

South Africa

Africa's Boycott

THE public reaction of South Africa's Minister for External Affairs, Eric Louw, to the trade boycotts by Ghana and Malaya, is to describe them as "the manifestations of political immaturity expected of small boys or a certain type of teenager".

As an upholder of racial discrimination in its most vicious form, Louw is in no position to condemn immaturity in others, but only he cannot accuse countries which are officially boycotting South Africa of goods of discrimination without inviting counter accusations. What is left, therefore, is to talk only about "political immaturity".

South Africa has not only prohibited African goods from entering the country, but has extended the ban to White South Africans unless they sign a declaration that they "firmly and sincerely" oppose racial discrimination. By using the nationalists own methods against them, irrational attitudes within South Africa may not alter, but it cannot be denied that the economic facts are worrying the business community, a fact which cannot be ever ignored by the Government.

It is estimated that South Africa's annual loss through boycotts is now over £7 million, and greater loss is expected, since other countries (The Congo, Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria, Libya and Tunisia) intend following Ghana's lead in denying airport and harbour facilities to South Africa. This means she would be unable to use the West African air route.

A spokesman of the Associated Chamber of Commerce said that the boycott was "contrary to all accepted rules of conduct in international

trade relations", from which we must conclude that it is quite in order to ignore "international rules" of decency in human relationships, especially when applied to blacks, but international rules of trade are sacred!

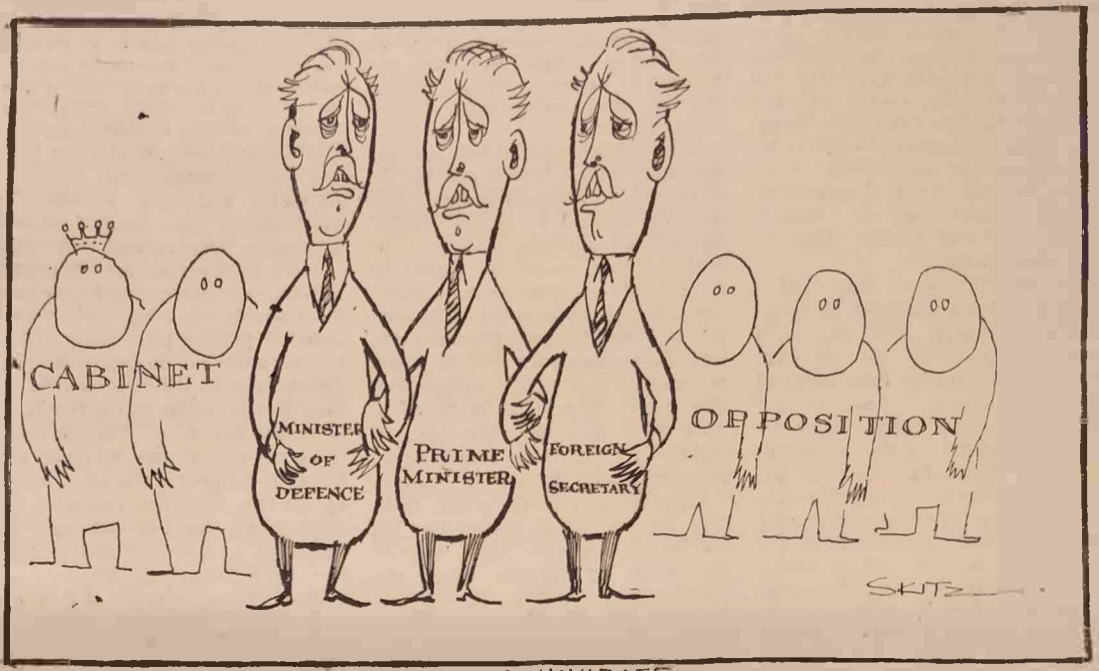
This attitude is nauseating in any circumstances, but when considered against the background of South African racial policies it is even more so. It is unfortunate for the Associated Chamber of Commerce that its pious statement coincided with yet another report from Johannesburg on conditions, existing in a concentration camp situated near the mining town of Benoni.

The Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Brigadier J. C. Steyn, issued a statement (Sunday, 31st July) on the death of 18 Africans, the cause of death said to be pneumonia. It is reported that over 14,000 prisoners, most of them under 21, are held within the walls of this huge compound.

There is no need to detail the appalling physical conditions, the brutality and starvation, and the sickness which results. Such treatment of Africans is common knowledge, which although condemned by many, continues unchecked.

It seems that economic boycotts are not enough, these have to be accompanied by drastic action on the part of Africans. If black South Africa ever erupts, the white population must take the responsibility for the violence which must follow.

The results of years of exploitation which we have recently witnessed in the Congo are a warning to the white man who arrogantly rules with the whip, and sets himself at the peak of the racial pinnacle.



OUR ONE-MAN TRIUMVIRATE

THE TRAGEDY OF AFRICA

TWO commentators on the Congo situation have been stressing that the vacuum that has been left by the departure of Belgian and other white technicians and administrators as well as of business men and industrialists following the declaration of independence, spells disaster for the Congo. "A Shambles Built on a Gold-Mine" is how Patrick O'Donovan sums it up in the *Observer*, and the *Guardian's* correspondent describes the Economy as "Bleeding to Death". To our minds the tragedy of the Congo as well as of most of black Africa is something quite different.

That the economy as it existed under white domination should collapse is not surprising. Is it not in fact a good thing that an economy which has been developed for the benefit of a small privileged community of whites and to provide fat dividends for investors in London, Brussels or New York should collapse if there is to be any chance of developing a new economy which will be geared to the needs of the overwhelming mass of the community?

As O'Donovan puts it: "The Congo to-day has everything that an undeveloped country does not need and very little that is essential to its condition. It is a shambles built on a gold-mine. What has been done here is worse than a physical atrocity. It must stand among the truly evil things that one race has ever done to another. It may have been done in innocence but it is the ultimate disgrace of colonialism."

What the Congo, and Black Africa in general, needs are the basic essentials of life: food, shelter, a health service and education. What the Belgians wanted, and what investors in a future Africa will want are profitable investments. And agriculture is not a profitable investment anywhere in the world though it is the key to man's very existence.

THE curse of industrialisation is that the benefits which man derives from it are more than counter-balanced by the wastefulness of human energy and of raw materials

that accrue in the mass production of goods which have no real social value. (And this of course includes the war industry). It is fashionable to declare that without industrialisation no under-developed country can solve its economic problems. An industrialisation programme from which the profit motive had been removed and which sought to provide the necessary machines, tools and materials to raise productivity on the land and provide those public services which in themselves are a step forward to a healthier community

(thus if the choice is between building aerodromes and hospitals, railways or sewage disposals works, we have no doubt as to which is the most important. Invariably the new governments will tackle the aerodromes and railways first!).

such an industrialisation programme would undoubtedly benefit the community because it would put the machine in its proper perspective in the human scene, of helping man to provide more plentifully the basic needs of life. Workers would not be lured away from starvation on the land by factories with canteens and prospects of a better living. On the contrary agriculture would flourish because at long last it had assumed its true stature in the social economy. As Lord Boyd Orr was pointing out only last week: "The world has never, except during war, set itself to provide food according to human needs... Give a guaranteed price to farmers all over the world and you will solve its unemployment problem and keep all the industries busy making fertilisers and tractors for the next 20 years."

THE tragedy of Black Africa, and of India of course, is that when the collapse of the old régime takes place, the new leaders desperately seek to recreate the very system which they sometimes spent a lifetime fighting against. In the case of India a large number of the white administrators and technicians could be replaced by Indians, but in Africa where few natives have been

allowed any kind of advancement the white civil servants, and settler herrenvolk will be replaced by an army of technicians and "experts", who are interested in their job and the handsome salary that goes with it and look upon themselves as privileged foreigners but not masters.

That the development of Africa should proceed along these lines is understandable not in relation to the desperate needs of these under-developed countries but as part of the pattern of political development that is too obvious to be overlooked. The tragedy of Africa is that not only has it been bled to economic death by the settlers but it has also been corrupted to the point where even in the struggle against the colonial powers there is not even a semblance of unity among the native political leaders; and because their influence is more emotional than rational, these political antagonisms are manifest at all levels of the community. It is all very well to say that tribal antagonisms existed even before the colonial powers exploited them for their own advantage. But what did the native leaders do in the ensuing years to resolve them. It is more likely that most of them saw their own chances of success in maintaining them.

To quote O'Donovan on the situation in the Congo, where the struggle between the Congolese themselves is so marked.

Nationalism is no sort of force here. The Ministers have dropped it in the face of what threatens. There is no sense of being a nation. Tribal resentments and competition are the ineradicable realities of politics. Provincial Governments, even when they profess devotion, are at loggerheads with the central Government. The Congo is not only not a modern State, it is not a nation. It is what is left of a Belgian administrative convenience.

The tragedy of Africa is not that the coffers are empty and the technicians have fled, but that the articulate members of the community are devoid of new ideas for the future of the land. Without them Africa will be subjected to a new exploitation no less crippling than the one from which she is slowly emerging.

The Anarchist Summer School

THIS is the second year that the London Anarchist Group has held its Annual Summer School under canvas. This year we were fortunate in having access to farmland on which we could feel free to roam, with the promise of future camps, warm days and casual discussion.

In a sense something of the spirit of past "schools" has been lost, particularly when these were held in London. The purely anarchist nature of the gatherings has changed, when comrades from all over the country converged on London, and much more time was spent in discussion.

With the change from the city to the country, there are other attractions for people who are perhaps less interested in Anarchism than in spending a few pleasant days among anarchists. This may be a good thing on the level of ordinary human relationships, but there are no apparent signs that the Anarchist Movement has benefited. Perhaps it is to soon to make judgments.

Perhaps the Anarchists themselves have changed. Maybe the compelling need to communicate and convert is not as strong as it was, in which case we cannot blame people if they take advantage of what seems to them to be a casual bunch of amiable rebels functioning in a

prosperous society very far from rebellion. M.

★
GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD, fresh from the University of California, Berkley, and now back lecturing at Birmingham University, read a lively paper on *Beatniks and the Beat Generation*. This will be published in full in *FREEDOM*, which should bring a change of subject in our *Letters to the Editors'* column. Other speakers were Francis Tonks and Tony Gibson.

THE FREEDOM QUESTIONNAIRE

ON the Monday morning, the lecture was given by Tony Gibson, who discussed some of the information supplied by the questionnaire recently sent out by *FREEDOM* and the answers to which have already been published.

Paying tribute to the extensive work already done by Colin Ward in order to make those initial publications possible, Tony said that a thorough analysis of the results of the questionnaire would take months and months—perhaps years. The long and hard work involved, though, would be extremely interesting and valuable.

He pointed out that in dealing with the replies one was not concerned with the readership of *FREEDOM*—but only with those readers who had replied.

★ Continued on p. 2

The Children and Psychology

WHAT is most significant, it seems to me, is the earnest attention paid to the Children and Family as a subject, the desire of parents to be informed and thereby do their best, rather than following their wit and impulse; or to say this another way, what is significant is the importance assigned in our society to Psychology itself, for Psychology is still by and large the family-psychology that Freud made it, discussing the problems of jealousy, infantile dependency, authority submissiveness and rebelliousness, and sibling competition; and problems of spite, moral prejudice and other reaction-formations springing from instinctual deprivation. This interest in the Children is of course hopeful, for the increase of wisdom cannot fail to remedy abuses, and has already done so quite spectacularly.

But this interest is also itself a symptom of an unfortunate social situation. Earnest folk pay such special attention to the children, and in general to their Inter-personal Relations, because these is not enough objective man's work or woman's work to put themselves to. I do not mean that there is not enough absolutely (it's a large universe); but that in our present social and technical arrangements there are not enough exciting and available and unquestionably self-justifying enterprises, where a lively human being can exercise initiative and use his enormous psychic and physical powers to anything like capacity. This problem goes, I think, deeper than any of the current differences in political or economic arrangements, and I cannot think of any immediate change that could alleviate it. We are in a phase of collective enterprise that does not, and probably cannot as yet, much use and stimulate such remarkably gifted animals as individual people, especially if we consider them (as chil-

dren) before they are discouraged and become rusty, and in addition to our powers all the knowledge and equipment of our culture. So more and more are likely to blow off steam in religious exploration; and the brunt of the burden falls on pre-occupation with the Children and Interpersonal Relations, for these at least are things that one can individually try to do something about.

Good parents work to preserve—and give more available energy to their children; the children in turn grow up and find they have not much field of action for this energy, but they can expend some of it on their children.

The helping of children has the prime advantage that it can be disinterested, compassionate, and *noblesse oblige*; it is our nearest equivalent to the old chivalry. The bother is that, except for those who have a calling, who are born teachers, it is stultifying as a steady occupation. We also need some dragons to kill and planets to visit, or goods to produce that people unquestionably need. A psychiatrist friend of mine says that the right care of children is: Let them alone and be around; where "be around" means, I suppose, to provide safety, audience for the exploit, consolation for the hurt, suggestion and material equipment for the next step, and answers when asked. This simple formula will not fill up a twenty-lecture seminar on Children.

The Family as Battleground

As our families are, the children in both their present satisfaction and the free growth of their powers, are certainly crushed, thwarted, pushed, hurt, and misled by their hostile and doting grown-ups. Frankly, I doubt that you can find one child in a dozen who is not being seriously injured, in quite definite and tangible ways, by his family. I would say this indignantly, as an indictment of the Family and *ecrasez l'infame*, let's fight to get rid of it! If I thought that the available substitutes were not even more disastrous. But consider also the other

side, that the parents are tied to and tyrannized over by the little Neros. You cannot put them in their places for several reasons: 1. You can't, try it; 2. It's bad for them to slap them down, and if they are injured it bounces back on you in the end; and 3. Most fundamentally, in the good cases you can't deny the imperious demands of the children because most, and perhaps all, of the hard things they really want are justified: they want space, excitement, sexual freedom, noble models to grow up to, wise saws of experience, real arts and crafts to learn, animals to hunt, an unknown to explore, and comprehensible answers to direct questions. But it is not the case that our housing, our economy, our style, our frontiers, and our sciences are amenable to these justified childish demands. Our arrangements have become so objective that few grown-ups and no children any longer have an available objective world. So a sensitive parents feels justly guilty; he tries anxiously, in impossible conditions, not to rob the children of their natural rights as the free heirs of nature and man. Do not many of us suffer from what we could call the Lear-complex? We are abashed by the free unspoiled power of the very young, we have no right to withstand it, we resign and give up our own rights.

As a striking example of parental guilty good intentions, notice in community planning, how every adult requirement of quality, style, and efficiency, is sacrificed to suburban utilities of safety and playground.

Being Master with Authority

Contrast it—to make the point clear—with a master and his disciples, whether an artist or an artisan or a scholar: he uses the kids for his purposes, he says do and don't with a clear conscience, because his soul is fixed on the work; he teaches them out of his compassion to prevent error and advance the future. They, in turn, are neither humiliated nor browbeaten nor exploited. They are growing into the work

through him because he is a master of the work; and the compelling proof of all this does not come from authority but from the work. Now regarding the Family as a school of growth in the art of personal life and of exploration and inspiration towards a career, what experienced mother or father feels like a master of the subject and can command and forbid with conviction, except in some elementary issues of health and safety and perhaps grammar and manners? (As Yeats said, "The best lack all conviction—the worst

are full of passionate intensity.") We do not know the method to reach the goal we do not know. This is often expressed by the sentence, "I don't care what my children do or become, so long as they will be happy." An honest, hard and sensible sentence, but it is parents in the impossibly anxious position of trying to fulfil an indefinite responsibility. So instead improvising with wit and love a foundation of experience and questioned personal achievement.

Continued on p. 3

Summer School Report

About the majority of the readership, those who did not reply, we know nothing; only that they are readers of FREEDOM. Why they are, we don't know.

The replies varied in number from country to country. Readers in Britain and Australia/New Zealand each returned 35% of the questionnaire—an extremely high percentage for such a form of investigation. The rest of the countries where readership existed produced replies between 10% and 13%—lower than usual.

The actual information provided by the replies did not vary very much however between different countries. The proportion of readers admitting to being anarchists was about the same all over the world, and so was the age distribution of the respondents. Highest age groups were the 20's for women, 30's for men.

Replies on the various aspects of anarchism showed 'individualists' to be the largest single category—but what was meant by an individualist was anybody's guess. For instance this category contained the highest percentage of those who, while claiming to be anarchists, still voted in elections, for some reason or another.

The smallest categories were the anarchist-communists and anarcho-syndicalists—but these appeared to be more intransigent, containing the lowest percentages of voters.

On the 'class' issue, respondents turned out to be predominantly middle-class in origin and education (tho' Tony said his criterion might be open to objection) especially in the lower age groups. Older readers were more 'working-class'.

Tony told his listeners that the information tied up with his personality investigation, which had proved what most

of us already knew—that anarchists invariably have a high intelligence—pointed out that the 'opportunity' of today offered an intelligent worker the ladder to get out of manual employment which was all that was available for his less-educated parents, into middle-class occupations.

This means that the cream (intelligently speaking) of the working class being skimmed off—a tendency which may eventually result in a 'working class' of low intelligence, apathetic and so liable to leadership.

The discussion which followed the lecture ranged widely over the subjects touched upon, seeking ways and means of using the information brought in by the questionnaire for the improvement of the paper or the extension of our activities in other directions.

It remains, however, for the information to be properly sifted and analysed. This in itself requires more helpers than at present seem to be available, and then the will and the means to use it.

★

The Summer School came to a close on Monday afternoon with some grades making their ways back but others going on to further holidays, others still staying at the farm.

From all points of view the week was a great success—not least in the friendliness of the regulars at the pub.

Our heartfelt thanks are due to Mrs. Stephenson, responsible for catering, and her willing army of voluntary helpers, and to Alan Albon for the use of the farm, which was ideal for the camp. The place was good, the food was good, the beer was good, the lectures were good, even the weather was good. What more could we ask?

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sat.)

New Books . . .

The Sleep-Walkers David Korp 13/6
Cyprus and Makarios S. Mayes 30/-
Hegel: an Annotated Selection
W. Orynski 30/-
The Arms Race Philip Noel-Baker 12/6
Plays: Vol. 1 Eugene Ionesco 10/6
The State and Trade Unions
D. F. Macdonald 21/-
Darwin and Butler: Two Versions
of Evolution B. Willey 12/6

Reprints and

Cheap Editions . . .

Jimmy Hoffa's Hat
John Bartlow Martin 2/-
Madame Tellier's Girls
Guy de Maupassant 3/6
Harvest of Hate Leon Poliakov 3/6
Ladies' Delight Emile Zola 3/6
Women of Paris
Edmond de Goncourt 3/6
Fathers and Sons Ivan Turgenev 4/-
The Octopus Frank Norris 4/-
Citizen Tom Paine Howard Fast 4/-
Only Yesterday
Frederick Lewis Allen 4/6
Insurrection Liam O'Flaherty 2/6
Pitcairns Island Nordhoff & Hall 2/6
Analysis of Kinsey Reports
Donald Porter Geddes 4/-

Second-Hand . . .

In the Beginning G. Elliott Smith 2/6
Kingship A. M. Hocart 2/6
The Origin of the Kiss and other
Scientific Diversions
C. M. Beadnell 2/6
On Compromise
John Viscount Morley 2/6
King Solomon's Ring
Konrad Lorenz 2/6
Head Hunters Alfred C. Haddon 2/6
Periodicals . . .
Libertarian (Sydney, Australia)
January, 1960 1/6
University Libertarian Nos. 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7 and 8 each 1/-

We can supply ANY book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found!

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1

BOOK REVIEW

Report on Brainwashing

WHY THEY COLLABORATED, by Eugene Kinkhead. (Longmans, 21s.).

THIS book is a chapter and verse extension of Kinkhead's symposium fashion post-mortem, in *The New Yorker* of 26th October, 1957, of the chronic defection from every military and human virtue of thousands of American soldiers.

One out of every three of them taken prisoner in Korea as members of the United Nations forces collaborated with their Chinese and North Korean Communist captors—either by broadcasting Communist-coloured Christmas greetings home, writing treasonable tracts and newspaper articles for foreign consumption, returning to the American lines to distribute enemy leaflets urging other Americans to desert, or agreeing to spy for the Communists after the war—and meanwhile betraying their fellow prisoners in every conceivable way, sometimes to curry favour, and sometimes inexplicably.

The alarmed American authorities, after the war, employed their 720 members of Joint Intelligence Processing Teams, and other investigators, in making an elaborate study of the repatriated prisoners. In five years intensive investigation there accumulated some 4,000 files of from one inch to two feet thick with completed questionnaires, tests, examination reports and cross-references.

Taking into careful consideration every circumstance of their incarceration, it was conclusively revealed that the prisoners need never have yielded one iota of their allegiance to the United Nations (i.e. the U.S.A.) for they would not have suffered in the least at the Communists' hands had they simply and consistently refused any kind of traitorous collaboration with their captors.

Whereas the small Turkish contingent of prisoners in the Korean War took

care not to lose by death even one of their sick or wounded comrades, the Americans, in identical circumstances, lost by death 2,730 out of a total of 7,190. This was mainly due to carelessness, ignorance, callous neglect by their comrades, sheer murder by a fellow prisoner—or simply the lack of determination to live. On the march to prison camps the litters of badly wounded Americans were abandoned because the able-bodied prisoners refused to carry them.

One such dumped a wounded comrade from his litter into a stream, where he drowned. This culprit also stole the watch of a fellow captive and, when the latter objected, pushed him over a cliff to his death. When ordered by an officer to cease beating and robbing other sick and dying prisoners, this man struck the officer.

Everywhere the strong regularly took from the weak. Sick men, instead of being helped and nursed by the others, were ignored, or worse. On winter nights, men helpless with dysentery and stinking from their excreta were rolled outside the huts by their comrades into the snow and left there to die. One Sergeant James C. Gallagher disposed of three suffering comrades thus, with particular brutality.

There was almost universal inability of even fit prisoners to fend for themselves. Their lethargy was such that when given the chance to fetch firewood for themselves from the nearby hills they simply did without. Their attitude was never: "What can I do to help myself?" but always: "What can be done to help me?" Often such men literally lay themselves down to die.

With typical military logic, one eminently representative and cautiously pseudonymous Colonel Brown blames the U.S.A.'s democratic ideas for this

state of affairs. For, following widespread democratically expressed, complaint about the arrogance of American officers during World War Two, the officers and N.C.O.'s powers were so drastically curtailed that "the Army's main purpose of fighting and winning conflicts, world-wide or otherwise," was lost sight of as discipline was ditched.

In blaming a lack of discipline for the unpalatable defection in some degree by three-fourths of the Americans taken prisoner in Korea, "Colonel Brown" may be right. But elsewhere in this book he suffers some contradiction by a grudging admission that fully half of those Americans who defied every threat and resisted all blandishment to collaborate with their Communist captors, loathed and rejected discipline. They were "individuals with a long history of unwillingness to accept any kind of authority."

Indeed, the nose-in-the-air record continues. These spoilers of orthodox theory "had bad behaviour records in our own Army". Moreover, "in prison camp they merely persisted in their old pattern of rebellion against those in command." Being right from wrong motives, these revolutionaries could not therefore be accorded the quality of praise lavished upon their more conventionally resisting comrades, as "mature, well-integrated individuals who knew how to use their intelligence constructively . . . to quietly sabotage the indoctrination program".

Indoctrination is a term which the authorities rather subtly prefer to the term brainwashing which mysterious technique is held to have a touch of magic so frightening that its effect on prospective prisoners is to render them ready to give up the ghost as soon as an interrogation begins.

The authorities are less sensitive about contemplating the "inoculation" of American troops in training by subjecting them to ill-treatment (the word used is "treatment") of the kind it is expected

the Communists (no other enemy is even envisaged) would subject their prisoners.

Spokesman Hugh M. Milton II says: ". . . the Army now realizes that a man's nerve can be greatly stiffened by teaching him exactly how his captors will go about breaking that nerve", and that: "If this means our troops must withstand emotional pressure and psychological pain . . . then, for the good of the country, these must be borne. If the Communists alter their methods to include physical torture, this must be endured too."

From this determination to keep up with the Communists, these ardent American disciples of a foreign brutehood they affect to despise and ostensibly fight against, may be encouraged to get one step ahead by anticipating some unheard of savagery in case the Communists should resort to the worst Americans can imagine. In that event the poor American recruit may well murmur: "Death, where is thy sting and grave thy victory?"

By marking off, by purely military measure, cruelty in training from atrocity in the prison camp or on the battlefield, the American Army is confident that it excusably provides a training in self-reliance which will counter the predisposition of American troops formerly to become compliant prisoners of any kind to escape war.

Why They Collaborated demands serious attention for both its conscious and its unconscious revelation. It is not the last word on the subject. Relying so largely upon the views of officers and administrators of the U.S. Army, it poses the question rather than answers it. The wholesale breakdown of morale, and consequent collaboration with their captors, of supposedly highly individualistic Americans who proved to be helpless when not commanded and comforted in company, was due to character so complex that it requires further and more sympathetic study to yield the definitely adequate analysis which that able journalist, Eugene Kinkhead, has been unable to evoke from the material at his command.

SAM WALSH.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 21, No. 32. August 6, 1960

THE PROPERTY RACKET

ES, FREEDOM PRESS are on the move again, after 15 years our present address in Red Lion Street. In these 15 years the property in which we have our bookshop, offices, and stockroom has changed hands at least three times. Our first landlord who was also a Lord, had tenants who recognised that the property could only be described as a property and accordingly wanted us a seven years lease at a rent of £2 a week. Before the lease expired we had a new landlord. We were sure he would not take offence at the fact that we had a combination of eccentric and hard-headed tenants. We could not feel that we were a special lamp-post in the firm's "line", though the fact that we would only grant us a seven years lease (increasing the rent in each new agreement), and sold the property which we had little more than a year to go, has made things much more difficult for us in our present negotiations. But in the last eight years it was still only double the £2 a week we were paying in 1945... and of course the property was still a slum. But with the difference that whereas in 1945 we were surrounded by more slum properties and gaping holes that were once houses, by 1960 we had become an island in a sea of Council flats, Government Offices and Press Office Blocks. And though our premises by contrast looked shabbier and squalid than before, they had in the eyes of the business and property world become more valuable! And so convinced of this were our new landlords that at a meeting to which they invited us to discuss terms for a new lease, they suggested that the economic rent for the premises we occupy was £20 a week but that in the circumstances they would be prepared to accept a modest £950 per annum exclusive of rates!

In what way had they contributed to any improvement in the property such as to justify quintupling the rent? Why, we were even expected to spend something like £250 making good the wear and tear of our occupation, as well as putting the premises into a better state of decoration and repair than when we entered them 15 years ago!

Of course we know that any business man would be able to expatiate on the economics of rent, land values and the rest. To these all too familiar arguments there is a simple answer, which is that their values are false, and we say they are false because they can lay no claim that these values in any way benefit the community; on the contrary they benefit a limited number of individuals in the most extravagant way (it is well known that the post-war millionaires are mainly to be found among the property dealers) at the expense of the community. For let there be no mistake about this: the exorbitant rents which are being demanded and extorted on business and residential premises are eventually paid for by the consumer.

BUT to return to our own landlord problems. It is true that the law provides some kind of machinery to protect the tenant from the sharks and pirates of the property world. But the protection is relative in that the law recognises the same values as them. Under existing laws we are entitled to demand a new lease from our landlords. And only

CYPRUS AND MAKARIOS

"A Greek Cypriot, meeting a priest away from the Church's environment, will secretly touch his penis to avoid bad luck. Anthropologists see this as a survival of the widespread primitive belief in the power of the phallus to avert the evil eye. To the sophisticated town Cypriot the gesture is half a joke, half a symbolic protest against the interference of the Church in everyday life. But to the devout villager, with his long folk-memory

of the Church's domination, it is still an instinctive attempt to protect himself against the strongest temporal power he knows."

ONE does not have to be a supporter of British imperial ambitions to be dubious of the Cypriot "struggle for freedom". Makarios emerges from this book* as a thoroughly medieval figure, rather as Stalin was, who also came from the same religious background, that of the Greek Orthodox Church. The power of the Church has always been great in Cyprus. It traces its foundation back to the Apostle Barnabas. The Archbishop of the island ranks with the occupants of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. During the Turkish régime the Turks found it more convenient to govern through the church rather than directly. The Archbishop became the temporal head of the Greek Cypriot community, as well as the spiritual. Indeed, when the Turkish Cypriots revolted against excessive taxation it was the Greek Cypriots who helped to put them down. Turkish police enforced the collection of the Church's taxes.

The Cypriot people, both Greek and Turk, are on the whole a gentle folk, much milder than their counterparts on

*CYPRUS AND MAKARIOS, by Stanley Maye, Putnam, 30s.

the mainland. It was only in quite recent times that the Greek Cypriots began to develop the ambition to be united with the "Motherland", and, even today, this enthusiasm seems to be confined to a minority, who, however, have the power to force the majority along.

At the "victory" celebration of the 20th of March, 1959, between two and three hundred EOKA men paraded through Nicosia, less than a quarter of one per cent. of the adult male Greek Cypriot population. In its heyday it had probably been more numerous, but even so it was not a very large army. Yet it had successfully dominated the population, whose submissive attitude was mainly to blame for this.

The struggle was not a simple matter of oppressed Greeks against oppressing British. Greeks were against Greeks. EOKA attacked Greek Leftists and Communists, who on the whole, sober, grim and well-disciplined, did not retaliate, believing that their own turn would come eventually. There there is the Turkish population, who are not sentimental supporters of the British rule. They considered themselves well enough off under it, but would prefer to be ruled from Turkey rather than be left to the mercy of their Greek fellow-Cypriots.

It is a depressing tale. No one comes well out of it. No one can blame the Cypriots for wanting the British out. In

the event of war the island would be atom-bombed if there were still bases there, and the isle of Aphrodite would vanish in a cloud of radio-active dust. But this is not what Makarios is thinking about. It is doubtful whether he is even concerned with union with Greece. He has not got it, and yet claims the victory. What he has got is power, and some people believe that his ambition is more important to him than any ideal. He is a figure from the early Middle Ages when Greek and Latin Christian Churches fought for supremacy, through endless councils, conferences, synods, riots, persecutions and civil wars. "How these Christians love one another!"

Grivas, another Hitlerian "little man", with his toothbrush moustache, is hardly a figure of heroic proportions, in spite of the welcome he got when he came to Greece after his "victory". It is curious how this semi-insane little dictator type is continually turning up throughout the twentieth century. He and Makarios do not see eye to eye, which is not surprising, since both desire power. Makarios has, however, had the sense to provide himself with his own bodyguard of ex-EOKA men. A wise precaution indeed. So far he seems to have been able to get the better of Grivas, who is sadistic and destructive, but not particularly clever.

There must be something wrong with the human race that its members allow their lives and happiness to be sacrificed to the ambitions of people of this, or any other, sort.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

New Triumph for Sacco-Vanzetti

LIKE blackboard letters, big and bold and for the instruction of millions of viewers across the nation, came NBC's recent two-part television production of *The Sacco-Vanzetti Story*. It was a strong teaching job. Reginald Rose's script made its points in the fashion of any good textbook—by emphasis, by exaggeration, and by deliberate bias.

In every corner of America, conveniently acted out for them, people saw exactly how the two anarchists were executed for the sole crime of being Italian and radical. By now it is no doubt common knowledge that Sacco and Vanzetti were the victims mainly of a stupid, unqualified judge (so-called by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Musmanno in a hearing last year) and a crude, purse-proud governor (as referred to by the United States Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter in his new book).

But in Boston, where after a third of a century the case of Sacco and Vanzetti still receives front-page coverage, critics of the TV drama behaved alternately like shocked innocents and frightened patriots. They cried out that Bay Staters (meaning Massachusetts officialdom) had been savagely attacked, and that both the administration of Massachusetts justice and the American judicial system had been held up to ridicule. They even suggested that with so many anti-American riots around the world the NBC programme played into the hands of the Communists. They were most upset, however, by Reginald Rose's point of view; indeed, by the fact that he had a point of view. Trying to offset the legitimate bias—which rested on solid research and authority—the Boston press poured out another kind of bias based on hysteria, ignorance, and astinishing illiteracy.

Three months before the production was viewed and several weeks before the script was in its final form, the TV columnist of the *Boston Herald* began denouncing the drama as distorted. "It will be based on the Sacco-Vanzetti case," he wrote, "but in name only. Facts will be thrown to the winds if early reports are true." Facts. The columnist suggested that Rose "take a peek at the files of the *Boston Herald*, which gave a factual report right down the line." But it is the columnist who needs the peek. There in his own paper, in an editorial of October 26, 1926, are answered at least half the charges he made against the NBC programme. That editorial, which won the *Herald* a 1927 Pulitzer Prize, stated in part

that "as months have merged into years and the great debate over this case has continued, our doubts have solidified into convictions, and reluctantly we have found ourselves compelled to reverse our original judgment. We hope the supreme judicial court will grant a new trial on the basis of the new evidence not yet examined in open court."

In 1960 no such courage prevails. Fearing what he might see, the Chairman of the Braintree Board of Selectmen flatly refused to tune his set to the programme; and, fearing what he had seen, a state representative filed resolutions in the Massachusetts House criticizing the play.

And yet the Boston critics withheld no praise of the magnificence of performance and power of what they saw. Struggling with their prejudices, the reviewers kept switching sentiment in the middle of their articles, and one suspects that, along with ordinary viewers, they were left moved, even tearful.

It is unfortunate that technical justice moves so slowly and that Sacco and Vanzetti have not yet been officially exonerated; we might thus be spared more of the legal-judicial treadmill and the endless haranguing. By now, with the wealth of material written on the case, only fools and those who won't or can't read can still believe that Sacco and Vanzetti received a fair trial and were guilty of robbery and murder. But if only we could be finished forever with airing all these proofs of guilt or innocence, with displaying our native American naïveté about corrupt officials and get down to Sacco and Vanzetti themselves! If only the mad gap

did not exist between the justice already granted them by scholars and the justice not yet granted them by politicians, Reginald Rose's drama could really have thrown facts to the winds and we would have been treated instead to the better substance of Sacco's and Vanzetti's true characters and to their ideas.

Character! Why else, having invented no automobile, having flown no airplane, with no home runs to their credit, with only unpopular ideas and an adherence to the ideal of anarchism, do the two Italians still live? Because they died bravely for what they believed. Today, when spying is condoned as national policy and the sellout is built into the college education, Vanzetti's words "Now we are not a failure" seem more striking truth than when he spoke them. Sacco and Vanzetti are two of the few really successful men of the century. It's a success new generations would do well to contemplate.

More, much more, is coming. Rose's drama is appearing on two LP records; from Italy a film is announced; from off-Broadway a musical drama; and two or three more books are in the works. Best of all should be Ben Shahn's twenty-five pictures, known as the "Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti", which are being collected into a volume for the first time, and the opera by Marc Blitzstein on which the Metropolitan Opera holds an option. Even apprehensive Boston is calling it a Sacco-Vanzetti revival.

NORMAN THOMAS DI GIOVANNI.
(First published in The National, N.Y.)

FREEDOM PRESS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
 Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
 Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
 Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
 Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
 Waters

Vol. 6, 1956, *Oil and Troubled*
 Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*
 Vol. 8, 1958, *Socialism in a Wheelchair*
 Vol. 9, 1959, *Print, Press & Public*

each volume paper 7s. 6d.
cloth 10s. 6d.

The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of *FREEDOM* at 5/- a copy

PAUL ELTZBACHER :
Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21s.

V. RICHARDS :
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 6s.

JOHN HEWETSON :
Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

★

Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications :
Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute cloth 5s.
Journey Through Utopia cloth 18s. (U.S.A. \$3)

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

Continued from p. 2

they necessarily rely on Psychology and Mental Hygiene.

Another cause of preoccupation with the children is that children have become the only colourable excuse for existence of the monogamous family. Economically, women make money and own most of it. As a way of life, with the general breakdown of the old sexual conventions and the weakening of the old inhibitions, monogamous marriage is felt as a trap and a frustration; people are exposed to, and allow themselves to feel, temptation but are not so able to take satisfaction, so there is plenty of resentment and guilt, projected resentment. Frankly, again, it is my observation that if many marriages (maybe most) could be simply dissolved after a few years, the partners would suddenly become brighter, rosier, and younger. And again I would therefore urge, change the whole institution, except that the situation is not simple: we are still in the toils of jealousy of our own Oedipus-complexes, and in the present social fragmentation the companionship of marriage, such as it is, is a safeguard against isolation and loneliness. (The Family was a bulwark of the private economy, and now it is a refuge against the collective economy.) But these grounds for the continued existence of the institution cannot stand much ethical scrutiny, considering the cost. It is

the children that make the effort unquestionably worthwhile; and of course with the two or three children now standard, the burden of justification that must be borne by each little darling is great indeed.

Salvation through Sex-technique

As a defence against all the repressed thoughts against it, it has become the highest aim in life of an entire young generation to "achieve" a normal happy marriage and raise healthy (psychologically healthy) children. That is, what was always taken as a usual and advantageous background for work in the world and the service of God, is now regarded as an heroic goal to be striven for. This is preposterous. Yet, I should like to repeat it, the sentiment is deeply justified by the fact that at least this goal can be personally striven for; it is connected with real, not merely symbolic, satisfactions and responsibilities; and the same cannot be said for other goals for most people, which are either fictions of prestige and power, or are managed collectively. Consider, as a test, when the goal cannot be achieved or when the marriage cracks up: it is the exceptional case where the person's work or social role is important enough and real enough to occupy his thoughts and keep him going with manly fortitude. Viewed in this light, the thousand manuals of sex-technique and happy marriage have the touching dignity of evangelical tracts, as is indeed their tone; they teach how to be saved, and there is no other way to be saved.

The well-intentioned loving and resentful parents make a vocation of the children until finally they can send them off, at increasingly early times, to nursery-schools and schools. Perhaps the schools will provide "exploration and inspiration toward a career". But the situation of the teachers in the schools is fundamentally no different. For always the question is, What to teach? What is realistically worth teaching? The curriculum becomes poorer and poorer, because an honest educator cannot seriously believe that the solid sciences and humanities are life-relevant to the average of this mass of pupils. Nor is so-called "vocational" training the answer. (The name tends to be applied precisely in the absence of vocation.) Neither the jobs trained-for nor the kill-time training add up to what could enliven a human soul. The answer of the school is again Psychology; what the teacher has is not a subject-matter but a Method, and what he teaches is Interpersonal Relations. The only art that is essential is to read simple words, for production and distribution depend on reading. (So there has been universal free primary education for a hundred years, and the earmark of the delinquent who won't fit into the economy is that he won't or can't learn to read.) But the savage and intolerable irony is the current raving for more mathematics and physics, lest our bombs, radar, and rockets fall behind Russia's—these beautiful studies that have been transcendent goals for many of our best! now advocated so basely and the professors greedy for the subsidies and students on any conditions. **Success without Achievement**

Brought up in a world where they cannot see the relation between activity and achievement, adolescents believe that everything is done with mirrors, tests are passed by tricks, achievement is due to pull, goods are known by their packages, and a man is esteemed according to his front. The delinquents who cannot read and quit school, and thereby become still less able to take part in such regular activity as is available, show a lot of sense and life when they strike out directly for the rewards of activity, money, glamour, and notoriety, which will "prove" in one fell swoop that they are not impotent. And it is curious

and profoundly instructive how they regress, politically, to a feudal and band-and-chieftain law that is more comprehensible to them. The code of a street-gang has many an article in common with the Code of Alfred the Great.

It is disheartening indeed to bet with a group of young fellows who are in a sober mood and who simply do not know what they want to do with themselves in life. Doctor, lawyer, beggar-man, thief? Rich man, poor man, Indian chief? they simply do not know an ambition and cannot fantasize one. But it is not true that they don't care; their "so what?" is vulnerable, their eyes are terribly baulked and imploring. (I say "it is disheartening", and I mean that the tears roll down my cheeks; and I who am an anarchist and a pacifist feel that they will be happier when they are all in the army.)

The Psychology of Abundance

This is a sad picture. Naturally; for it is always sad when you write about something, rather than do something. (Poetry is not sad, it is an action.) I do not think there is cause for indignation, nor for despair. Not for indignation, because so many people are doing their best and many of these difficulties that have arisen are surprising and must simply be addressed patiently. Not for despair, for my feeling is that we are in a strange transition: to finding some kind of collective arrangements that will be rich with animal vitality and creative spontaneity and will be without Interpersonal Relations. Of course I cannot imagine such an apparently contradictory thing or I would be writing that instead of this. Meantime we psychologically-informed parents are doggedly (and out of our own hides) contributing to the explosion of it. By the millions—soon by the vast majority—we have let up on toilet-training, we have been liberating sexuality, we have honestly relinquished an old-fashioned authority because we do not know right principles. Then in the new generation there is more and more health and available energy, and less and less to do with it; more and more unprejudiced, not-class-ridden and good-humoured kids who are, yet, more and more stupid. This is the psychology of abundance that goes with the economy of abundance.

With the alleviation of the anxieties of poverty, there naturally loom vaster and at first vaguer anxieties of destiny. Our present task, it seems to me, is just to get rid of a few more ideas, to get rid of *Life* so we can have a little life, and finally to get rid of Psychology so we can have a little contact and invention. As Laotse said, "Good government is to empty the people's minds and fill their bellies."

PAUL GOODMAN,
(first published in
Liberation, Sept. 1956).

£100 in the Red!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!	
WEEK 31	
Deficit on Freedom	£620
Contributions received	£526
DEFICIT	£94
July 22 to July 28	
Sudbury, Ont. A.O. £1/15/10; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; London: N.D.* 2/-; London: K.M. 1/-; London: R.A. 2/6; London: P. & G.T.* 2/6; Hyde Park: Sympathisers 2/9; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: I.C.* 2/6; Isleworth: L.K.W. 2/-; Preston: W.A.L.M. 2/9; New York: I.R. £1/8/0; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 3/6; Peterborough: F.W. 2/6; Leeds: G.L.* 1/-; Colintrave: H.R.D. 10/-.	
Total	5 6 10
Previously acknowledged	521 7 4
1960 TOTAL TO DATE	£526 14 2

*Indicates regular contributor.

Reason and Emotion

AS far as I can make out, G. in fact is saying that people are agnostics because they have not the courage to declare themselves atheists. This is just the same as saying that people are anarchists because they are too irresponsible or lazy to assume positions of authority. This may be true of some anarchists, just as G.'s contention may be true of some agnostics, but the majority of agnostics are surely agnostics because they honestly cannot say whether there is or is not a God. I do not see how, at our present stage of knowledge, the existence of a Supreme Being can be decided either way. I have no reason to fear the consequences of calling myself an atheist, I just do not feel that my knowledge is sufficient in the matter for me to be dogmatic.

However what seems to be more important is this extraordinary assumption that emotions are inferior to reason. I can never understand this. Why should it be?

G. writes:

"Is anarchism just an irrational dynamic belief which anarchists hold because of the emotional need for such a belief?"

He then goes on to say:

"To judge from what response there has been to the article . . . the answer would seem to be an unequivocal Yes! But I hope this superficial verdict will not be made . . ."

Why should he hope this? Surely there can be no better reason for holding a belief than an emotional need. Reason is man's great tool, but without the driving force of the emotions it is not of much use.

I think that this hostility to the emotions, in Europe at least, stems from the old religious division between body and soul. The soul was conceived of as a sort of gaseous ghost-like figure, sometimes in the shape of the man to whom it belonged. It lived in the body, which was oafish, lustful, wicked and irrational, and had to be controlled by the soul. At death, if all had gone well, the soul floated merrily away, leaving the poor old body to rot down into the earth, at least till the Day of Judgment.

This primitive conception survives, or so it seems, in the thought of modern rationalists. Indeed the word "rationalist" is open to challenge. The atheist writer, Chapman Cohen, disliked it, because (as he said) the religious person could equally well claim to be using his reason. And he does of course. Catholics and Protestants have written enormous tomes, reasoning most subtly in defence of their beliefs.

Flat Earth Mentality

DEAR SIRS,

I am writing in regard to the 'flat-earth mentality' controversy which has, of late, been gracing the pages of FREEDOM.

G. lumps Astrology, Spiritualism, Phrenology, Palmistry, Flying Saucers, etc., etc., in one great pile saying believers in these things are all cranks and/or weirdies. There is much truth in what G. says—almost enough to cancel out the minute leaven of error.

I would expect that it is reasonable to suppose that there are still some areas not as yet completely explored by the rational mind of science. It is even possible to suppose that a few of the cranks in question have, in their blindness, got hold of parts of the inevitable proverbial elephant (or elephants) of truth. Their methods, dependent more on faith than reason, may leave something to be desired. They have a tendency to get lost in a fog of contradictions. However, in this mass of conflicting data one occasionally comes across gleams of scientific reasoning, evidences that some brave soul has taken on the thankless task of trying to bring order out of chaos. There are occasionally examples of documented and witnessed phenomena which cannot be readily rationalized away. This does not justify the charlatanry, tug-headed reasoning, and exorbitant claims made for each so-called Science by its adherents. It is only a small gleam of light in a large amount of darkness.

Belief in God is a matter for the individual. It is, by its very nature, an intensely personal affair, in spite of efforts by the Church to make it otherwise.

I do not know enough about Reich either to defend or to attack him.

Yours truly,
L. E. BATES.

The problem, as I see it, is to determine when reason is being abused, and when emotion is being abused. It's not right to condemn the Nazis for being emotional, as is sometimes done, but for abusing emotion. Religious and nationalist fanatics play upon a perfectly legitimate human emotion, the feeling of belonging to a group. Theologians abuse their reasoning powers on fantastic speculations.

I should say that a fairly safe way of being abused is by studying the wrong things are heading. If a person's reason leads him to urge, like Bertrand Russell at one time, a preventive war against the U.S.S.R., then reason is probably being abused. When a patriot invokes the name of country to stir up hatred against another patriot's country then emotion is being abused. In other words, what is there when the results are hate, cruelty and anti-life actions.

I have recently received two pamphlets of a religious nature, one from Moral Rearmament, one from some local group. The first threatened us with war, Moral Rearmament versus Communism, the other with hell-fire. I look upon these productions as a form of literary bullying, and both went straight into the stove. (No doubt an irrational action.)

There was probably no scientific evidence in support of their arguments, but it would not have made any difference if there had been. I take a poor view of people who wave clubs under their nose. My emotional commitment is the ideal of a world where there is no bullying. I can think of quite a lot of good and rational arguments to support my position. But I am also aware that there are a lot of arguments against it. I did not arrive at it by reasoning, but I use reason to defend myself, having done there.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH

Meetings and Announcements

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1. (near King's Cross Station) during repairs at "Marquis of Granby" during August.

- AUG. 7.—To be Announced.
- AUG. 14.—To be Announced.
- ANG. 21.—Hem Day (Brussels) in French with translation NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND DIRECT ACTION
- AUG. 28.—Ian Dixon on THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE

London Anarchist Group AN EXPERIMENT IN OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

- 1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. At Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stanton Road, Enfield, Middx.
- Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. At Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2
- 1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. At Colin Ward's, 33 Ellery Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates:

- 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)
- 6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)
- 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies

- 12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)
- 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

Checks, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payne, and addressed to the publishers

FREEDOM PRESS
27 Red Lion Street
London, W.C.1. England
Tel.: Chancery 8364

GHANA

GHANA AND THE NEW AFRICA, by Douglas Warner, (Muller, 15s.).

MR. WARNER informs us that Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana "makes socialists uneasy with his repressive laws", and surely this book will increase rather than reduce this uneasiness, even though Warner writes as an apologist for Nkrumah's régime.

Ghana and the New Africa is a disjointed, hurried book, filled with uninteresting tales of the author's own travels in Ghana, and interspersed with opinions on events throughout the whole African continent. It is not worth buying.

Perhaps a few contradictory passages from the book show better than anything else the thin arguments and foolish things that fill the book. For instance: "In Ghana the black man is as free as air. In Ghana the black man may be poor (he often is); he may be ignorant, he may be inefficient, stupid, tribalistic or illiterate, but what do these things matter? He is free." Yet in the author's own words: "In 1958 the Government introduced—and passed—a Preventive Detention Bill which provides for imprisonment without trial for a period up to five years. In November 1958 the Act was used. Forty-three members of the United Party were arrested and jailed . . ." And again: "Deportations, imprisonments without trial, coercion, public threats, the gathering of additional reins of power into his own (Nkrumah's) hands—all these things fly flat in the face of democracy." Yet we read later: "Nkrumah's régime is surprisingly mild and well behaved, Ghana is moving towards a sensible future."

If one is a supporter of African Nationalism, Ghana is free. To say truly that Ghana is as unfree as any colonial territory, is to hit at the very basis of African Nationalism, it is a direct assault of the African politician and all who support him. To the African politician and the Europeans who encourage him, Ghana must be free. If this belief were distinguished then disillusion with all races, black or white, would follow. The ambitious young African politician does not want this, because he aims to be the ruler.

Douglas Warner proudly announces that "Ghana has proved to the African that the African is as capable politically as the white". But to admit that Ghana is essentially as unfree as ever, and indeed in danger of dictatorship, is to question the whole worth of politicians. Politicians never solve our problems for us, they will never solve anyone's problems. Ghana proves that politicians are of no value, whether they be white, brown or yellow. Unless you are still chanting that Ghana is free.

R.J.W.