution to the Korean war. Eisenhower has it. Truman's gibe that he might have given the administration his advice in this matter when he was its chief adviser is certainly not without malicious point!

Accounts of Eisenhower's electoral methods—his whistle-stop speeches across America, his presentation of his wife to the crowds and the use that is made of his undoubted personality—show that his lack of political ambition has not been proof against the processing machine, for he begins to look very much like a politician.

Thus we see the mechanism of the process, operating in this case on a robust and attractive personality, and turning out the same result in the end. It is true that the American machine is not so

standardised as the Russian and does not turn out such absolutely uniform products. There are undoubtedly still some politicians who with necessary qualifications can be termed honest; some who retain some colourable appearances of loyalty; some who even appear to have a regard for the truth. But these are the exceptions which prove the general rule.

The Americans may pride themselves that although their product is not so perfectly standardised as, says, their Russian rivals, yet they can process a wider variety of human types and get very nearly the same final result in the end. In the wearisome deadliness of politics, the transformation of General Eisenhower is a beautiful demonstration, well up to the Dome of Discovery standard.

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## AFRICAN COPPER MINERS' STRIKE

BRITAIN gets nine-tenths of her untreated copper from the mines of Northern Rhodesia, which produce 300,000 tons a year. The mines are worked by both white and African labour and, as is usual, the Africans are kept in the most unskilled positions.

Four years ago, the Dalgleish Report was published following an official enquiry, which listed various skilled and semi-skilled occupations which it considered Africans were capable of doing. The usual procrastination has followed, leaving intelligent and capable Africans still confined to the most arduous and unskilled—and consequently lowest-paid—work.

Last Monday, 37,000 Africans started a strike in support of their demands for an extra 2s. 8d. per shift. *The Observer* for Sunday, 19th October, gave the background to the strike as follows:

Behind their demand for an extra 2s. 8d. per shift lies the real purpose of their action, which is, to win the right for advancement to more skilled, and therefore better-paid, jobs, at present held exclusively by Europeans.

The African miners' rights to these opportunities was recommended in the Dalgleish Report, 1948.

Five years of Government inaction, or ineffective action, have convinced the African Mineworkers' Union that, despite the protestations of sympathy with their ambitions expressed equally by the Government, the mining companies, and the European Mineworkers' Union, the only thing that will ever enable the African workers to achieve their legitimate aspirations in the mining industry is their own strength. They are not nearly strong enough yet, but they are steadily gaining strength, as the conduct of the present dispute has shown.

### OFFERS REJECTED

The days of a sudden reckless and ill-organised strike are gone. The demand for increased pay was formulated by the executive, circulated to branches and discussed at meetings, approved, and tendered to the companies, whose first offer of a small increase was rejected. Conciliation proceedings were invoked, and better offer was rejected. Acting within their legal rights, the African workers' representatives turned down the Government's suggestion to settle the dispute by arbitration.

A strike ballot was then called for and 23,585 workers dropped their votes into green tin containers posted around the mines. Only 113 men recorded their disapproval of striking by dropping their votes into red tins. Seven or eight thousand union members did not vote at all and 10,000 or more African mineworkers have not yet joined the union.

During previous strikes the companies have always issued rations to the African strikers, which they considered wise because of the danger that empty stomachs might lead to the looting of food stores. The companies' statement, issued before the strike ballot, and probably after consultation with the Government, that this

procedure would not be repeated, was both a tribute and a severe blow to the members of the African Mineworkers' Union.

### COLLECTING FUNDS

It remains, however, to be seen whether the authorities have under-estimated the power of the empty stomach. The leisurely fashion of the Africans' proceedings in the dispute was probably due to the need for time to collect funds, but it is unlikely that enough has been collected or saved to feed the workers for more than two or three weeks. They have little personal reserves, and their union is young and poor.

The European Mineworkers' Union, with its 4,000 members, has always stood in the way of the implementation of the Dalgleish Report. It has an agreement with the companies which prevents the black workers from advancing into more skilled occupations.

The white union professes itself ready to remove the barrier, but the alterations in the agreement it has so far suggested would not do so—though they sound plausible as local propaganda.

If the Dalgleish Report were put into effect there would undoubtedly be a very serious European strike. Neither the companies nor the Government, who would like to see the Report's recommendations carried out, are prepared to lose a lot of revenue over this, or risk the difficulties a white strike would entail.

### GESTURE NEEDED

The issue could be precipitated at once if the Government passed a measure making racially discriminatory agreements in industry invalid. This would be tangible evidence to the Africans of the Government's good faith, though it would not necessarily have the practical effect of getting the Africans into better posts. In the European strike which would inevitably follow, the companies and the Government are clearly strong enough to hold out until the Dalgleish principles are won.

Such an act, while it would win African support, would probably make certain that which already appears likely; the rejection of Federation by the European population of Southern Rhodesia, on the grounds that alliance with the North will spread "Colonial Office" principles in the South. If Federation is to fail, it could not do so on a more honest issue.

★

We make no apology for reproducing this report at such length, for it shows up very clearly the complicated nature of African-White Labour problems in Africa. There are three-sided interests at work here—the employers and the Government who are concerned only with the profitable exploitation of the copper mines, the white workers, determined to protect their favourable position in the labour market, and the Africans, desirous of bettering their position in the labour market.

The white workers fear that the Africans can only improve their status at the expense of the whites, and so we see just the same bitter hostility between groups of workers as exists in the Southern States of America, where whites and Negroes compete for jobs, while the bosses exploit them both.

And there, from an anarchist point of view, is the key to the matter. The issue will be used as a political one (as the reference to Federation in the last paragraph of the *Observer* report shows) but it is in fact an economic one. Both the white workers and the black have the same economic interests, if they could only see it, but the emotional clouds of colour hostility and—in the case of the whites—fear of letting the Africans get on—establish barriers to their recognising their common class interests.

So far, the Africans have been the weakest of the three sections, but now that they are beginning to organise themselves they are realising, as the *Observer* says, that "the only thing that will ever enable the African workers to achieve their legitimate aspirations . . . is their own strength."

That applies to workers everywhere and it will be interesting to see how the Africans use it.

Another interesting point about this is also the way in which in previous strikes the companies have fed the strikers to avoid the danger of looting! They are not going to do that this time and the reason for that probably lies precisely in the fact that the Africans are now organised—which means that the union leaders can be held responsible for any disorder.

That shows one of the disadvantages of having leaders, who can be seized virtually as hostages and stand to be prosecuted if their members break the law. If the Africans built an organisation with no such vulnerable leadership they would find themselves that much stronger.

We offer our sympathy and support to the African workers in their struggle against exploitation and appeal to the white workers of Northern Rhodesia—and everywhere else for that matter—to realise that their true class interests lie in unity with their coloured brothers, for the common advancement of all.

There are still a number of readers who have not renewed their overdue Subscriptions.

Are you one?

Then please attend to this matter now!

## Lessons of the Spanish Revolution - 15

Continued from p. 2

because as many men working there belong to the C.N.T. as belong to the U.G.T. But it is not the property of anyone, and in any case, it will be the property of the community, when the Government of the Republic nationalises the Telephone. But there were serious things going on there, which the Government had to put a stop to. The fact was that all the interior controls of the Telephone Building were at the service, not of the community, but of the organisation, and neither President Azaña, nor President Companys, nor anyone else could speak without the indiscreet ear of the controller knowing it. Naturally, this had to be stopped, as it was on that particular day, just as it might have been the day after, or a month after, or a month before. So complying with orders received, our comrade Rodriguez Salas went to occupy the Telephone Building and the next moment there came the same reply as before—general mobilisation and the beginning of the building of barricades. If the Councillor for Internal Security had done something outside his duty, were there not four councillors of the C.N.T. who could demand redress and his dismissal? But they did not want to comply with normal procedure, but instead they replied to this act of the Government with a formidable mobilisation of all groups which took possession of all the strategic places in the city.<sup>32</sup>

We have subjected the reader to this verbal indigestion not only in order to confirm, with Communist sources, the facts: that the attack on the Telephone Building provoked the struggle in Barcelona,<sup>33</sup> but because it also reveals the complete dishonesty of the Communist Party: (1) Comorera does not in fact state that Azaña could not speak to Companys over the phone, but that their conversations were being tapped. It was not therefore a question that the

phones were not available to them; (2) In fact the C.N.T. workers were in a large majority in the Exchange. The *Daily Worker*, which cannot be accused of ever having overestimated the strength of the anarchists, wrote at the time: "Salas sent the armed republican police to disarm the employees there, most of them members of C.N.T. unions" (May 11, 1937. Our italics.) But there was never any question of property coming into it, since the Exchange was collectivised and under joint C.N.T.-U.G.T. control. And the Communists as arch-legalitarians knew that this situation was sanctioned by the Collectivisation Decree of October 1936, and meant *inter alia* that the Government all along had its controller on the Council of Enterprises. (3) The C.N.T. did in fact demand the dismissal of Salas and Ayguadé. This was refused. "The intransigence of the other parties, and in particular the opportunistic attitude of the President of the Generalitat, who resolutely opposed those sanctions, provoked the general strike and the outbreak of fighting that followed" (Peirats, Vol. 2, p. 192).

In reading this passage from Comorera, one other fact cannot be overlooked: namely, the completely reactionary attitude of a party which complains of the revolutionary workers vigilance in maintaining a close check on the conversations that took place between the politicians. It is, of course, a quite different matter when the "indiscreet ear" is that of the O.G.P.U.!

There is still some confusion as to the origins of the provocation that resulted in the May Days. Behind the barricades opposing the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and P.O.U.M. were members of the P.S.U.C. and Estat Català, that is communist controlled socialists and members of the "Catalan State" party, an extreme separatist movement, respectively. In a *Manifesto of the National Committee of the C.N.T. regarding the May Days in Barcelona*, considerable evidence is advanced to indicate that leading members of the Estat Català had been conspiring in France to achieve the "independence of Catalonia".

"The Separatists, bourgeois in the last analysis, could not reconcile themselves to the fascist uprising that resulted in proletarian victory and threatened them with the loss of all their wealth. And in their search for some substitute solution, they entered into

negotiations with Italy, in order to provoke internal strife that would furnish the opportunity for foreign intervention and facilitate the recognition of Catalonia as an independent State, thereby undermining the anti-fascist front at the same time. All those who wanted Catalonia to return to the *status quo* prevailing on July 18th, accepted these proposals."

Two further interesting details in this Manifesto are the references to Ayguadé and Comorera:

"We must recall that Ayguadé was the Councillor of Internal Security; that he is a member of the Estat Català and that he fell under suspicion of being implicated in the conspiracy."

"On the 20th of April, Comorera, leader of the Communist Party of Catalonia, was in Paris. Among the people he visited was the secretary of Ventura Gassol [member of the Estat Català] and a certain Castañer. Who is this Castañer? We are told, 'Agent of the Generalitat'. Investigators have found out that he is in contact with a certain Vintro, secretary of Octavio Saltó, journalist in the service of the Spanish fascists. . . . He also maintains close relations with members of the Estat Català, especially with Dencas and Casanovas. The former visits Castañer in his house, and the latter is visited, in turn, by Castañer."

Apart from the reference to Comorera, the C.N.T. manifesto does not deal at all with the rôle of the Communists in fomenting the struggle. Peirats supports the theory that "reasons of a political nature decided the National Committee of the C.N.T. to pass over the important and leading rôle played by Stalin's secret police in the May Days, that is, the real motives for that provocation". He suggests that perhaps the Committee lacked irrefutable proofs, or that such proofs did not come into their hands.

(To be continued)

V.R.

<sup>32</sup> These two paragraphs up to this word were deleted by the Spanish Government censor when the Manifesto was first published in *Solidaridad Obrera*, June 13, 1937, but was included without deletions in the English editions of Souchy's *The Tragic Week in May (Barcelona, 1937)*. In the French edition of the same pamphlet (*La Semaine Tragique de Mai à Barcelone*, the Manifesto is entirely omitted. It may be a pure coincidence, but, on the other hand, the Manifesto does charge that the conspirators were laying their plans in France, that a government agent who was about to "unmask the traitors" was murdered in France, and that the Estat Català "had concentrated all the armed forces at its disposal in France on the frontier". Was it considered expedient by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to omit the Manifesto from the French edition in order not to embarrass the French Government?



## Commonsense by the Judge

MR. Justice Hallett has not the reputation of being a particularly enlightened judge. The greater was our surprise then at his human understanding in dealing with a case which came before him last week at Northampton Assizes.

On trial was an 18-year-old youth who pleaded guilty to an "offence" against a 15-year-old girl on a day in July 1951. The "offence" resulted in the girl giving birth to a baby.

Sentencing the boy to two days' imprisonment, which meant his immediate release, the judge, pointing out that the girl had told the Court how she and the boy practically grew up together, added: "He took a fancy to her and she took a fancy to him and here he is."

He told the boy: "The people who make the laws in this country always have made it an offence for men to have relations with girls under a certain age. The age has gone up as ideas have changed."

"Now it is 16. It used to be 15 in my time. Some hundreds of years ago it was as low as 10. You were only 17 at the time and the girl was only 15, and I think it is difficult to blame you more than her."

"For that reason and because you have a very good character at work and there is nothing else against you and because one must remember on the Bench the temptations of the flesh, I am going to deal with you in a most lenient way."

We don't know what the Archbishop of Canterbury will say about this, but it seems good common sense to us. And we can assure readers that *Freedom Press* did not send a copy of their pamphlet "Sexual Freedom for the Young," to the learned judge before the case was heard! Nor do we think that a bit of an anarchist lurks under Mr. Justice Hallett's wig!

## COMMENT

### Human Robots, Televisions and Statistics

FROM Vienna it is reported that a "giant robot man ran amok in a department store and threatened to trample on a crowd of panic-stricken children."

"A passerby stumbled over a cable and pulled out the plug connecting the robot with the electric current. He quickly stuck it back again. But this gave the impulse necessary to set the robot in motion. He marched forward towards the children. An engineer quickly gave signals and the colossus turned about and marched back to his place."

There is something very symbolic in this incident, for the world to-day is rapidly developing into two giant control centres from which at any moment a button can be pressed which will set millions of men into action, who in turn will press buttons which will wreak havoc on towns and cities invisible to them. "Theirs not to reason why." They are the human robots who will run amok; who knows whether, like the Sorcerer's Apprentice, the initial button pushers will remember or know the "signals" to stop the "colossus" of war?

#### Shades of Orwell's 1984

INDUSTRIALISED television ideas being studied in Pretoria (S. Africa) include a master screen in a factory head office enabling directors to switch over and watch any department they wish. It would be connected by landlines with reception screens at key points in the factory.

Will scientific "progress" catch up with Orwell's picture of 1984 before 1984?

#### A New Parasitic Class

A HOUSE investigating committee in Washington, has discovered that in many bureaus of the Federal Government there are frequently more "expeditors" than there are people to do the actual work.

The probers found one place where there were so many "expeditors" they had to stand in line to see the people they were trying to speed up.

The most glaring revelation of over-expediting was unearthed in the Wage

THE recent articles on the Hopi Indians prompt me to write a few words on a similar people nearer home—namely our own anarchist wanderers, the Gypsies.

As a boy I lived at the foot of the Polden Hills in the heart of Somerset, and had ample opportunity for studying the life of gypsies, often playing with their children, and not without envy of their care-free life. As I grew older, my interest in their nomadic life broadened, and I frequently discussed with gypsies various aspects of their lives.

I must here explain that in writing of gypsies I am referring to the true type of wanderer—the Romany. I mention this because, as any true gypsy will tell you, there are numerous travellers of the road alluded to as gypsies who are not in fact gypsies at all. These are the essentially English-speaking caravan dwellers, who in winter return to the bricks and mortar of typical British homes, and spend only a few months of the year travelling the green lanes of England.

These, for some reason or another, are referred to in the West Country as *Ditnikis*, a name used in a derogatory sense, and the origin of which I have never been able to discover.

The Romany has a poor opinion of the *Ditniki*, feeling that he lowers the dignity of his own community, and I confess that in comparisons, I must agree with him.

Your true Romany is an addict to cleanliness, and in dress is fond of colour. He knows nothing of politics and couldn't care less. The law he resents because it everlastingly interferes with his freedom of movement, telling him where, or where not, he may pitch his tent, and ensnaring him with petty restrictions.

The policeman he calls "gorgi", although this frequently is used as a name for all non-gypsies. He also resents the name Gypsy, as I quickly discovered. "I know people call us gypsies, sir," one of them explained to me, "but we call ourselves travellers."

Among themselves, these people have no written laws, but they have a strict unwritten code of moral conduct. The

Determination Division of the Labour Department. This is the division which determines the rate of pay for workers on Government projects. Under the law, any Government agency undertaking a construction job must pay the same wages as those which currently prevail in the area.

The House investigators asked Jester S. Ray, acting solicitor of the Labour Department, whether there were as many expeditors as people available to do the work. Ray astonished the congressmen by replying: "I think that happened on or two occasions. There were so many (expeditors) that they had to stand in line. And, according to information I was furnished, there were one or two occasions when there were more expeditors than people to do the work."

#### The American State Machine

AN A.P. report from Washington quotes Senator Byrd as saying that the United States Federal civilian payroll has now reached an annual figure of 9½ billion dollars (more than £3,300 million) and that more than 2½ million persons were on the Government's civilian payroll.

Civilians employed by the military establishment received \$4,639,000,000, an increase of 32%, or \$686,000,000 over the previous year.

Most of the July increases in civilian Government workers was in the military establishment which gained 2,329 during the month, boosting its total 1,339,501, or about half the total Federal civilian payroll.

For those readers who are not petrified by these figures, we append details of taxes paid in America, which reached a peak of 28% of the national income during World War II; fell to 25% in the year just before the Korean war; and reached 32% early this year. All taxes per capita rose to \$415 during the last war; dropped to \$373 per capita just before Korea; and broke the record at \$557 [£190] per capita in the year ending last June. Another way of saying the same thing is that taxes of all kinds came to \$56.4 billion in fiscal 1950, while they rose to \$86.5 billion [£29,000 mil-

Romany does not steal, although he will borrow, beg and cut a shrewd bargain. Immorality is practically unknown among them and if discovered, entails ejection from the tribe and lasting disgrace.

They are persistent poachers and make no pretence to the contrary. "Anyway, who ordained the Squire should have all the rabbits and pheasants? This is not stealing—its common sense!"

The children and the aged are well cared for—no National Assistance needed here—and loyalty and devotion within the tribe is deep and sincere.

They have a religion peculiar to themselves. They need neither priests, hymns, nor prayer-books, their own consciences being deemed sufficient temples in which to repose their faith. They perform their own christenings and marriage-rites, and separation or divorce is unknown. In matters of faith, hard work, and family devotion, they could teach us much.

I found them kind and even child-like in many ways. Each member of the tribe performs his self-allocated task, each going his own way at break of dawn and re-assembling around the camp-fire at night to interchange their experiences of the day and the results of their industry.

Their origin is uncertain, most anthropologists claiming it to be Hindu, although there is a strong body of sup-

## Rule by Force in Kenya Continued from p. 1

against the unrest and uprisings of the colonial peoples.

### Rôle of Progressive Forces

In such a world, if the basic pattern is grasped, the rôle of progressive forces and more particularly of revolutionary forces should surely be the acceptance of the twilight of imperialism in order that it should be replaced by social and economic justice. The blind acceptance and support for colonial nationalism is entirely short-sighted. Nationalism has not only produced the nation

lion] in fiscal 1952. (Figures from the National Industrial Conference Board.)

Translate these figures into hours of toil in producing weapons of destruction, forms in triplicate for our enslavement, and for maintaining armies and armies of bureaucrats . . . to realise what all this wasted human effort could produce if used in constructive pursuits!

### An American (Black Market) Export

WE must confess to a weakness for statistics, and some, such as those for cigarette consumption in America, can be quite revealing.

The American Agriculture Department statisticians estimate that in the fiscal year ended June 30th, the 111,510,000 Americans in the 15-or-over age groups smoked some 400,000 million cigarettes. This means an average of 3,600 cigarettes per head per annum. The armed forces overseas on the other hand, consumed 19,000 million in the same period. Assuming that there are even 2 million men involved, the average annual consumption is 9,500 cigarettes per head, or 2½ times the average consumption for the whole country.

It is understandable that their consumption would be greater than the general average. But even making all due allowances, it would seem that American cigarettes are still a profitable form of currency in the world.

It is also interesting to note that Americans are chewing less tobacco than last year (only 86 million pounds) and are putting less tobacco in their pipes (about 94 million pounds).

If it is true that snuff clears the head, it is to be regretted that consumption in America has decreased in the last year by 3% to 39 million pounds.

With clear heads and less smoke screens the American people might see their ruling class and free enterprises as they really are, and begin to convert their vast potential to constructive use in building up a prosperous world.

LIBERTARIAN.

## Our Gypsy-Anarchists

port for Egyptian—hence the contraction "gypsy". Their restlessness is to a great extent due to persecution. Perhaps no race has suffered such constant persecution in silent stoicism. They suffered much at the hands of the Nazis, and subsequently, too, by the Communists in

## PROBLEMS OF RURAL INDIA

ON the anniversary of Gandhi's birth this month, "community development projects" were inaugurated throughout India. It is reported that the projects are scheduled to cover 18,500 villages with an area of nearly 27,000 square miles and a population of 15,000,000. The projects cover most aspects of rural life, agriculture, education, health, sanitation, welfare, cattle, provision of employment and so on. One third of the £30 millions to be spent upon irrigation works.

Some thoughtful comments on the problems of these and similar fundamental development projects were made on this occasion by the New Delhi correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who writes:

"The basic object of these projects is to help the villager to help himself raise his living standard, and the project areas are to serve as a model for the rest of the country. But observers who are wholly in sympathy with the objectives aimed at wonder whether the method

Eastern Europe, since a community on wheels is not easy to pin down and regiment to a state-machine.

With Thomas Paine the gypsy would agree, "The whole world is my country," and he asks nothing more than to be left alone. Surely these people are primitive anarchists in all but name.

Bristol.

G. NICHOLSON.

of approach could yield the desired results. The very idea of the Central Government stepping in with its vast resources and official hierarchy is not easily reconcilable with the objects of developing local initiative and generating a feeling of self-help among the local population. The bulk of the money will no doubt go in the shape of wages, presumably on the Central Government's standard, for people trained to receive high wages in return for their services can hardly be expected suddenly to switch over for a period of 'selfless sacrifice'.

"Since the Central resources are by no means unlimited, certain fundamental issues need consideration in the initial stage. For how long is the experiment to be carried on? Is it to stop as soon as the initial allotment of money is exhausted? What would be the order of recurring expenditure, and who would bear it? Can India hope to get a similar allotment of money for development? Furthermore, so many aspects of rural life are to be tackled simultaneously under the scheme, that it will be difficult to assess the progress made in any direction.

"The merit of the Etawah project in the United Provinces lies in the fact that the effort centred on the economic improvement of the villager, leaving it to him to satisfy his other wants, such as education and health, with his improved resources. The provision of improved seed, fertilisers, and agricultural implements is of great economic importance, and would, incidentally, help to solve to some extent the country's difficult food situation."

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

#### OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting  
HYDE PARK  
Every Sunday at 4.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET  
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)  
Every Saturday at 6.0 p.m.

#### INDOOR MEETINGS

at the

#### IRVING THEATRE

Irving St., Leicester Square

Thursdays at 7.30

(Refreshments from 7 p.m.)

THURS., OCT. 30—Tony Gibson on

PACIFISM, VIOLENCE &

CUERCION

### NORTH-EAST LONDON

#### DISCUSSION MEETINGS

IN EAST HAM

Alternate Wednesdays

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### LIVERPOOL

#### DISCUSSION MEETINGS at

101 Upper Parliament Street,

Liverpool, 8.

Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

### GLASGOW

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