

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The law is a sort of hocus-pocus science, that smiles in your face while it picks your pocket; and the glorious uncertainty of it is of more use to the professors than the justice of it."  
—CHARLES MACKLIN.

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Threepence

## What's Behind the Goodwill Missions and the Diplomatic Talks?

# CARPET BAGGERS ON THE MOVE!

THE hotting up of "diplomatic" activity, the "goodwill" missions by leading politicians and heads of State queuing up to present their compliments, and their assurance of lasting friendship, respect and admiration to the Queen, President Chancellors: the forthcoming "however marathon" (9 countries in 21 weeks—is the President being "inspired" by the Air Lines?) to the West's Big Four "pre-empt" meeting next month, are clear indication that... No, that the world is at last on the brink of permanent peace! If anything the coming and goings of these level carpet-baggers is a sign of a flare-up in the power struggle between the politicians jockeying for positions of advantage. As we were pointing out in these columns last week (*Who's Bluffing?*), the chances of genuine disarmament were reduced because, among other reasons, power politics "the balance of power is always changing".

The idea that the world could be divided into two power blocs, the one dominated by Russia the other by the United States, and some "experts" even suggested that only a cold war could peace (albeit an armed one) be preserved, overlooked the nature and experience of the grizzled professionals of politics with which

Europe abounds, the messianic feelings of "dedicated" politicians, or the ambitions of a new generation of leaders (Paris-London- or Moscow-trained) apart from the powerful industrial trusts whose allegiance is to their balance sheets above all power blocs!

What we are witnessing in the political field are attempts at breaking up the political and economic stranglehold exerted over the world by the United States and Russia. This process was started by Britain under Churchill in 1955 with the announcement in February of that year that Britain was building her own H-bomb.

It was clear even from Churchill's tactful remarks in a debate on the Defence programme that Britain's action was motivated by political and not military considerations: "Owing to the breakdown in the exchange of information between us and the United States since 1946 we have had to start again independently on our own." From a military

point of view there was no justification for this "independent" action since the United States has guaranteed to supply Britain with the Bombs in the event of war. Indeed, they even arranged to launch their own bombs from British airfields!

But politically such a situation placed Britain in a situation of inferiority in her relations with the United States\* as well as making it impossible for Britain, even when bolstered up by the "Commonwealth", to persuade the countries of Western Europe to line up behind her. Britain's failure to create a third Power Bloc was not really surprising. Apart from the fact that the politicians of Western Europe distrusted Britain's politics even more than America's, at least by tagging on to the latter she could be blackmailed into giving financial

\*As Churchill put it: "Personally I cannot feel that we should have much influence over their [the United States] policy or actions wise or unwise, while we are largely dependent upon their protection. We too must possess substantial deterrent powers of our own."

aid. With Britain they would get neither the aid nor the Bomb! But this did not mean that either France or Western Germany thought in terms of permanent subservience to the United States as part of the permanent division of the world into two power blocs. They, like Britain, also dreamed of a third bloc, in which they would play the dominant role. Without wishing to minimise the importance of de Gaulle in the present trend of European politics, any more than we would discount Hitler in the rise of Nazism in Germany, if today the Paris-Bonn Axis

represents a threat to the political hegemony of Washington and Moscow it is not in the personalities of de Gaulle and Adenauer that one must seek the origins. It is a combination of political and economic actions and developments which have led to the present situation, and perhaps first and foremost was that of Jean Monnet, years ago when he put forward the idea of a European pool for coal and steel, and out of which has grown the six-country Common Market (France, W. Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries). The fantastic "economic" recovery of W. Germany is only in part the result of the acceptance of austerity conditions by the German people coupled with their "industrial genius". It is also the result of having lost the war! By not being

## S. AFRICA BRITAIN VOTES AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS

WHAT possible justification can Britain offer for voting against a United Nations condemnation of South Africa's apartheid policies when sixty-seven other countries supported a resolution on human rights (or lack of them) in South Africa. Portugal and France also voted against the resolution which was to be expected, but since Britain is the self-proclaimed custodian of individual freedom in the West should we not expect at least a public declaration of disapproval of South Africa's drastic measures against African militants? (It should be pointed out that all political disturbances which occur among Africans are directly due to the repressive policies and impossible restrictions placed on Africans by the Nationalist Government).

The most that can be said for Britain on this issue is that for once she is not being hypocritical in condemning the actions of Governments which are sometimes indistinguishable from her own in territories far from home. The Hola camp "incident" is still fresh in the memory, and authenticated stories from Southern Rhodesia on white rule, although denied by the British Government, tell of police methods usually associated with totalitarian government.

Britain is in no position to express moral disapproval of South African Government techniques of repression, but we doubt if this is the main reason why she voted against the resolution passed in the United Nations; it has never stopped her criticising Soviet methods.

Britain has large economic interests in South Africa, a fact which the South African Prime Minister bluntly reminded his City of London hosts when he last visited Britain. It is likely that these economic facts are among the main reasons for Britain's decision "not to interfere in the internal affairs" of South Africa.

The following letter from a Rhodesian in exile published in the *Guardian* is written with restraint and points to the secrecy surrounding the detention camps in Southern Rhodesia. The government has not explained why the press is banned from visiting the camps or offered a reason why the detainees are held without trial for an indefinite period:

Sir.—As one who has served five months in a detention camp in Southern Rhodesia under the Emergency Regulations, perhaps I may be allowed to comment on the situation in the Gokwe area where many of my countrymen are

Continued on p. 4

## In the Workers' Fatherland Fliers But No Pliers

IT is encouraging to note that although the Russian leaders are boasting around the world about the achievements of Soviet scientists, the ordinary Russian is no more impressed by the Sputnikery than are his counter-parts in this, or any other country.

In fact the Press in Russia has had to comment on the almost un-socialist lack of appreciation for the socialist ironmongery flying about overhead, apparently in view of a number of (wisely) anonymous letters which are being sent to the papers.

One such letter, sent to the *Sovyet-skaya Rossiya* in Moscow said: "Enough of covering ourselves with sputniks and air liners. Let's come down a bit—to the most ordinary pair of shoes. I have one pair, but I have been walking in them four years now. And why? Because they are made in the West; they have a foreign trade mark. Personally, I don't need a Tu-114, I will get by with a tram, but I want to live and dress well."

This reactionary petty bourgeois capitalist-minded horse-sense was described by the paper's leader-writer as "malignant, bilious and Plutistone", while the writer of it was referred to as a "slug" and an "earth-worm" to whom the high-lights of Soviet life were incomprehensible. But that there is some truth behind his complaints was admitted by *Pravda* when discussing the shortage of consumer goods. It wrote:

"We have built sputniks, an atomic ice-breaker, and the world's biggest atomic power stations. Let us now work harder and really arrange the production of down pillows and pliers to pull nails out with."

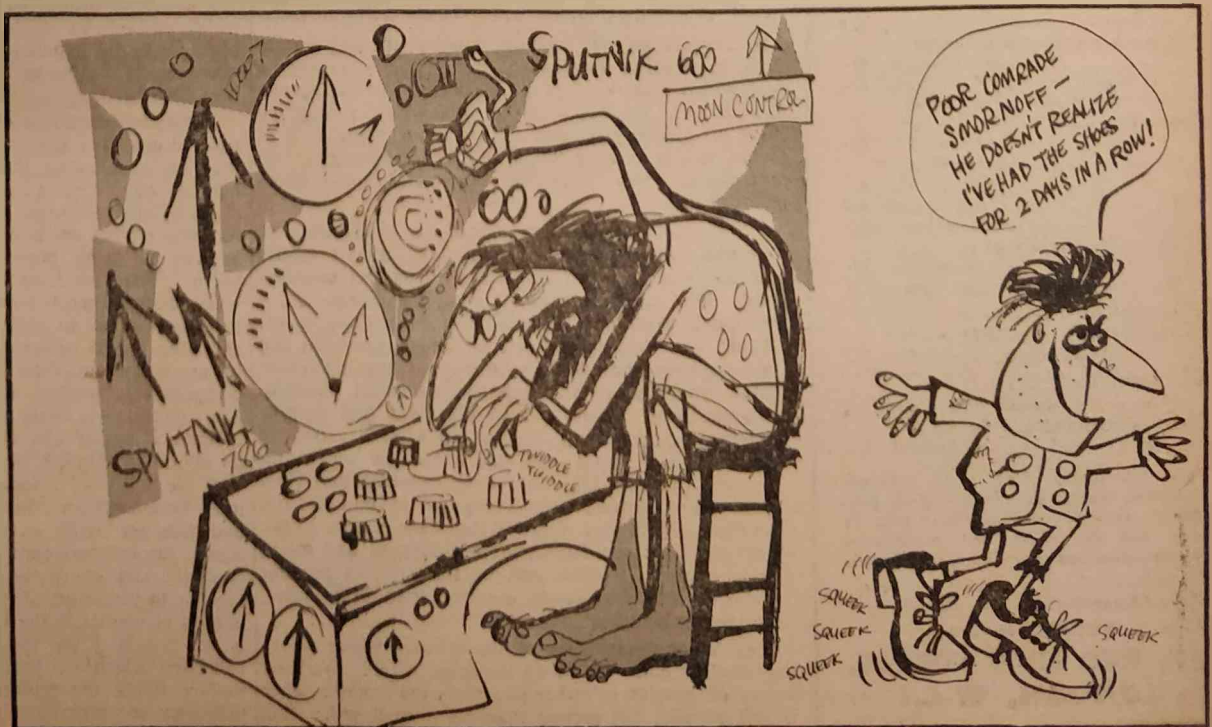
As far as semi-luxuries are concerned, other Soviet papers have carried articles complaining about the insufficiency of washing machines and refrigerators, but even though their production is increas-

ing they are still outside the buying range of many working families.

Victor Zorza, *Guardian* correspondent on Russian affairs has said:

"The output of less expensive consumer goods, while also on the increase, is still grossly inadequate. To give only a few examples chosen at random from the Soviet press, it is impossible to buy electric fuses in Tiflis (population 694,000), while in Stalino (population 701,000) it is difficult to find in the shops such things as electric irons, meat mincers, or colanders.

"In one village—and this is true of many others—as soon as new goods appeared in the shops they were cornered by the local notables. When the villagers protested, several were sentenced to four days' detention each for "hooliganism". And they had not even mentioned the sputniks...."



## IT'S URGENT!

WITH six weeks to go we must receive £238 for FREEDOM'S Deficit Fund if we are to end the year all square. That is nearly forty pounds a week. A lot of money in view of the fact that so far we have averaged less than £20 a week and in the past twenty weeks the average has been only a little over £10.

On another page a generous comrade appeals to fellow readers to cut out the loss on FREEDOM. Eighty contributions of 5/- each week and there would be no deficit. It sounds easy, and would be so easy if all those who at various times express their appreciation of FREEDOM were to feel that the deficit was as much their concern as that of others.

Don't wait for others to take the initiative! We need 4,760 shillings, or 1,904 half-crowns, or 952 five-bobs or 476 ten-shilling notes or, as we said at the beginning, £238. Who will give a lead?

(And for friends who prefer to send greenbacks, £238 is approximately 700 dollars!).

## PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 47

Deficit on Freedom	£920
Contributions received	£802
<b>DEFICIT</b>	<b>£118</b>

November 6 to November 12

London: Ason. 1/3; Dundee: A.S.L.P. 2/6; Ilford: D.L. 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 2/6; London: A.F. 3/-; Hong Kong: M.S.\* 5/-; Cape, S.A.: J.J.R. 1/-; London: J.S.\* 3/-; London: P.F.\* 10/-; Ilford: J. & M.S.\* 10/-

Total	2 1 3
Previously acknowledged	800 14 6
<b>1959 TOTAL TO DATE</b>	<b>£802 15 9</b>

\*Indicates regular contributor.

# LOVE AND LOLITA

WELL, nothing has happened yet, except that the first impression has already sold out. Everyone has at last had a chance not only to read what the book is about but to read the book itself. Even dear old John Gordon seems to have stopped worrying about it. But the critics still can't agree what it means. Is it a love-story (Lionel Trilling), a satire on America (V. S. Pritchett), terrific (Graham Greene), terrible (Kingsley Amis), impressive (Walter Allen and Philip Toynbee), sheer unrestrained pornography (John Gordon), or a great novel disfigured by a sly grimace (Rebecca West)? You buy your paper and you take your choice.

Let us concentrate on one thing—the ostensible subject. Is *Lolita*, as Lionel Trilling believes, the story of the true love of a youngish middle-aged man for a pubescent girl? Trilling's point is that romantic love in literature must be illicit—sometimes adulterous (Paris and Helen, Lancelot and Guinevere), always fornicative (Heloise and Abelard, Paolo and Francesca, Romeo and Juliet, Des Grieux and Manon)—but today adultery and fornication are scarcely tabu or even exciting so Nabokov had to make his love-story shocking in some other way.

This is all very well—indeed it is brilliant when Trilling says it (in *Encounter*, October, 1958)—but let us get back to the book. Does Humbert love Lolita? This is crucial. I think the answer is "no". Nor is he even a genuine nympholept, as he claims. Three times he marries women of his own age, and the only time he really loves a young girl she too is his own age (13) at the time (and this "Annabel" seems to be the same as "Colette" in Nabokov's story *First Love*, and was presumably a real girl fifty or so years ago).

What he feels for Lolita, once the first wave of recognition of what he considers to be an incarnation of his beloved Annabel has passed, is nothing more than lust. From their first morning alone on a sofa, and certainly from their first morning alone in bed, Lolita is never anything more to Humbert than his whore or his daughter (or both, in

what he himself calls a "parody of incest"). And the prostitution relationship that soon grows up between them is not even honest, as a normal prostitution relationship is (and was once for Humbert, in Paris).

No, as anyone who has ever really loved a young girl will see at once, Humbert's professed love for Lolita is false. He can make all sorts of protestations at the beginning and end of the book, but he is no more than a "pentapod monster" all the same. There are two proper reasons for sexual intercourse: shared love, or shared desire (not necessarily sexual). Intercourse without love is quite ethical if it is honest, if the partners don't pretend that love is involved. Thus the relationship between Humbert and Lolita that first morning at the Enchanted Hunters is proper because neither of them is cheating (though three times does seem excessive for a growing girl). But after that it is disgusting—not in the way John Gordon meant, but because it is selfish and unfair. Humbert is a true pervert.

Not once is he concerned with Lolita's pleasure—always it is his own gratification he worries about. He even prevents (or tries to prevent) her seeking happiness and pleasure elsewhere. She only stays with her parody of a step-father because she has "absolutely nowhere else to go", and as soon as she has somewhere else to go, even if it is only to another, even more perverted, pervert, off she goes. As for Humbert, all he ever does to her is to fuck her and make her cry. Soon he has to pay for her favours, and her tariff rises as his lust and her disgust rise. Never has a subtle form of sadism been more cruelly and faithfully described.

At the same time, Humbert has occasional fits of remorse (remorse!) about her welfare and plays the heavy father; but in this part he is just as selfish and repressive as he is when he is playing the passionate lover. Not once does he make—or apparently try to make—any

genuine contact with Lolita as a person. She is never more than his daughter-whore, a vehicle for the satisfaction of his variegated selfishness. The only way he keeps her sweet is to spoil her. Never has the atmosphere of unhappy family life been more cruelly and faithfully described, either.

But all this is a criticism of Humbert, not of Nabokov. Indeed Humbert's failure to be either a genuine lover or a genuine father is surely the mark of Nabokov's success as a novelist. Apart from whatever else it is, *Lolita* is an attack on dishonesty in parental and sexual relationships. The point is not simply that Humbert is cruel to Lolita, but that he deceives himself. The really terrifying thing about this book is not that the author deals frankly with some matters (and incidentally he shies away from problems like menstruation and contraception, which would surely have arisen). No, the terrifying thing (and too many critics seem to have missed this) is that things that people like to keep apart—such as family and sexual life—are here mixed together in a way that would probably have delighted Freud.

Nabokov's achievement—apart from producing one of the two best novels since the war (the other being *Dr. Zhivago*)—is that he has taken the lid off so many of our taboos and conventions in a comic and disturbing way. After all, just think for a moment (he seems to say). What is really so disgusting about a man of 37 and a girl of 12 in bed together? Even if he is her father (or step-father)? Why are Romeo and Juliet splendid when Humbert and Lolita are revolting? Which is worse, to debauch a young girl or to shoot your rival? What do we mean by the word "innocent"? What is the importance of virginity? At what age does it become absurd? What real foundation is there for our prejudices?

He does not answer these questions, but that is not his job. He raises them

IN BRIEF

## RACE RELATIONS

The Department of Justice to-day asked a Federal judge at Jackson, Mississippi, to empanel a grand jury to investigate the death of Mack Parker, a Negro who was lynched last April.

Parker was seized from a prison cell, where he was awaiting trial on a charge of raping a white woman. A gang of white men shot him and threw his body into the Pearl River. A county grand jury yesterday refused to return indictments after an investigation.

—British United Press.

Four Negro youths stopped a 17-year-old white girl with their car at San Antonio, Texas, blindfolded her, drove

### IT ALL HAPPENED BY ITSELF SIR!

MR. R. E. SEATON, chairman of London Sessions, last Friday allowed 15 gns. costs each to William Storrie (18), labourer, and Malcolm Sands (22), bricklayer, both of Louise House, Blindon Row, Walworth, London, S.E., against whom the prosecution offered no evidence on a charge of receiving gramophone records and bed linen which had been stolen from a house in Blindon Row. Both men, who pleaded not guilty, were discharged.

Mr. Seaton said he wanted to make it clear there was no reflection at all upon the authorities. The two men were quite properly arrested because of the circumstances, but later it turned out they had a complete answer. They had been committed for trial through no fault of anybody.

and tells a brilliant story. But don't imagine that it is a true love-story. Any genuine nympholept can tell you that it isn't. Nympholepsy is a far more poignant thing than Humbert ever feels; it must be mutual too.

to a secluded country road, and raped her. She was found in a dazed condition and taken to hospital.

—Guardian 7/11

IT should be noticed that in these instances negro guilt has been assumed without trial, not by the lynch mob at Jackson, but only by the British United Press office in New York who sent the report in as printed, without "alleged" or "it is reported that" safeguards.

Yet in the second case there is presumably only the girl's evidence to go upon? And in the Mack Parker case the mob were not prepared to wait for a trial—probably because they thought Parker might be found not guilty.

### PROTEST BOYCOTTS

The following letter appeared in "Guardian":

Sir,—The idea of boycotting goods is very well, but where does it end? It stops at South Africa? Russia and China leave a lot to be desired. Spain and Portugal are undoubtedly rather politically, in the United States, just wears a curious face (one remembers that minor robbery by a Negro capital crime in the South, but the White shooting a Negro dead is just a naughty prank). Clearly a just cause for boycott here! And, come to think of it, what about Great Britain, the party of Suez, Cyprus, and New Zealand have just been returned with thumping majority?

It seems to me that if we carry it to its logical conclusion some of us are going to get very hungry! How about a boycott rota?—Yours &c.,

JOHN R. DALL

43 Elystan Place, London, S.W.3.

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## Narcotics: Their Use and Social Development—2

(Continued from previous issue)

ALCOHOL, which is commonly regarded as an exciting drug is really nothing more than a crude depressant of the central nervous system. How is it then that we appear to feel a little more gay and excited after a few drinks? Well, the first victim of this nerve poison I am drinking, is the highest level of mental functioning. It is certainly less easy to do brain-work when you have taken a little alcohol; and when the highest level of mental functioning becomes numbed, so there is less inhibition of simpler forms of mental activity. Intoxicated by alcohol we laugh more easily, we are less concerned with the consequences of our actions and are therefore more generally unrestrained in our actions. We are less self-critical and therefore better pleased with ourselves.

A skill like car-driving generally deteriorates with alcoholic intoxication, but the person driving the car fancies he is driving superbly. The sexual function in man is somewhat impaired by alcoholic intoxication, but because the higher centres of mental activity are numbed he may be very prone to sexual inclination and behaviour. In fact, with alcohol we take a little holiday from reality, and the more the mores of our society demand that we restrain expression of our aggressive, amatory and generally free-and-easy impulses, the more is alcohol necessary as a dis-inhibitor when we are trying to relax.

In contrast we may consider canabal, the active principle in hashish, marihuana, etc. Here you have a drug which does not depress the central nervous system like alcohol, but which has a wonderfully stimulating effect on mental processes. There is no magic in it of course, it acts in conjunction with the drug-taker's own personality. Here I cannot do better than quote Baudelaire:

"Ignorant people suppose that the intoxication of hashish represents a prodigious land, a vast theatre of jugglery, in which all is miraculous and unexpected. This is a prejudice, a complete mistake . . . In the intoxication of hashish there is nothing of the kind. Our dreams are natural, our intoxication will always keep the peculiar tonality of the individual. Men who are eager to experience unusual pleasures should know that in hashish they will find nothing miraculous, absolutely nothing but what is extremely natural. The brain and the organism on which hashish operates give only their ordinary individual phenomena, increased it is true as to number and energy but always faithful to their origin. Man cannot escape the fatality of his physical and moral temperament. Hashish will be for a man's familiar thoughts and impressions a mirror that exaggerates, but always a mirror."

This rather reminds me of the brewery which advertises that its beer "builds up the inner man". Well the action of hashish is rather like that, the hashish taker is still himself, but greater than his normal self. This retention of the normal personality is of course a feature

common to all drugs to some extent. What a man does when he is drunk depends on the sort of person he really is when sober, and if his personality appears to undergo a radical change—well what you are seeing is the slipping away of the most superficial layer of his personality. *In vino veritas.*

Mescaline, the active principal of the peyotl cactus, belongs to a group of drugs known as halucigens. The mescaline taker retires into his own inner world and experiences a sort of mystical vision. Sensations of the world around him are curiously changed and are often endowed with great beauty. Many of you may have read of Aldous Huxley's account of mescaline taking, but here again, the personality of the mescaline taker is of importance. Well here you have a drug that gives all and more than the great religions of the world offer. Religion offers a transcendental state, mescaline delivers the goods.

Having mentioned the main natural sources of the psychological wonder-workers, it remains to call attention to the fact that the refined chemistry of our age produces enormous quantities of the synthetic drugs suited to our needs under the tremendous strains which our type of society produces. In order to keep us going alcohol, nicotine and caffeine are not enough. A new group of drugs, the *ataraxics* which tranquilize us without making us too drowsy to work, are the mainstay of a sizeable population. Again the *analitics* like "Benzedrine" enable us to drive our over-driven organisms even harder.

A curious fact about societies like ours which depend upon drugs to a great degree for their functioning, is that while accepting their habitual drugs as perfectly natural, they have a totally irrational horror of the drugs of other societies. Thus European-American culture which condones alcohol, tobacco and ataraxic drugs, outlaws the hemp, poppy and other "exotic" drugs with horror. Here we have a curious anomaly. The man who admits, almost boasts, that he can't get through the day without so many cigarettes and so many cups of coffee, would be horror-struck if a colleague boasted of an equivalent dependence on cocaine. This is a comparatively modern development, for half-a-century ago Conan Doyle could make his popular hero Sherlock Holmes a regular user of cocaine. Myths have grown up about the fiendish effects of the drugs that "foreigners" use. Yet it is unquestionable that marihuana is more harmless than tobacco; the former is non-addictive and does not, as far as is known, produce lung cancer. Again, the habitual opium smoker can keep his health, mentally and physically, but the alcoholic cannot. I happen to remember that there are supposed to be 4½ million alcoholics in the United States. What the figure is in Britain I do not know. In the Scandinavian countries, which are held up as models of enlightened welfare states, the problem of alcoholism is so severe that they are experimenting with special prison camps for alcoholics.

It would be absurd to blame the existence of the drug for the addict. Most normal people drink alcohol beverages without becoming alcoholics. Alcohol, a crude nerve depressant, confers on us the benefit of damping down our excessive concern for the future, for the niceties of conventional restraint. Those unfortunate who suffer from too insistent pressures generated by society, have to take refuge in alcohol and so use themselves in it. The percentage of alcoholics in any society is a commentary on the degree to which it really meets human needs.

In some dim and perverted fashion the State recognizes that our supposedly free and democratic way of life drives society to drugs for relief. The two main permitted drugs, alcohol and tobacco are so heavily taxed that the Treasury is fantastically dependent on this source of revenue. A great variety of rival drugs, many of them less harmful than our permitted ones, are outlawed. The United States was recently the scene of a battle between the Federal State which tried to outlaw alcohol and a society which needed this drug so acutely that a huge crime racket flourished on the bootleg business. Since alcohol has been permitted in America, the struggle between the Federal State and society continues on a smaller scale over such drugs as morphia, heroin, cocaine and marihuana. FREEDOM recently reviewed some of the aspects of this peculiar struggle in which of course cops and crooks find scope for the exercise of their vocations at the expense of society.

"And what would the anarchists advocate that we should do about drugs?" Nothing of course. Here the questioner gives the usual snort which is reserved for anarchist impracticality. But here is an instance in which the anarchists can be very sure of themselves. When De Quincey could go to town on a pennyworth of opium, or Ludlow savour the delights of hashish for six cents worth of extract of cannabis bought at the local drug store, at that time there was no talk of "dope-fiends" or any widespread use of opium or hashish in Britain or America. The drugs were available to all quite openly and very cheaply, yet few people bothered. The popular drug was alcohol in the form of cheap gin, and the urban proletariat rotted themselves on that when social conditions became too hopeless.

Those who fear that we should become a nation of morphia addicts, hashish-crazed fiends, etc., etc., if all drugs were freely available, are really uttering a terrible denunciation of our "democratic society". Really they see our way of life as one of terrible tension, maintained by the restrictions of the law, and fear that too many people would run amok if that legal framework were relaxed. Anarchists have perhaps a greater respect for their fellow men and even a greater respect for the positive social institutions which exist today. We believe that things like potent drugs are best controlled by the commonsense responsibility which comes when people control their own lives. If the real world is satisfactory then we do not need to escape by means of religion, politics or drugs as a regular addiction. G.

## Carpet Baggers on the Move

Continued from p. 1

allowed to rearm after the war Germany was able to concentrate on rebuilding her industries and cash-in on a seller's market.

But without military might as well as money Germany could not expect to play a leading role in world politics. And since it was unlikely that the occupying powers would be agreeable to giving her more than limited powers to rearm it was not only the man of Providence for France but Adenauer's man as well. With Sahara oil on the horizon, Algeria is de Gaulle and metropolitan France a liability not an asset, and so far as he is concerned to have his armed forces freed from commitments in Algeria and a few atomic explosions to his credit, plus the economic marriage of convenience of the Common Market (whose steel production of 60 million tons compares very favourably with America's 77 million and exceeds Russia's 55 million), puts him in the running as leader of the Third World Force.

WRITING before the official communiqués are issued, and not enjoying the confidence of the political leaders, we cannot speak with any authority as to the purpose of Adenauer's London visit this week. But according to one writer in the *New York Times*

In a moment of anger with the British early this year, Dr. Adenauer told friends that Britain had to learn she could no longer lead the Continent, that France and West Germany were its leaders.

The same writer also points out that in the Franco-German vision of a third—a European—power that might approach that of the Big Two, Britain would be excluded.

They feel that Britain seeks a special position as the "first among equals" among the allies of the United States and seeks, as she has always sought, to prevent the emerging of a dominant power on the Continent.

It would not surprise us, therefore, if the purpose of Adenauer's visit is simply to give Macmillan the sad news and perhaps to find out what counter-measures his old "friend" has up his sleeve. After all, Dr. A. thinks highly of Mr. Macmillan, as witness his parting remarks to the *Guardian's* correspondent on the eve of his visit:

His Conservative political philosophy is akin to my own, and I have learned to value him as an outstanding political personality.

All the more reason for distrusting him, surely, in the game of power politics.

BUT when at next year's Summit de Gaulle speaks in the name of "Frankenreich", as the *Cologne Rundschau* put it last week, Eisenhower and Macmillan will probably be more upset than Krushchev, who to our minds is much less concerned by the East-West stalemate than with the longer term menace represented by communist China. Why should the Chinese leaders accept the permanence of Russian hegemony any more than Germany and France accept American domination? It is clear that, however inefficiently, China is making giant strides in the building up of its industries and war potential, coupled with a fanaticism once visible in Russia but which has since been replaced by a desire for the kind of animal comforts and tit-bits which are part and parcel of the American way of life. So Mr. K. on the one hand is anxious to satisfy internal

### BOOK REVIEWS

## THE FALL OF TROTSKY

THE PROPHET UNARMED, by Isaac Deutscher, the Oxford University Press, 38s.

OF all the Bolshevik leaders Trotsky probably had the most original mind. Despite the cruelties he and Lenin felt it necessary to perpetrate, both of them were essentially within the "progressive" Western tradition. Stalin was not. He belonged in spirit to the old medieval Byzantine Russia.

It is significant that Trotsky always felt himself out of place in Moscow, particularly in the Kremlin. Petrograd (Leningrad) was a modern European city, with a proletariat that had left its peasant origin behind it. The Moscow proletariat was still peasant in outlook.

"The magnificent setting of the Kremlin contrasted strangely with the way of life of its new inhabitants. Trotsky describes the family's amused embarrassment when they were first attended by an old Court butler who served meals on plates bearing the Tsar's coat of arms and carefully turned and manipulated the plates in front of the grown-ups and children so that the Tsar's eagles should never, God forbid, be placed upside down. From every corner 'the heavy barbarism of Moscow' stared at the Bolshevik leaders, and when the chimes of the old bells intruded in their conversation, Trotsky and Lenin 'looked at each other as if we had both caught ourselves thinking the same thing; we were being overheard by the past...' They were not merely being overheard—the past was fighting back against them. In any case, Trotsky, as he confesses, never merged with the Kremlin background. He kept his distance from it; and only his sense of historic irony was tickled by the revolution's intrusion into Moscow's holy of holies."

The transfer of the capital from Petrograd to Moscow was perhaps not without psychological significance. It was already one victory for the past, and others were to follow.

This second volume of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky covers the period of his struggle with Stalin, which ended with Trotsky being driven into exile. It gives the fullest details of the fights and intrigues which preceded Trotsky's downfall. Looking back now it seems inevitable that Trotsky would lose, but at the time it did not appear like that at all. To begin with Trotsky did not consider Stalin as dangerous.

Trotsky underestimated Stalin, and he overestimated the militancy of the masses. He did not make sufficient allowance for the exhaustion caused by the revolutionary struggle. He believed he was more popular than he was.

He was a paradoxical man. He believed in the need for authority and centralisation, yet he wanted some measure of freedom to be retained. When he felt that "anarchy" threatened he was all for discipline. But when discipline looked like becoming tyranny he

demands while on the other he anxiously watches developments in China. To have more or less apologised to India for China's armed provocations does surely indicate how concerned he is over his Eastern "ally".

One can view his New Look on the West as the stone to kill three birds. Fewer guns and uniforms; more refrigerators and saucy hats; more trade with the West and more financial "assistance" for the "poor" countries means more consumer goods for the Russian people and more allies for the Communist "cause". And this, the Russian leaders probably hope means alliances if and when China challenges their leadership, as well as undermining America and "Frankenreich"

WHEN William Pitt the Younger, as Premier, was told by Napoleon's envoy that "the Emperor wants peace", he is reported as having replied: "No doubt, but what for?" The political approach has not much changed in more than 150 years has it? No politician believes in peace for the sake of peace. So when Russia proposes

changed his emphasis and began to stress decentralisation and those elements of Bolshevik doctrine that were more compatible with liberty.

This may sound "statesmanlike" to English ears, but it did not win him sufficient popular support, not after Kronstadt, not after the "militarisation of labour". The people have short memories, but not that short. He held to his ideals of a future society of a utopian kind with the most sincere conviction, yet even this may have helped to tip the scales against him.

For Trotsky was a "scientific romantic". His vision of the future has that curious blood-chilling quality that so many utopias possess.

"In the future such monumental tasks as the planning of garden cities, model housing estates, railways, and harbours will touch to the quick not only architects... but the broadest mass of the people. The antheap-like, imperceptible accumulation of town districts and streets, brick by brick, from generation to generation, will give place to titanic building... with map and compass in hand.

"The wall between art and industry will crumble. The grand style of the future will aim at form creation, not ornamentation... But it would be mistaken to see this as the self-effacement of art before technology... The gulf between art and nature may be expected to disappear, but it will do so not because art will go back, in Rousseau's sense, to man in his natural condition, but because it will bring nature nearer to itself, to art. The present location of mountains and rivers, fields and greens, steppe, forest, and maritime coasts, should by no means be considered as final. Man has already carried out some far from negligible changes in Nature's map. But these are only school-boyish essays in comparison with what is to come. If faith could only promise to remove mountains, technology, which takes nothing on faith, will really pull them down and shift them. Hitherto it has done this only for industrial commercial purposes (mines and tunnels). In the future it will do it on an incomparably wider scale, in accordance with comprehensive productive-artistic plans.

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Man will make a new inventory of mountains and rivers. He will seriously and more than once amend nature. He will eventually reshape the earth to his taste... and we have no reason to fear that his taste will be poor."

Against this Stalin had to offer—what? Nothing else than a resuscitated Holy Mother Russia.

"The apologists for socialism in one country made light of Russia's backwardness, explained it away, and even denied it. They told the people that unaided they could achieve the consummation of socialism, the supreme miracle of history. It was not merely the easier and safer road that Stalin appeared to open up—it was the path of the chosen people of socialism, the path of Russia's peculiar revolutionary mission of which generations of Narodniks had dreamt. Indeed, two rival and quasi-Messianic beliefs seemed pitted against one another: Trotskyism with its faith in the revolutionary vocation of the proletariat of the West; and Stalinism with its glorification of Russia's socialist destiny. Since the impotence of Western communism had been repeatedly demonstrated, it was a foregone conclusion which of these beliefs would evoke the greater popular response."

From "socialism on one country" it was a short step to Russian nationalism ("national socialism" in fact if not in name!), to "work, family, country", to sexual segregation and authoritarianism in education, to the subordination (in fact if not in theory) of women, the development of an aristocracy and the revival

"Literatura i Revolutsia". As quoted by Isaac Deutscher, p. 194. Further on there is another quotation from Trotsky to the same effect. It ends, "Mankind will not have ceased to crawl before God, Tsar and Capital only in order to surrender meekly to the dark laws of heredity and blind sexual selection." In the end "the average man will rise to the stature of Aristotle, Goethe, Marx..." Somehow I find this prospect far from endearing. It seems to me no improvement to give up crawling to God and Capital only to get down on my knees to some expert on eugenics!

of religion. All this accompanied by periodic massacres in the age-old tradition of Oriental despotism.

Stalin succeeded because he was able to exploit all the dark, deep, superstitious feelings of the majority of the Russians. Trotsky appealed to their revolutionary enthusiasm, an impermanent thing. Stalin, like all reactionaries, much better understood the people's ingrained loves, hates and fears. He appealed to what is permanent, at least in an authoritarian society, which is what all conservatives do. The consequence being that they always win in the end, or at least succeed in perverting every revolution and turning it back on its tracks.

Although the remote future may yet turn out to be with Trotsky and his Wellsian vision, though I hope not, the immediate future lay with Stalin. This was partly due to the totalitarian nature of the Bolshevik party, which tried the impossible task of keeping freedom of discussion within the party while suppressing it outside. This failed of course, because, as soon as you have free discussion the party tends to divide into groups with different opinions, and if you have no other parties but one, the solitary party tends to split and become several parties. For people who would otherwise seek to express themselves through a variety of different parties are forced to enter the one party or renounce political activity altogether.

But the division of the Bolshevik party would end by bringing the régime back to where it set out, a multi-party state with its attendant weaknesses (from the Bolshevik point of view at any rate). To prevent this it was necessary to initiate a series of purges, beginning with the elimination of doubtful elements, who were merely expelled but not punished, and ending with a wholesale massacre of the "Old Bolsheviks" themselves.

The logic of events is simple enough. But, though the decline of the Bolsheviks is easy to understand, the rise of Stalin and his reign are not so comprehensible. The Bolsheviks represented an extreme form of Western authoritarian socialism, but Stalin's rule forms part of that extraordinary reversion to barbarism and archaic modes of thought and action that is such a puzzling feature of the modern age.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

### GANDHI

## Holy Man or Giant-Killer?

MAHATMA GANDHI, by Reginald Reynolds (Frederick Muller, 8s. 6d.).

THIS is a book for children in the 9-14 range, a new addition to the True Book series, which contains, among many other titles, biographies of Napoleon, Cecil Rhodes and Winston Churchill. A character like Gandhi is so different from the usual run of "great men", that if children are going to read about them at all, he might as well be included. The late Reginald Reynolds was very well qualified to write such a book. He was Gandhi's emissary to Lord Irwin in 1929, he was the author of an influential indictment of British rule in India (*The White Sahibs in India*), he was a lifelong propagandist against colonialism.

But to an adult eye at least, the book is a disappointment. As a straightforward biography it reads like a less subtle and simplified abridgment of Louis Fischer's *Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World* (Signet Key Books) a cheap American paperback available in this country, which I would far rather give to an older child enquiring about Gandhi. The Holy Man, Mahatma, Great Soul, treatment is all very well, but it does tend to put off people whose aspirations don't lie in that direction. Look what it has done to poor old Albert Schweitzer. Sentimental admirers (who would never dream of spending their lives in a hospital in the Congo) built him up as a Great Soul, and have since written him off as a bossy old bore whose attitude to the Africans belongs to the nineteenth century. The old man himself, who never claimed to be anything other than he is, just carries on with his job.

If I were presenting Gandhi to children (or adults for that matter) I would lay on the holy stuff and give him the Jack-the-Giant-Killer angle: the little man who looked like Mickey Mouse and organised India to kick the British out by moral blackmail. As Vinoba Bhave put it "Gandhiji used up all the moral oxygen in India and the British Raj suffocated."

I am amazed that Reg. Reynolds, who

had a great reputation as a humorous writer, does not give more emphasis to Gandhi's humour and his love of paradox and irony, and that he does not make more of the implications of the techniques of non-violent revolution which Gandhi spent a lifetime perfecting, by referring at least in passing to the subsequent work in India of Vinoba, in Africa of the civil disobedience campaign of the African National Congress, in America of the boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in Italy of Danilo Dolci; with all of which Reynolds as an active pacifist propagandist was thoroughly aware. The effect of the book without such references, in spite of his remark that at the time of Indian Independence "Gandhi was not celebrating; and these cries of 'Victory to Mahatma Gandhi' were meaningless," is to suggest that his work ended with his assassination.

Jayaprakash Narayan declared last year that, looking back after Gandhi's death, especially when it was seen that "every one of Gandhiji's political colleagues had taken to the traditional path of Politics" it seemed to him that he and everyone else had entirely lost the significance of Gandhi's programme:

"The significance of the fact, for instance, that after having led the freedom movement to a brilliant success, he did not take power himself to use it for remaking the country in accordance to his ideals, had completely escaped me. Likewise, when he proposed that the Congress should withdraw from the field of politics and confine itself to constructive work... the import again of that extraordinary proposal was lost on me."

It is likely to be lost on the readers of this book as well, whether they conclude that Gandhi was a saint trying to be a politician or a politician trying to be a saint. He was a lifelong experimenter, trying to discover means of righting wrongs and resolving conflicts without the use of violence and without the use of political power, and in writing about him for the young, conditioned from infancy to the idea that power is a legitimate end and violence a justifiable means, this is the aspect of his life and activities which needs the greatest emphasis and presents the greatest challenge. C.W.

# Why it's not Freedom

I'M prepared to apologise to any full, true and blue blooded Englishman who feels that I-massacre his language on occasions. A.F. makes a justifiable complaint.

Now, do I really discredit Anarchist ideas when I mention the "paradoxes"? If anyone gets that impression I apologise, but discredit was not intended, it is in fact an old Freudian consideration. Motives may not be so important in some cases, so long as the ultimate result is desirable. It perhaps matters little whether you refuse to go to war because it's un-Christian, or whether you think war is irrational as a means of solving problems and therefore do not support it. Yet on the other hand, it does seem a little dishonest to profess a love of life and go hunting for pleasure or patronise the bullring, to profess a humanity for mankind while at the same time degrading some of its members.

My real difference with A.F. is really on the question of prostitution and freedom. He says, "I wasn't trying to say that prostitution was a good thing, simply that it was a personal thing". I agree. For that matter, me making a hole in someone's head is also a personal thing, in one sense everything we do is a personal thing. You may say this is

extreme but then A.F. tells me that "Only the extreme argument can reveal the truth" (see *Candide*). To ascertain the truth in my opinion, is in this case, to establish whether prostitution is a good thing or not. Of course it's a personal matter, whether one chooses to be a prostitute or whether one chooses to visit one. But because it's personal it doesn't mean it is beyond evaluation.

The issue really is, whether prostitution furthers a wholesomeness in life for the prostitute or for the person who buys his sex. If it debases people and human values it may be licence but not freedom. Of course it's easy to pay the £2 and have a quick "bunk up", no problems, no responsibility, no emotions involved. Only a reclining receptacle more efficient than the manual method of adolescence.

It may be of interest that the record is 15 men an hour, four minutes apiece (Polly Adler's "A House is not a Home"). This feat was performed by one young lady on her day off. Of course you should be free to do it, that's freedom, if you like, but then once upon time the word "exploitation" would make any liberal man see red. Nowadays the pimps and the touts and landlords should be free to exploit these women because logically to suppress them would be to diminish freedom even further. "Cast

## DISCUSSION

the First Stone" is a book that should open anyone's eyes to the prostitute racket. The cruelty practised upon reluctant pros, by their pimps, the suffering endured and the pathetic needs of the prostitute is something that cannot escape anyone with any feeling for people.

Having myself visited a brothel once, just to see what it's all about (not in England), I am happy to report that it appeared to be well kept. The girls, fifteen of them, looked well fed and I was assured by the Madam that there was a weekly medical inspection; no work on Sunday or the girls' birthdays. They were all paraded naked and one simply made one's choice by pointing your finger at your particular fancy, and could spend 15 minutes with her for 15 shillings. (English money was always better!). Everyone seemed to prefer half an hour's worth. Perhaps the most distressing feature, apart from anything else, was the resignation on the girls' faces, this was their yesterday, their today and their tomorrow. True they were not beaten nor did they live in fear, they had simply given up.

Where do our rights and freedoms begin and end? We are free to take our own lives and free to degrade ourselves if we chose to, but should not be free to degrade others, even if we ease our conscience by payment. To reduce love and sexuality to a detached and feelingless level does not enrich one's life in the least. A common way of disinvolving ourselves is to hide behind the rationalisation that capitalism produces prostitution and at the same time going on to support it.

Now, is the man who makes only one of the bolts that is part of the rifle helping to make war? In my opinion he does, and to support prostitution under the guise of freedom is to support one of capitalism's unfortunate features with a libertarian excuse. One should be free to have as many partners as one wishes in one's lifetime, without having to battle against irrational restrictions by moral institutions, but you are not free to abuse your partner. Should you nevertheless choose to, please don't say you have a right to, because you believe in freedom. Surely the whole of libertarian opinion is based upon the ethical consideration that the furtherance of a happy and healthy life is the desired goal. In fact it is its main motive.

A.F. tells me that sexual freedom is essential to Anarchism, too true, but is prostitution sexual freedom? Is the prostitute free from fear of pimps, the need for money or her uncertain future? And does she accept her client because she feels the need for sexual expression, or does the client simply use her disadvantages for his own gain like any other form of exploitation? S.F.

# Pastoralist Anarchists

N. WALTER asks, "What is to be done?" Where are the teeming masses of our modern civilisation to be put? (see *Letters to the Editors*, FREEDOM, 7/11/59). There seems to be no immediate solution to this problem, except birth control propaganda. But it often seems to me that progressive-minded people are not sufficiently alive to what is happening to humanity, and consequently they do not even begin to seek solutions. It is not simply a matter of crying, "How disgusting!" and retreating to Sussex or the remoteness of Hampstead; it is a far more serious business than an aesthetic objection to the messes left here and there by the industrial revolution. The truth is that the society of our planet is evolving into a form of living comparable to that of the social insects.

People write and talk and think as if, in spite of the staggering inventions and discoveries of the last century and a half, the world was going to go on much as it has always done. Very few progressive-minded people, even of the most libertarian kind, seem to realise that we no longer have centuries ahead of us to carry on the social struggle, if present trends continue. What is more, even if in some period of the future a more libertarian form of society were eventually to be achieved, what would be the use of winning a world that has become all steel and concrete, where no bird sings? Such a world would not be worth winning, and there is a very great danger that that is the sort of world that is to come.

I have no doubt that Mr. Walter and many others will feel that this is needlessly alarmist. I hope it is, but I do not think so. Is there need to enumerate here the dustbowls, the problem of atomic waste, the destruction of wild life, the felling of the forests, the poisoning of rivers and even the sea, the misapplication of psychology in "brainwashing", so that even the human spirit, formerly thought invincible, is being brought to heel?

If, in the face of these things, some people develop a slightly "pastoralist" tendency, is it surprising? Both sentimentalism and despair are bad, but is it bad to love the beauty of the world and to lament its destruction?

The old revolutionary idea of the last century was more or less this, "We will take the control of the world away from the capitalists. We will make use of the benefits capitalism has brought, but the people will take over." No one seems to have thought that by the time the capitalists had finished with it, the world would not be worth taking over.

The problem of the future is not the problem of selfish minorities holding down the people. Rulers and people are in this together. Both in effect want the ant-state. The people want to be taken care of by the state, and the ruling classes are only too willing to oblige, on the principle that "contented cows give the best milk".

While social injustices remain to be fought, the real battle is moving to another front altogether in the more prosperous countries. We have to find some way to instill into people a new feeling for life, so that an increasing number of them come to find more constructive outlets for their energies than speeding at 100 m.p.h. down M.1.

There is a possible alternative to the ant-state. That is a reversion to earlier

For example, a couple who adopted a baby abandoned in a paper carrier bag inside a Roman Catholic Church in Capetown were notified by the Social Welfare Department that they would have to part with the baby because he had been "classified as coloured", although there is no trace of either parent.

Touched by the plight of an abandoned child, the Interior Minister, Mr. Tom Naude, has offered the couple an alternative—they can keep the child if they leave South Africa! To their credit the couple have chosen to do this, and their passage to England has been paid by the Amalgamated Woodworkers in Britain.

It is only too seldom that we hear of white South Africans refusing to co-operate with their government to the extent of giving up some of their privileges.

forms of authoritarian society, a vision of barbarism in fact. The Nazis showed us how easily this could happen. This backward slide in evolution could happen either as a result of the triumph of a dictatorship or as the consequence of a nuclear war. (So long as the destruction did not abolish all civilisation or even all life!) A sort of barbaric semi-civilisation is quite a possible future state. Whether through dictatorship or war, the result would ultimately be the same. If the Nazis had triumphed there would probably have been a cultural decline. Both art and science would have degenerated.

The tragedy of it is that quite a number of people who supported movements of a Fascist kind did so because they feared that democracy would bring in the ant-heap society.

Really I do not know what the anarchists, or anyone else, can do about all. "To instill into people a new feeling for life" seems so vague. Yet in the creeds, philosophical systems and plans for social reform have to a large extent failed. To construct a new creed or theory or system is only to join a long list of partial or total failures.

I have had it said to me that the anarchists are just another small sect, on the same level with, say, Social Credit. Certainly this could be said of those who limit themselves to preaching anti-authoritarianism as a panacea for every ill. The issue is a much bigger one than that. We are living on what is in danger of becoming a dying planet. It may already be too late to do anything about it. By the end of this century, so I have been told, the population of the globe will have doubled. Physical survival of human-like creatures may be achieved, but it will hardly be the sort of life that the optimists of the last century looked forward to. A world of synthetic food, of robot machines, of docile and diseased masses. This would be living death.

ARTHUR W. ULOH

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENT, LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

Meetings now held at The White Bear (Lounge Bar) Lisle Street, W.C.2. (Leicester Square) Every Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

NOV. 22.—Frances Sokolov on YOU NEVER HAD IT!

NOV. 29.—Donald Room on THE ROMANCE OF CONSCIOUS EGOISM

DEC. 6.—S. E. Parker on SOME IMPLICATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

DEC. 13.—To be announced

DEC. 20.—Debate on motion: "That B.B.C. English is corrupting the English Language".

## EAST LONDON DEBATING COMPETITION (Round One)

Nov. 23rd, 7.15 p.m. at the City Literary Institute, Stukeley Street, W.C.2.

Malatesta Club will oppose the motion "That Material Improvement is Accompanied by Moral Decline".

Dec. 20th, 7.15 p.m. at "White Bear, Lisle Street, W.C.2.

London Anarchist Group will propose the motion "That B.B.C. English is corrupting the English Language".

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## LETTER

### "FREEDOM FROM DEBT"

Recently I suggested that eighty readers should jointly guarantee a weekly amount of 5/- each in order to cut out the loss on FREEDOM. There was no response, and apparently no one else thought the same way.

Yet I am sure that we all want to see the loss cut out. Are there any alternative suggestions? Perhaps more guarantors and a corresponding smaller amount to guarantee. Perhaps the reverse. Possibly something different altogether. Anything to make FREEDOM self-supporting without compromising principles. I believe that joint action is necessary. It is not encouraging to subscribe with the knowledge that some who could do so are sitting back, or that our few individual shillings will make little difference and that the loss will continue.

With FREEDOM paying its way, Dear Editors, we could ask you for a monthly edition of "Election Guyed" (or "Parliamentary Guyed"). Like *Punch*, I thought it great, too good to be just an isolated issue.

Do please ask your readers for other suggestions for "Freedom from Debt", I know the ideal way is to increase the sale one hundred times. But in the meantime?

Yours sincerely,  
REGULAR READER.

Woldingham, Nov. 13.

## MORE READERS FOR "FREEDOM" please!

## Britain Votes Against Human Rights

Continued from p. 1

at present forced to live under the restriction orders, with no indication when they will be set free.

After the "Guardian" printed the long account by five of the Gokwe "restrictees", setting out the conditions under which they are forced to live, there was an official reply by Mr. Quinto, the acting Minister of African Affairs in the Government of Southern Rhodesia. He said: "The majority of people sent to Gokwe appreciate the efforts being made to rehabilitate them, but a few troublemakers are making it impossible at present for this to come about". Mr. Quinto also described complaints about the rations as absurd and said that medical provisions were adequate.

Since Gokwe is a restricted area (there is only one road ending as a kind of cul-de-sac in the jungle) and the press is not allowed to go there in order to verify the truth or absurdity of the complaints, should not the Southern Rhodesian authorities consider handing over all the people they are detaining or restricting to a completely independent body such as the International Red Cross? Indeed, could not this procedure be usefully adopted by all the Governments of the Central African Federation? Otherwise, how is anyone to know if justice is indeed being done? We have only the Government's word for it. It is absurd to expect governments which have detained or restricted these people to treat them without some form of repression or other.

The whole Western world has con-

demned the Soviet Union for exiling people to Siberia, but very little has been said about the Southern Rhodesian Siberia at Gokwe. The two are precisely the same; people are restricted without trial for an indefinite period.

Some of the people now suffering at Gokwe are professional men who have been accustomed to a high standard of living. It is not easy for them to be handed agricultural implements and told to keep themselves alive. They are not "troublemakers" but reputable and responsible people whose only crime was to oppose the Government. If they are to be forced into these conditions, then it is proper to conclude that Southern Rhodesia's oppressive measures follow its opponents even into detention.

Yours &c.,  
PATRICK MATIMBA.

London, November 10th.

Even when taking fully into account the economic reasons (without accepting them) for white South Africa's fear of a strong African population the irrational demand for "white purity" contained within the law is always in evidence.

Superstition is supposed to be the mark of the primitive mind not found among the superior white races, but superstition only can explain many of the actions of the South African authorities when dealing with people "of mixed or black blood".