

Freedom

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Threepence

Reflections on the British Guiana Detentions and other matters

FALSE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY

HAVING safely survived the Debate on British Guiana (FREEDOM 31/10/53), as one all along expected that they would, the Government has now started to implement its regained powers by arresting five leaders of the People's Progressive Party (P.P.P.) under the Emergency regulations, which empowers the Governor to detain indefinitely and without trial any person who in his opinion constitutes "a threat to public safety". No charges, no trial; just detention at the Governor's pleasure, as it were.

The official announcement of these arrests states:

"The Governor is satisfied by their past conduct and recent activities that these persons constitute a threat to public safety and order. With a view to preventing them acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety and order, he has decided it necessary to make orders directing that they be apprehended and detained in safe custody in such a place in the Colony as he may from time to time direct, until such time as he may further direct.

"The Governor has also appointed an advisory committee consisting of the Chief Justice, Mr. Carlos Gomes, and Mr. H. A. M. Beckles. The duty of the committee is to hear objections made by persons against whom detention orders have been made, and to make recommendations to the Governor in respect of these objections.

"The Governor regrets that, owing to widespread intimidation and the fear of victimisation, grave difficulty has been experienced in obtaining evidence of eyewitnesses to offences which have been committed."

Of course the world is no longer shocked at such actions. In Kenya, when the Emergency was declared, 200 Africans were arrested and with the exception of six of their number who have been tried in the courts, the remainder have now been in prison for a year without trial. In America, politically undesirable citizens are refused passports, and in countries such as France and Italy it is commonplace for a man to be arrested and held in prison for as long as two years whilst the police are trying to make their case against him—and in these countries

it applies to *criminal* as well as political cases.

To return to the arrests in British Guiana, one wonders whether Dr. Jagan's fate will be that of Seretse Khama? The government's action, when he decides to return to his country will indeed be interesting to observe. And if any such action does occur, we cannot see who among the politicians will be able with any moral strength to protest. After all it was the Labour Party which banished Seretse Khama originally, with the Conservatives in opposition having to protest, only to confirm Attlee's decision when they were returned to power!

MORE than ever is it necessary for people to get out of their heads the illusion that politicians believe in the rights of the individual. Then we shall realise the need to form our own organisations to defend our liberties from attacks by all politicians. Take for example the recent case where government snoopers intercepted correspondence addressed to the Communist Party offices in Bristol, and destroyed all the refined techniques for opening peoples' letters and resealing them without the recipient being aware of this intrusion on his privacy, by the silly mistake of putting back the letters into the wrong envelopes! Here was palpable evidence indeed of activities, which with phone tapping, are officially recognised as techniques commonly used by the totalitarians but not in our "democracies". So much so that our Courts do not recognise evidence obtained in this manner by the police.

Questions were asked in the House of Commons which always strikes us being looked upon as a kind of safety valve for injustices rather in the same way as Orators' Corner at Hyde Park is viewed (and tolerated) by the authorities as a safety valve for political "hot-heads" and religious fanatics. For the striking thing about debates and ques-

tions in the House, is that though occasionally a Minister gets hot under the collar and an opposition member Red, if only in his face, the Government always has the last word by refusing to answer any further questions. And the dissatisfied questioner always threatens to raise the matter again, but rarely seems to do so. Or when he does sufficient time has passed for the question to have lost its sting so many more important questions having arisen in the meantime!

THE questions and answers in connection with the opening of letters contains not uninteresting matters:

Mr. A. W. BENN (Lab. Bristol S.E.) asked the Assistant Postmaster-General under what authority internal letters in the United Kingdom were opened and on how many occasions these powers had been used in the last year. He also asked in what place two recent letters addressed to the Communist Party offices in Bristol were opened, who authorised it and why, and why these questions could not be answered by the head postmaster in Bristol when they were addressed to him.

Mr. L. D. GAMMANS said that the circumstances in which postal packets in course of transmission by post might be opened, detained, or delayed were referred to in the proviso Section 58 (1) of the Post Office Act, 1953. No record was available of the number of postal packets opened under these powers. In the Bristol case the Post Office was acting under a warrant issued by the Home Secretary and he, Mr. Gammans, was not prepared to make any further statement.

Mr. BENN said that in the Bristol case, the two letters opened were put back in the wrong envelopes. (Laughter). He suggested that security precautions were somewhat affected when they were bungled in the way they had come to expect from the Government. While

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Racialism in Africa

THE Report of the United Nations Commission of Enquiry into the racial question in South Africa has now been published as a report of 372 pages. The Commission consisted of Señor Santa Cruz (Chili) as Chairman; M. Laugier (France); and Mr. Bellegarde (Haiti). The following is taken from a New York message:

The commission declared that it was competent to examine and study the racial question in South Africa. "The universal right of study and recommendation is absolutely incontestable with regard to general problems of human rights, and particularly of those protecting persons against discrimination for reasons of race, sex, language, or religion," it said. The racial problem in South Africa was "no new thing in the life of that nation, and did not begin when the Nationalist Party conceived and began to apply the so-called *apartheid* doctrine."

Fundamental Rights

Measures systematically adopted by the Nationalist Party affected the non-white population's most fundamental rights and freedoms—political rights, freedom of movement and residence, property rights, freedom to work and practise occupations, freedom of marriage and other family rights. "They establish obvious inequality before the law in relation to the rights, freedoms, and opportunities enjoyed by the 20 per cent. of the population consisting of 'whites' or 'Europeans' or of people regarded as such," the report said.

"Non-Europeans may not marry members of the white ethnic group. An Indian from Natal may not cross the frontier of his province to go to another province of the Union without previously obtaining a written authorization. No Bantu may buy a bottle of wine. No non-European may order a meal in a restaurant or spend a night in a hotel other than the few reserved for non-Europeans. No Bantu living on a reservation may leave it to seek work in a town without previously obtaining a written authorization, and no non-European

"Do you know what I admire most in the world? The inability of force to organize anything."

—NAPOLEON.

may play in a Rugby football team consisting of Europeans.

"A non-European may not be elected to Parliament, and his voting rights are restricted and are subject to different conditions from those of the whites."

"Humiliating Level"

"Four-fifths of the population are . . . reduced to a humiliating level of inferiority which is injurious to human dignity and makes the full development of personality impossible or very difficult. The alleged purpose of the policy is to extend, to a population subjected to strict discrimination and having a very low standard of living and very limited opportunities for development, eventual opportunities equal to those enjoyed by white people. The truth is, however, that for the time being the policy excludes them from the extensive opportunities for development which exist on the other side of the colour bar."

The *apartheid* policy gave rise to serious internal conflicts and maintained increasing tension in the country.

We have had occasion to remark in the past on the curious anomaly of independent commissions of the United Nations expressing well-backed opinions which, in effect, condemn the political practice of the member States. A correspondent recently described in FREEDOM, however, the unwillingness of the commission to hear evidence criticizing, for example, British governmental support for Malan and, therefore, for his policies. This shows that they are by no means wholly naive, though it does not impugn their honesty either. The opinions quoted above are unequivocal enough.

Apartheid in Central Africa

Unfortunately the *immediate* practical effect of such pronouncements is slight only and Malan no doubt gives them scant attention. (The word *immediate* is, however, used advisedly, for we believe that these U.N. statements condemning racialism will not lack effect in crystalizing a general moral uneasiness about the Colour Question. They will make it more difficult for governments to adopt a frankly "superior" attitude regarding European administration.

Nevertheless, these are long term effects. In fact, in Africa to-day, Malanism is spreading. The Confederate Party in Rhodesia, which opposes the Federal Party of the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins and Sir Roy Welensky, has a policy which favours *apartheid*. It is said to appeal to the skilled workers, many of them recent immigrants, who fear that they may lose their privileged position: to the Afrikaner nationalists who are said to number 13 per cent. of the population of Southern Rhodesia and as much as a third of the population of Northern Rhodesia; and finally to simple reactionaries many of them retired army officers or administrators.

It is not thought that at the elections the Confederate Party will oust Sir Godfrey Huggins' Party, but they may achieve sufficient representation to affect policy.

Kinsey Report Banned in S. Africa

The second volume of the Kinsey Report dealing with the sexual behaviour of women in North America has been banned in South Africa. Because, no doubt, of the interest which it has aroused, the government have also banned the first volume (sexual behaviour in the male) although it has been on sale for five years.

That's A Petrol Strike, That Was!

WITH surprising rapidity the petrol strike has fallen out of the headlines.

For students of Freud (and who isn't these days?) perhaps this is, not so surprising really, for the good doctor told us that we all try to forget unpleasant things—and for the class for whom the headlines work the petrol tanker-drivers' strike was a very unpleasant thing indeed.

Like a nightmare, the dependence of a huge modern city upon a few obscure workers haunted the complacency of the middle class. And as soon as it was over they hurriedly pushed the uncomfortable realisation to the backs of their minds.

But the petrol strike should not be forgotten by the workers. Neither by those involved nor any others, for there is much to be learned from it.

The Communists

For example it might be as well to try and assess the rôle played by the Communists—that is, the Stalinists, as they should properly be called. The capitalist press, naturally, played up the Stalinist influence as much as they could. After all, everybody knows that the British worker is too loyal, patriotic, well-fed and contented with his lot ever to dream of going on strike unless he has been got at by read agitators. (Just as, incidentally, everybody else *should* know that East Berlin workers are too loyal . . . etc., to riot except when they've been got at by agents of the West).

The press was fortunate in being able to pick upon a certain member of the strike committee, Mr. Bert Slack, who is reputed to be a Communist Party mem-

ber, and who, because his name was mentioned in Parliament three years ago in connection with another dispute, must be a very sinister fellow indeed.

Apart from Slack, hardly any other red plotter rated a mention, however, and it does seem likely that the rôle played by Communists actually in the strike was not very great. But since the party line is now to support strikes, we may be sure that some influence was effected.

In Favour of the Party

We outlined the reasons for the strike last week and the most the Communists needed to do was a little prodding from behind. A potentially explosive situation was already there. Because they got so much publicity, however, it has now been planted in the minds of many workers that the Communists led the whole thing.

This will react in favour of the party in the struggles to come. The capitalist press, in its middle-class appeal to middle-class people, probably does not realise this, but when the industrial disputes which are quite clearly not very far away do start, the workers will remember that some well-organised strikes in the past have been credited to the Communists and will readily accept their support, and even leadership, again.

The fact that strikes in which the C.P. has played any part tend, if anything, to be less successful in their results than others, is likely to be forgotten by a rank-and-file with a notoriously short memory.

The petrol strike, thanks to the prompt intervention of blacklegs in uniform, ended in a surrender by the strikers,

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MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

OCCASIONALLY reports appear in the daily press of cases of imprisonment which have been suffered by individuals due to mistaken identity, etc., where the forces of the law have made an error and a man or woman has had to bear the brunt of that mistake. There was an instance some months ago of a lorry driver who was wrongfully imprisoned for the alleged theft of goods, until it was discovered that a mistake had been made in his identity. He was, of course, released but he was quite unable to obtain any form of compensation for his loss of time, wages and character, except for some miserable sum out of the Poor Box, because it was said the police had acted with good faith and intentions!

The following case reported in the *Daily Telegraph* makes such instances pale into insignificance in the enormity of its crime upon the persons concerned. The report reads:—

"Seven men imprisoned for long periods, were released yesterday by the Superior Court judge at Brockton, Massachusetts on the ground that they were illegally committed to penal institutions in this State. One of the men, Elmer Bridges, now 51, who has been detained for 41 years was so overjoyed he shook hands with everyone in the court, including judge and reporters.

"Bridges, said the judge, was locked

up at the age of 10, on a charge of truancy, although in fact it was his brother who was the truant. It was a tragic case of mistaken identity. William Byant, now 33, was committed for truancy at the age of 10. Gerald Martin, now 27, has been in custody for 11 years for receiving stolen goods. Henry Gilbert now 48, has been a prisoner 24 years. James Goodridge, now 33, has been confined since the age of five on the grounds of sexual abnormality. Martin Perkins, now 55, has been confined for 30 years after being convicted for stealing a pipe, some tobacco and a pillow." (Our italics).

It staggers the mind to try and imagine what it must be like to have spent practically all of one's life in prison on charges that are false. It is savage enough to lock a boy up for truancy, or sexual abnormality at the age of 5; . . . to have been confined in four walls for all that time . . . words fail to describe the blind, ignorant stupidity of the men who sat in judgment on their fellows.

It will be noted that the report contains no mention of any form of compensation or redress for all those years that have been lost. This is just another example of the misery that can be caused to human beings who get caught up in the tangle of the law and its callous penalties . . . the ordinary folk who ask nothing more than to be left alone.

T.W.B.

Another "Objection" Answered?

THE unbelievable progress made in the applied sciences during the past century resulting in man's ability to increase industrial and agricultural production almost limitlessly have taken away much of the sting from the "objections to anarchism" that have been levelled at anarchists at all times and in all countries.

That old red-herring "What will happen in the Anarchist society when everybody will want to own a car", has been once for all disposed of by American capitalism which has both created and satisfied such a demand. Writing from New York in last Sunday's *Reynolds News*, Tom Driberg, describes a huge poster he saw as he drove in from the Airport:

"It showed one of those glowingly healthy young American families—dad, mom, junior, sis. They were shown as average folk, not plutocrats.

The slogan beneath said simply: 'We're glad we're a two-Ford family!'

It would obviously be an exaggeration to suggest that all American families own two cars. But statistically speaking "Americans as a whole now average slightly more than a car a family"! Now what seemed to the objectors to anarchism as an insuperable problem of the anarchist revolution has been easily solved without a revolution by American capitalism employing a mere fraction of the country's man power! And when it is remembered that American car factories turn out thousands of tractors, tanks and bombing aeroplanes into the bargain, it will readily be seen that industrial techniques to-day are so advanced that even assuming that our "objectors" change their theme and put the question to us: "What will happen in the anarchist society when everybody will want an aeroplane" (or an armoured-car) we shall be able to quickly dispose of the question by assuring them that American capitalism will have solved the problem long before the social revolution takes place!

RATHER more slowly and in a less spectacular way has the study of the working of the human mind been applied to solving the problems resulting from anti-social behaviour of some of our fellow-humans which passes under the name of "criminal". In this field too the objectors to anarchism have been most vocal, conjuring up lurid pictures of the wholesale looting, gun battles and sexual assaults of all kinds that would take place in a society such as we envisage when the authority of the police and the Law will have been removed. We have been able to show by reference to the criminal statistics so painstakingly prepared by one of Her Majesty's Ministerial departments that by far the largest proportion of crimes are crimes against property and that much of the violence is simply a means to this end. With the abolition of property and the application of the principle of "to each according to his needs", all that side of crime involving property will automatically disappear (just as automatically as the black market disappeared when goods became more plentiful and there was no longer a market for the black market!).

Thus far we probably succeed in convincing the objectors. But what of that small minority of crimes involving abnormal people: those "beasts" who "interfere with little girls" (and little boys); those who commit acts of violence for no

special reason; the "sex maniacs" the "perverts" and the "inverts"? Many of these "abnormalities" exist only in the narrow minds of those busybodies who view sex in general with horror and who appear to have been responsible for a moral code and a legislation which persists in spite of its remoteness from the general standards of sex behaviour of men and women to-day (*vide* Kinsey Reports).

WE are then left with that very small number of our fellows whose behaviour is undoubtedly abnormal, in that it not only often causes them much suffering but also involves others in physical violence or practices in which they do not participate as willing partners. What, say the objectors, will be done with these people in the anarchist society, if there are no policemen to hunt them out, judges to try them and prisons in which to lock them up in order to protect society?

We anarchists have always looked upon them as sick people needing medical attention and not as "criminals who deserve to be punished". In so far as punishment in these cases has so obviously failed (once released after serving long prison sentences they repeat their "crimes") it has always seemed to us that present methods for dealing with such cases are as senseless as they are inhuman. And it seems that in spite of the legal die-hards and the hysterical sections of the press and public, there is a growing feeling that other methods should be tried. Only last month in the *British Journal of Medical Hypnotism*, organ of the British Society of Medical Hypnotists was it suggested that modern methods of hypnotic therapy may prevent "sex crimes". Under the application of a new technique, "waking hypnosis", patients are helped to recall what caused their minds to go "off the rails".

The article says: "It seems clear that the criminal potentiality is often built up over a long period of time behind a façade of social and domestic 'respectability'. Tendencies started by fears are often fostered by frustration. It is when the mental and physical efforts of self-restraint break down and the social conscience of conventional behaviour is swamped that the sex-urge takes complete control and a crime is committed.

"The growing volume of case histories at our command certainly suggests that medical hypnotists have prevented the commission of sex-crimes when the potential criminals have been presented for treatment." (Our italics).

Of particular interest to anarchists is the italicised sentence from an article we have quoted, for it confirms our often repeated views that such abnormality is the direct consequence of the society in which we live with all its frustrations and taboos.

WHETHER, as the article suggests it should, the Government will institute an inquiry into the employment of hypnotherapeutic methods in the prevention of "sex-crime" and the treatment of offenders, remains to be seen. Certainly such an experiment could not be much less successful than the present methods of "detection" in which mass murderers such as Christie are called as witnesses for the Crown at a time when the walls and floors of his house were lined with the bodies of his own victims!

We believe that the next few years will see fundamental changes in society's attitude to so-called "sex-crimes". The present hysterical outbursts in certain sections of the Press would appear to indicate that the opposite is the case. But we believe that there is also another interpretation. That the vehemence of the John Gordons, the Lord Chief Justice and their ilk is a last desperate effort by the forces of obscurantism to halt the application of our ever growing knowledge of the workings of the human mind to such problems as abnormality and delinquency. The substitution of treatment and understanding for punishment car-

Imperialist Struggle in North Africa

THE Nationalist struggles now going on in North Africa can shed considerable light on the pattern of French domination over the Moors. But at the same time they reveal a great deal about the nature of imperialism itself, which can be applied to British Imperialism in Africa (Kenya, Central Africa, and the Union of South Africa). The same lessons apply, less directly, to the pattern of Russian imperialism.

The material for discussion here is taken deliberately from a capitalist source, unbiased by any revolutionary or ultra progressive preconceptions: a survey carried out by a journalist, Philip Deane, on behalf of the *Observer*. Such surveys are likely to be different from those of anarchists, but when their results condemn imperialism they have the force of criticism conceded by friends rather than polemical attacks of avowed anti-imperialists, and this lends them a greater significance than might otherwise be attached to them.

Progress in Public Services

Deane begins by listing the credit side of the French North African administration—enormous advances in health protection, road-building and such advantages as industrialization brings. More significant than these, especially to Anglo-Saxon imperialism, is the absence of a social colour bar.

"Nowhere is there any evidence of discrimination on racial grounds. A near-Negro Moroccan can sit beside you in any hotel, and his wife might be a French girl."

With all this goes the claim that under their administration the native Moroccans are gradually improving their standard of living, or if this is not so (and living standards, according to Deane are going down, in part because of the increasing population brought about by public health successes) it is due to anti-imperialist nationalist non-co-operation and obstructionism. Such claims are the stock-in-trade not merely of any imperial administration, but of every government whatsoever.

Reality of Imperialism

The actualities however reveal a darker side. The French administrators point to the "incapacity" of the Moors, fostered by their tribal traditions and by the Islamic religion. But Deane stresses the absence of any real attempt to cure this "incapacity". While it is there French domination "justifies" itself—to the believers in capitalism and material progress anyway—and for that very reason the French do nothing to tackle it.

There may be no social discrimination against colour—and to the British and American administrations this is a serious criticism, and a real achievement; but there is plenty of economic and administrative discrimination against the Moors. Deane quotes French official statistics:

"Only 20 per cent. of the revenue for the Moroccan Budget comes from direct taxation on earnings. One form of direct taxation is tax on land produce. That is an important tax because Morocco is an agricultural country. Moroccan farmers pay 88 per cent. of this tax; and they pay 20 per cent. more per acre than the French farmers, although the latter have higher yields. Nearly 60 per cent. of the Budget revenue comes from indirect taxation on consumer goods such as sugar or tobacco. The Moroccans consume 90 per cent. of the sugar imported and they therefore pay 90 per cent. of this tax.

"What services do the Moroccans get from the State in exchange for such contributions to the Budget? Roads are built. It happens that the properties of the settlers are nearer the roads than the properties of the natives. These settler properties are the pick of Moroccan lands. Tribal lands were expropriated to make room for the settlers. The law has allowed settlers to buy land at nominal prices from the ignorant natives.

ries with it far-reaching social consequences for the general good; but which at the same time must shake the social structure, based on fear and conformity, to its very foundations.

Whatever the practical outcome one thing is certain: that before many years have passed that "old objection to anarchism" of "what will happen to the sex-maniac in an anarchist society without police protection" will join that equally hardy perennial about motor-cars in the dustbin of discarded fears, *Anests*, prejudices... and "objections"!

"Habeas corpus which applies for Europeans in Morocco does not apply to Moors. They can be imprisoned without trial. They frequently are not allowed to see a lawyer. To make justice for the 400,000 Europeans speedy and careful, the Moroccan Budget spends £1 a year per person. For the administration of justice to 8,000,000 Moors, the Budget spends less than one shilling a year per person.

"In wartime, French expectant mothers had extra rations; Moroccan expectant mothers did not. There are other instances of inequality. To-day, for instance, a Moroccan bus conductor with eight children receives less in family allowances than a French bus conductor with only one child."

And the same picture reveals itself in educational matters.

"So much for discrimination. Now for the French efforts to train Moors for self-government.

"The French claim that there are not enough Civil Servants. That is true, yet a law of 1937 prohibits private schools for Muslims from teaching anything but the Koran and Arabic—not even arithmetic. These schools, which taught more children than the Government schools, were not allowed to open this year. Now only one Moroccan child in ten can get a primary education; but all European children in Morocco can go to school."

Manipulation of Public Opinion

These facts present imperialism in its true light: seemingly humane and progressive motives, but a practice which gives the lie to them and serves the economic ends of the imperialist power. The same pattern is found in British, American and Russian imperialism to say nothing of the lesser powers such as Holland and Belgium.

Nor do the resemblances end there. Deane, who shows himself as a sympathetic observer, nevertheless describes the presentation of opinion for the expulsion of the Sultan of Morocco, which make the reader think of frankly totalitarian régimes.

He describes the Sultan's resistance to discrimination against the Moors and his unwillingness to give a gloss to French administrative measures. But his deposition was staged after careful preparation during the first fortnight in August. All the petty chiefs whose lucrative positions depend on the French administration were "encouraged to start a dissidence campaign... Mass tribal meetings were held—although normally the French prohibit gatherings of more than three persons". Latent feelings of hostility towards the towns were

whipped up in the country areas.

"Finally, docile, smiling tribesmen, with ornamented muskets and in rags were told to march on the towns. The French governor of the city of Fez admitted before a group of journalists that he told the tribes to come to his city, promising them rations. The French Press of Morocco wrote of a 'spontaneous mass movement against the Sultan'.

"Then the three high French officials most antagonistic to the Sultan were sent to 'convince' the 'rebellious' Pashas and Caid not to insist on the deposition of Sidi Mohamed V. Later, without bothering to conceal their pleasure, the French at the Residency announced that the Pashas and Caid refused to change their minds."

"In the process, there were riots, a massacre of Europeans, and hundreds—some say thousands—of Moroccans were arrested and deported.

"Now the French say they have learnt from past mistakes and they are pushing through 'the democratic reforms the country needs'—reforms which were opposed by the exiled Sultan. These reforms, the French say, will help democracy grow in Morocco.

"The immediate effect of these reforms has been to strip the new Sultan of his legislative and judicial powers, transferring them to French-dominated bodies."

British Imperialism

Such an account renders French imperialism transparently before the reader. But there is nothing there that cannot be matched in British imperialism. The parallel with Russian domination has been cited. Indeed the qualifying label "British" or "French" or "Russian" has little bearing on the matter for the essential thing is the nature of domination by the representatives of an advanced industrial capitalist power over agricultural peoples.

That is the nature of imperialism. Its claims and credits are all of the western industrial society's pattern, often incomprehensible and unwanted by the dominated—who see the extinction of their own culture and way of life. Such ways of life are often primitive and brutal enough, though they may contain cultural and social elements that the western intelligentsia regards with understandable nostalgia as being lost in their own culture. But at all events the values of the progress which imperialism may bring are almost entirely material ones, and often illusory at that. Essentially, in any case, imperialism involves the economic draining of the exploited territory.

Letter from Chicago

Racial Problem in Chicago

WE never thought to see an article on Chicago's Hyde Park in FREEDOM! As this is where we live, and as we have been interested in racial restrictive covenants and better race relations, we should like to set straight the picture of conditions in Chicago which you have involuntarily given. We want to specify also that we are in the category of "others"—not being University of Chicago students, Jewish professors, or Quakers.

1. When racial restrictive covenants were declared illegal, the landlords came up with a new dodge: restrictive covenants on the basis of use. The deeds of buildings have now a restriction limiting the use of the property to a certain number of people.

Due to the over-crowding and racial restrictions, the commonest type of dwelling in the Negro area is the "kitchenette apartment"—a 1-, 2- or 3-room place made from a larger flat and rented as "furnished". The rents in these places are high not only in the Negro section but all over, because the rent controls set up during the war, were removed from furnished flats several years ago. A landlord could therefore put a few miserable sticks of furniture in a place, and charge \$20 a week for one or two rooms.

The Hyde Park Landlords, on the new basis, have agreed not to change the character of any dwelling—i.e., they will not cut up apartments into smaller units. This has resulted in maintaining the "tone" of the neighbourhood and in preventing an influx of Negroes. The small business-men are happier and the landlords can retain control of the class, and, indirectly, the racial composition of the neighbourhood.

2. It is true that there has been little overt violent resistance to Negroes moving into Hyde Park. Nevertheless, a scare was created. As the Negro area expanded to the south and east, rumours of theft, rape, etc. were spread. Hyde Park businessmen discovered that their

district was insufficiently policed, and were active in calling for more police, and a more efficient captain of police. Many "liberals" supported this. All this had its effect on the growth of fear and opposition.

3. Now a few words on the "un-orthodox" University of Chicago. It is one of the biggest owners of real estate on the South Side. It was behind the racial restrictive covenants. The university may allow a superficial liberalism on the part of some instructors and students, but it can well afford to do this as long as it is raking in a fortune from fantastically high priced slum dwellings.

4. While there has been some improvement in race relations in this one area, this does not mean that the same is happening elsewhere in the city. Just a short while ago, a crowd smashed all the windows in a house because of the false rumour that the owner was renting to Negroes. Some 300 policemen working in shifts are currently employed 24 hours a day to keep the "peace" (insofar as their own racial bias may permit), at the city-owned Trumbull housing project because a handful of Negro families have moved in.

It seems to us that no purely community action is going to solve the problem. It may avert a riot and perhaps make a situation more tolerable, but there is insufficient housing for all; the poor are relegated to the abandoned and cut-up apartments of the better-to-do. (Our city planners have actually worked this out: build new, high-priced flats so that the older ones will be opened up to the poor.) This causes a bitter struggle, sharpened by the racial angle, for a place to live. This is at the bottom of much of the racial tension in Chicago, and will ultimately have to be resolved by a redistribution of the housing, as well as the other wealth of the country. Despite sporadic efforts to cement racial unity, Chicago remains a jungle of capitalist and landlord greed. Chicago. R.G.

Anarchism—A Way of Life

I AM at times amazed that amongst so small a band of comrades, who believe so fervently in love and freedom, there could be so much back-biting and irritation (although I suppose I shouldn't be for I too must frequently be guilty of the same thing). Philip Sansom's idea of a central meeting place might work wonders here, personal contact and discussion can cure many ills even if it does seem to have failed occasionally with our London comrades.

I am amazed also (my reason for writing) at the simplicity of Donald Room's anarchism. Such dogmatic materialism has I know turned away many a would-be sympathiser. I envy his ability to divorce his anarchism from a great part of his life—implied in his last paragraph. What, may I ask, happens to a poem, painting or music which use words, form or sound with a meaning not to be found in his dictionary. Would they also be saved from being

called nonsense by the sincerity and intellect of their creators? Many Anarchists of the materialist type fail to see that in their sincerely held dogma they do not differ from the Catholic or the Communist. There is no doubting and very little sense of wonder, nothing is believed unless proven by Science, Party or Church. Each appears to submerge his conscience in the appropriate absolute.

Comrade Baldelli, more than any recent writer, has helped or will help those who are interested in the arts to accept anarchism more readily. Personally I would like to see poetry, painting and music discussed more than it is in the pages of FREEDOM. I am of course prepared for the remark "What have they to do with Anarchism?" For me, everything although I admit their place in the lives of most people is almost nil, except maybe for music (with a small m).
Newport, Oct. 22. MILWARD CASEY.

The Problem of Tragedy

I AM thankful to Donald Room (FREEDOM 24/10/53) for the attention he has given to my review of Jaspers' book, sincerely regretting at the same time that it profited him nothing. I also regret not to be able to comply with his friendly request. If I said that anarchists must give tragedy one of the three answers I put forward, then I would have usurped an authority I do not possess, and his reprimand would be amply justified. But I said that anarchists may give one of those answers, and if he or his friends don't give an answer it is because, if I read him correctly, the problem of tragedy has never stimulated their thought.

I am ready to admit that it is possible to be an anarchist without any awareness of tragedy, but if that awareness is there I don't see how or why it should be kept in a closed compartment instead of being related to what makes a man an anarchist. I find it more difficult to admit that it is possible to be a man and not to have such awareness, however dim and inarticulate it may be. If then a man has such awareness and is an anarchist I still hold that the answers he is likely to give to the problem are those I mentioned.

I have not the pleasure of knowing Donald Room or any of his friends, but I know other people, including anarchists, to whom tragedy is a problem of primary importance. It is a metaphysical problem in the sense that no universally valid answer can be given it, and yet demands an answer from each thinking individual. It is a problem that is discussed more openly and felt more acutely to-day than it was in the recent past, and I don't think I erred in assuming that anarchists may: (1) be interested in the philosophical questions of our time and all times, and (2) try to give an answer to these questions that would harmonize with their stand against oppression.

In spite of my writing, at times, in what appears to be incomprehensible language, I would not be assessed correctly as a mystic. Whatever it is, however, that Donald Room calls my mysticism, I do not confuse it with my anarchism, but endeavour to integrate them

both into one philosophy. I like to conceive my anarchism as part of my mind, as blood is part of my body, and not as an article of clothing which I would wear when meeting other people or on some special occasion.
GIOVANNI BALDELLI.
Southampton, Oct. 27.

The Law's Sense of Values

A CORRESPONDENT writing on "The Law's Sense of Values" (FREEDOM, Oct. 24), drew attention to the sentence of ten years imprisonment passed on a vicar for homosexual offences against boys.

If two adults of the same sex wish to wile away the hours chasing each other around the bedroom I should be among the last to raise the finger of admonition and I hope among the first to protest against the victimisation of those people whose particular sexual aberration offends the mores of their social group. I feel however that I must protest against the casual way your correspondent glosses over the use of children in this business.

He makes no mention of the fact that this particular cleric had previously been placed on probation for the same offence and what makes this particular case criminal, in my opinion, is the fact that he was giving the children cider, port and rum to achieve his ends.

What attitude would the writer of the article have adopted if instead of being boys they had been small girls?

No one has the right to debauch children and no technical phraseology can justify it.

They are strangers in an alien world and all too soon society will force them into their crooked cage so do not let us excuse or justify the man or woman who anticipates the mob.

It is morally wrong to degrade men through their work, it is wrong to degrade men or women who through greed or stupidity hawk their bodies for hire and it is an unforgivable wrong to degrade and debase children for one's personal pleasure whether it be sexual or financial.
London, Oct. 26. ARTHUR MOYSE.

No Third World War?

WHEN World War II ended, it produced two new great powers—Russia and the U.S.A. The logical consequence of this was jealousy, hatred and fear. This produced the cold war, and these two powers began feverishly to re-arm themselves with the atom and hydrogen bombs—the most diabolical weapons of destruction that it was possible for man to devise.

The U.S.A. then began to urge Europe, including Britain, to re-arm. Russia did the same to her satellites. But the enormous expense to the people of these countries, especially Britain is getting unbearable. Even Churchill has now agreed that the sum for re-armament will have to be lowered. Now, (of course we do not know how Russia feels) even the U.S.A. is beginning to realise the terrible consequences if they ever use the weapons they are producing.

National leaders on both sides of the ocean have urged that a meeting of these powers should be held, and even Churchill calls for a meeting with Russia. All these incidents point to the last feeling I mentioned above, namely, fear.

In a recent broadcast, the foreign affairs commentator Vernon Bartlett said:—"The nations have produced the most appalling weapons which they now realise they are afraid to use." This would again indicate that fear will prevent the nations from using these weapons.

Now there is a tragic joke here. Germany is not—yet—allowed to re-arm, so she avoids this tremendous expenditure on war weapons. She is free to produce and sell all she can in the markets of the world and the huge contracts recently gained by Krupps and other German firms in Asia and the Middle East show that Germany is moving into many markets previously held by Britain—for us

ELECTIONS IN NYASALAND

MAY I draw your special attention to the enclosed cutting from the Observer (Oct. 25)?

When Nyasaland votes for its four Parliamentary representatives on the federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, there may be more Indian than European voters on the common roll. But there is no provision for Africans to qualify for it.

Almost 7,000 Indians and 5,000 Europeans live in Nyasaland. The qualifications for franchise announced this week include an annual income of at least £200 or occupation of property worth £250, and adequate knowledge of the English language.

Further, and this is where a complexity enters, the voter must be a member of a "constituent association."

These organisations of which the planters' associations, missionary societies, and chambers of commerce are examples, have had a major say hitherto in the nomination of members of the Nyasaland Legislative Council. An association which desires recognition as

a constituent must apply to the Governor of Nyasaland by November 2, 1953.

Almost every one of thousands of Indian storekeepers and artisans in the territory is a member of the Indian Chamber of Commerce or the Asian Association.

The Indians' weakness lies, as always, in the position of their womenfolk, of whom a smaller proportion than among the Europeans are likely to be in receipt of incomes, literate, or members of any association. It is possible, therefore, that Women's Institutes may swing the balance between Europeans and Indians.

One feature of which Liberal opinion here strongly disapproves is that there will be no Africans on the common roll. Nyasa Africans are "British protected persons" whereas the franchise is confined to "citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies."

Africans will be separately represented by two M.P.s appointed by the Governor and probably nominated by the African Protectorate Council.

Surely it is a unique brand of "democracy" that allows a vote only to members of government-authorised pressure groups. And as the M.P.s 'representing Africans' are to be directly appointed by the Governor, it is clear how much representation the Africans will get. In fact, the only rôle the Africans play appears to be to give the Governor an excuse to have two M.P.s to represent himself.

Was ever a borough so rotten?

Kent, Oct. 25.

M.S.F.

HAVE YOU OBTAINED A NEW READER FOR FREEDOM?

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

TOWER HILL
Tuesdays at 12.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN EAST HAM
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.

NOV. 18th—Philip Sansom
SEX, SYNDICALISM & THE EGO

TYNESIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

A group has recently been formed in this area and will hold meetings on alternate Sundays at 7.30 p.m. at the home of D. Boon, 53, Louvain Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne to whom enquiries should be addressed. The first meeting will take place on October 10th at 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS
from now until further notice
at
MAXWELL STREET,
Sundays at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, & others

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The Petrol Strike That Was!

Continued from p. 1

who went back with nothing more than Arthur Deakin's promise to start negotiations within 24 hours of the men going back.

Similarly with the E.T.U. Strike

In effect, as we said last week, the strike had taken a similar course to the electricians' strike of two months' ago. The only difference was that the E.T.U. strike was official and the petrol men's was unofficial. But they both started off with a small number of men effecting a considerable amount of inconvenience, making a good show of militancy and determination, gradually being joined by more and more workers (electricians being called out job by job; petrol drivers joined by other workers after troops had gone in) and then, when the strike looked like turning into something big, the leadership reducing its demands and finally calling off the action and going to arbitration.

The electricians' strike was followed by a Court of Inquiry which recommended arbitration which has not yet started. The petrol strike was followed by talks at top union-employer level and is now going to arbitration. Delays in both cases and the men will be lucky to get half their demands in a few months' time.

In both cases then, the only benefit has been gained by the Communist Party, for they have had the publicity for the leadership of the strikes, so that thoughtless workers will regard them as militants working for the good of the working class.

The fact that the strikes failed will not be held against the leaders, for the blame will be levelled at the employers in each case and in the petrol strike at the Tory Government which sent in the troops.

The workers will be left with their grievances unsatisfied, thereby providing a fertile ground for further Party propaganda, and in the case of the petrol strike the Right Wing union leaders—Deakin and Co.—have been shown up for what they are, whereas the officials leading the well-organised E.T.U. strike are nearly all known C.P.ers.

Large Strike Committee

In the petrol strike somebody had the good idea of having a large number of delegates as a strike committee. There were 160 workers on this committee, and they seemed able to arrive at decisions well enough. We don't know whose idea it was to have such a large committee;

it may have been a Communist who wanted a large cover-up for the effective leadership, who could exert influence without too much exposure, or it may have been a genuine attempt at democratisation.

Even if it were the former, it remains an improvement on the usual committee of a dozen or so. On a large committee, Stalinist influence can be reduced to its proper proportions and their dodges can be watched and if necessary exposed, providing the remainder know what is going on. The difficulty is, of course, that while the C.P. trains its members well for all contingencies, non- and anti-C.P. organisations do not, so that Stalinists do have an advantage when action is taken. The answer is for non-C.P. militants to be as wide-awake as the Commies undoubtedly are.

Sold Out

Not that the Stalinists covered up all that well. When the final mass meeting was held at which the decision to return to work was taken, many cries went up of "The Reds have sold us out" and "Bert Slack brought us out, now he sends us back".

Well, if nearly 3,000 men do allow themselves to be brought out on strike by one man—or a small group of men—they should not grumble if he or they give the order to return. The fact was, however, that many genuine militants among the strikers were in favour of continuing the strike and spreading it. This they could do because they were concerned with winning the strike and nothing else. The C.P.ers are concerned primarily with C.P. policy, and if winning the strike meant sticking out their necks they would rather have lost it. After all, if anyone were prosecuted for their part in the strike, be sure the Crown would have chosen a Communist rather than a Labour man or an unattached militant.

Still, the strike was not all dead loss. We stress again the important feature—the indication it gave of the tremendous strength of the workers. If, therefore, the workers involved, when they have settled down enough to consider it dispassionately, take care to study the lessons it gives, nothing but good can come of it.

A large strike committee (some of them said "We have no leaders") was a good idea. Having seen the game the Commies play, they can be guarded against. The strike was lost, but the strikers live to fight another day. P.S.

False Friends of Liberty

recognising the necessity, it was a very unpleasant one. Would Mr. Gamman be willing, therefore, to state the number of warrants signed by the Home Secretary in any given year.

Mr. GAMMANS said he did not propose to make any further statement and suggested that Mr. Benn should question the Home Secretary.

In his answer the Postmaster-General reveals that in fact the Government has powers to open letters under the Section 58 (1) of the Post Office Act 1953. Note the 1953. How many people in this country shared the writer's ignorance that such powers had recently been granted? We cannot recall any protest from Mr. Benn and his friends on the Opposition Benches to the granting of such powers. Which is not surprising, for it will be noticed that Mr. Benn "recognises the necessity" of the government having powers to issue warrants to pry into people's correspondence, however "unpleasant" such action may appear. What he is in fact protesting

about is that the two letters in question were put back in the wrong envelopes! And this "bungling" of "security precautions" was made an excuse to have a dig at the Government. When will the public begin to realise that all these men and women are just playing a game of party politics in which the real issues count for very little? Again and again vital matters have been frittered away in this manner. Such, it seems to us, will be the fate of the Evans Report, which because it developed into a Party issue has as we foresaw in FREEDOM come to a standstill by the government's refusal to do anything more. The politicians have had their game. Much has been revealed in the process. But real action? That, as always, has come from the Street, from those with a healthy distrust of all politicians. The sooner we learn that elementary lesson the greater will be our chances of defending our rights and our dignity as human beings. R.