

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

Vol. 11, No. 9

April 29th, 1950

Threepence

"The historic task of the twentieth century is expropriation."

Peter KROPOTKIN

WE HAVE SEEN THIS TRICK BEFORE

Foreign Policy for Home Use

We Must be United in Order to Remain Divided!

FOREIGN POLICY does not confine itself to the relations between sovereign states—it is also a powerful instrument of internal policy. Every politically instructed person knows how Hitler used the "menace of encirclement" as a means to whip up nationalism and dismay hostile critics. And the democracies do not readily allow their peoples to forget that the government of the Soviet Union takes the utmost pains to prevent Soviet citizens from knowing anything of countries beyond their borders, and represents every power outside the Soviet Empire as bitterly hostile.

Nor do the newspapers of the "free world" fail to report the most hostile comments from behind the Iron Curtain. But the politically instructed person knows quite well that the encirclement of Nazi Germany, and the whipped-up distrust of foreigners by the Kremlin both serve a perfectly deliberate aim: that of creating a besieged, a war atmosphere that silences criticism and diverts attention from internal problems—"How can we think of our own petty problems when our whole country is facing this dire threat from without?" We understand the trick so well—when foreigners try it on their own gullible peoples. What of our gullible selves?

PATRIOTIC MIST

When there is danger of clear thinking on these questions, patriotism comes to the rescue. "O Lord our God, arise," the national anthem adjures the private

national god of the English; "Scatter his (the King's) enemies and make them fall. Confound their politics, frustrate their knavish tricks. On Thee our hopes we fix, God save us all." Cromwell, a God-fearing patriot, added a practical point—"Trust in God, and keep your powder dry!"

It is not altogether for the fun of it alone that we introduce these levities. "My Country, Right or Wrong!" is a sentiment so plainly menacing to peace that the patriotic distrust of the foreigner (the dirty foreigner, some ungenerously say) is a mass-psychological fact of considerable importance.

Like so many psychological facts, it makes light of contradictions. In the school history books with their chronicles of kings and wars (and their neglect of ordinary people) we have all learnt how such and such a kind—the unsatisfactory King John, for example—had recourse to a war with France in order to tide himself over a sticky period of internal criticism at home. That was so long ago that one hardly needs to remark that it couldn't happen now. But even the respectable historians drop hints that the labour problems

PAGE FOUR

TRUMAN'S TRUTH CAMPAIGN

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S recent address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at a luncheon in Washington, was a model in straightforward, hand on heart, man to man talking which must have moved the Editors to tears, and sent them home reformed characters.

It cannot be denied that there was much in what Mr. Truman had to say with which we could agree, but there was also much wishful thinking, such as that "in a democracy, foreign policy is based on the decisions of the people."

"One vital function of a free press is to present the facts on which the citizens of a democracy can base their decisions. You are a link between the American people and world affairs. If you inform the people well and completely, their decisions will be good. If you misinform them, their decisions will be bad; our country will suffer and the world will suffer."

Or that, "in the democracies, the papers have a free hand. Only in a democracy is there such mutual trust and confidence among citizens that a private group is given such an all-important role in determining what the nation as a whole shall do."

But above all, Mr. Truman concluded with these words: "We have tremendous advantages in the struggle for men's minds and loyalties. We have truth and freedom on our side. The appeal of free institutions and self-government springs from the deepest and noblest aspirations of mankind. It is based on every man's desire for liberty and opportunity. It is based on every man's wish to be self-reliant and to shape his own destiny."

"As we go forward with our campaign of truth, we will make lasting progress toward the kind of world we seek—a world in which men and nations live not as enemies but as brothers."

The wishful thinking in these fine words lies in the complacent way Mr. Truman accepts for granted that we are living in a world in which two opposite ideologies confront each other; and that the American one is good and the Russian is bad. May we suggest that the campaign of truth starts at home with an analysis of the American way of life. Then, perhaps, more people will under-

stand the anarchist attitude of opposing both ideologies. This position of a plague on both your houses was put very ably in a letter published last month in the *New York Herald Tribune* (Paris edition, 21/3/50) from a reader who analysed certain statements made in a speech by the President of Harvard in February in which he too talked of the opposing ideologies and of "our vast system of public schools" being "in itself one answer to the Soviet challenge". If space permitted, this letter would be reprinted in full for it puts forward a logical case in support of the view that both "ideologies" have a great deal in common and that "both constitute grave encroachments upon the possibilities of man's future evolution."

The correspondent goes on to point out that: "Americans in general fail to realize that what they call democracy is nothing more than a certain way of life (among many) which seems to ideally fit the conditions and needs of the American scene but which would not necessarily be the best for all, or even any, other groups. This type of thinking, added to the nefarious concept of 'hundred-per-cent Americanism' is fast leading toward an unfortunately static and absolutist ideology quite comparable in many respects to the dangerous mental enclosure now imposed upon the Soviet citizenry. As a result, the rest of the world is faced with two technological giants both educationally oriented into thinking of themselves and their way of life as being intrinsically superior."

And he adds that: "As far as the United States is concerned, proclaimed devotion to the ideals of liberty at home and abroad is of much less importance in the formulation of American policies than the desire to lead the world, American-Way Style, toward a bigger and better future."

His conclusions on this particular question of ideologies is that: "In actuality, then, the world seems to be confronted not so much with two absolutely opposite ideologies as with two similarly dangerous, nationally conceived ideological absolutes both intent on converting and absorbing the non-American and non-Soviet world."

On the question of education, he quotes

the remarks made by Dr. Ralph Bunche, the now famous Afro-American scholar who succeeded the late Count Bernadotte as U.N. mediator in Palestine: "In America to-day education is compelled to reflect the status quo. We are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern. . . . On relatively trivial matters they (the schools) may exercise a modicum of freedom, but in all really vital matters they must reflect the will of the groups which hold the reins of power in the state."

And the writer points out that in fact the statement by the President of Harvard that "diversity of opinion" is the "first premise of our educational structure" is a myth, for upon closer examination "diversity is countenanced only to the extent that it fits into strictly American patterns of tradition and thought. Diversity which goes beyond such patterns is sure to meet with intolerance, ridicule, discrimination and abuse."

"Possibly the most conspicuous of many examples on the American scene is the treatment by the majority group of the Afro-American tenth of the population. Not because of cultural or ideological diversity but purely on the basis of physical diversity, the Afro-American is forced into a condition of second-rate citizenship with all its concomitant injustices."

And we could not agree more when he concludes: "No, America is as yet far from being a democracy, even though the national credo is saturated with democratic ideals. Neither has the Soviet Union attained a state of democracy, despite the liberal provisions of her constitution. But to claim that the two systems are absolutely antithetical is proof of an utter lack of objective thinking. In fact, in the final analysis, the superficiality of President Conant's platitudinous statement quoted above is rather illustrative of the resultant intellectual product of the American school system at its best. It is the sort of confused and propaganda-tainted thinking which one has come to expect from behind the American and Soviet curtains."

LIBERTARIAN.

THOUSANDS DEFEND THREE VICTIMS OF UNION SPITE

NOBODY need be very surprised when London dockers express solidarity. They have a tradition of mutual defence and mutual aid which they obviously are determined is not going to become only a past tradition.

From the days of Keir Hardie and Tom Mann, and the great strikes for "the Docker's Tanner", a syndicalist influence and readiness for direct action has been a feature of dockers' militancy.

This week's strike makes the third large-scale stoppage within two years, and each of the three disputes has arisen on matters of principle. Wages and material conditions have not been the direct causes of the strikes, although there is a certain amount of underlying discontent which is easily brought to the surface.

How It Began

In *Freedom* of April 1st, we drew attention to the ban on overtime which many dockers were instituting as a protest against an act of victimisation by the Transport and General Workers' Union, who had expelled three of its members for their activity during the unofficial strike last year in connection with the Canadian Seamen's dispute.

The three men, Ted Dickens, Harry Constable, and G. H. Saunders, were expelled by union officials and their appeal was fixed for April 14th. The ban on overtime which their mates put into operation, under the

leadership of the Port Workers' Defence Committee, a militant rank-and-file organisation, showed the union officials clearly enough that there would be considerable opposition if the expulsions were confirmed. However, the union, stubborn as ever, went ahead and confirmed their act of petty victimisation.

But the docks are closed shops. If a man's union card is taken away from him, he cannot work. So that the officials of the T. & G.W.U. are not only depriving these three men of the dubious advantages of union membership, but also of their right to earn their living at their trade.

Another Dispute

There is another cause for dispute in London's dockland at the moment, too. The port company, Shaw Savill & Albion, want the stevedores to accept the same terms of work as dockers already "enjoy".

Stevedores—the men who actually go into the ships to load and unload (dockers remain on the wharves and dockside), still work on the day-to-day system. They do not come under the permanent work, or decasualisation scheme under which the dockers work. And they don't want to.

It is significant that stevedores don't think much of this scheme, for it has been heralded by the unions, who arranged it all with the government and the companies, as a great step forward. The dockers are guaranteed £4 5s. per week whether there is work for them or not—they earn more than that for a full week's work—but in return they are much more rigidly disciplined by the union, who undertakes to keep peace between employers and workers.

Two Disputes Connected

In theory, these two issues behind the present unrest in the docks may seem unconnected, but in fact they fit together into a general pattern of resentment against union authority, and not without good reason.

If anyone is to blame for the present stoppage, it is perfectly obviously the union organisers. Their high-handed and bumptious methods of pushing through their spiteful victimisation could not possibly have passed without protest from any section of the working-class. And the readiness with which the dockers move into action is an indication of the feeling that exists against the union among the rank and file. The union, and its true nature and function in the state, is being recognised by dock workers for what it is, and the union's leader, Arthur Deakin, by his refusal to meet a deputation from the strikers has shown himself to be pig-headedly out of touch with the sentiment of the workers he is supposed to represent. He won't even allow a democratic ballot on the issue.

George Isaacs, Minister of Labour,

has sought to cloud over the issues by claiming that the strike is Communist-inspired. Raising the Red Bogey, he has completely ignored the provoking action of the union and the fact that only one of the Port Workers' Committee is a Communist—although he, Ted Dickens, is also one of the three expelled.

But Isaacs knows well enough the strength—or rather the weakness—of Communist sympathies in dockland, and he is simply insulting the intelligence of the dockers by maintaining that they would be the dupes of the C.P. in a matter like this.

At the time of writing, 12,000 men are on strike and 60 ships idle, and the government are sending in troops to blackleg on the strikers.

Troops Going In

If this continues, there is only one answer—a nation-wide dock strike that will settle once and for all this question of union authoritarianism. If the union so far fails to represent the will of its members that every action they take is in the face of union opposition, it is time for a show-down. And if the union maintains its attitude of greater loyalty to the state and the employers than to the workers, then let the workers form their own organisation through which their principles of solidarity and mutual aid, and their sense of responsibility can find free and final expression.

P.S.

"Come off it, Eva"

TO the hand-picked, specially-schooled trade unionists who serve abroad as Argentina's labour attachés, Eva Peron's slightest wish is a command. Last month the three labour attachés in London heard that the señora, who considers herself labour's great patron, would be delighted if three of the British workers who had helped to build Argentina's new, 14,000-ton liner, *17 de Octubre*, at Barrow-in-Furness could be present with their wives at the launching party.

Unluckily there was no elaborate launching party—just a cozy luncheon laid on by the Vickers-Armstrongs ship-building company's directors for their Argentine clients. The attachés demanded that the workers and their wives be invited anyway. The company replied that it had asked 47 people, mostly Argentines, and there was no room for more.

Attaché Celestino Espina responded with a protesting speech at the luncheon table. "We regret that Vickers-Armstrongs have found it impossible to fulfil the wishes of the ship's god-mother," he cried. "We would like to have been able to tell [the workers] that in Argentina all citizens enjoy the same rights." Last week, without bothering to consult their embassy seniors, the angry attachés continued their attacks by making public in London a strong letter to Vickers-Armstrongs. It sounded more like a collective-bargaining blast than a diplomat's note. "We hope you will not consider [it] ill-mannered but merely . . . business," they wrote, "when we remind you of the competition . . . for ship-building orders."

Britain's press front-paged the news, with photographs of the three young Peronistas. When shipyard navvies read the story, they grunted: "Come off it, Eva," and dismissed the whole thing as "a political stunt" to influence current Anglo-Argentine meat negotiations. "If they're so eager for friendship with British workers," spat one dockside craftsman, "why do they make it so hard for us to get a bit of roast beef?"

Time, 24/4/50.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

And now Humanity, I turn to you;
I consecrate my service to the world!
Perish the old love, welcome to the new—
Broad as the space-aixles where the stars are whirled!

IN this last verse of her poem *The Burial of my Dead Past*, one of the most outstanding Anarchist women America has yet produced proclaimed her emancipation from her religious past and environment. Her name was Voltairine de Cleyre and she was born at Leslie, Michigan, on November 17th, 1866, almost twenty-one years to a day before the martyrdom of the Chicago Anarchists whose cause she was so fervently to make her own. At the age of five she entered the co-educational school of St. John's, Michigan, and was educated until she was twelve. From thirteen to seventeen she was at the Convent of our Lady of Lake Hurton at Sarnia, Ontario, Canada, from which place she graduated in 1883.

Of her experiences in this institution, she wrote:

"How I pity myself now, when I remember it, poor lonesome little soul, battling solitary in the muck of religious superstition, unable to believe, yet in hourly fear of damnation, hot, savage, and eternal, if I did not instantly confess and profess; how well I recall the bitter energy with which I repelled my teacher's enjoiner, when I told her that I did not wish to apologise for an adjudged fault as I could not see that I had been wrong and would not feel my words. 'It is not necessary,' she said, 'that we should feel what we say, but it is always neces-

sary that we obey our superiors.' 'I will not lie,' I answered hotly, and at the same time trembled, lest my disobedience had finally consigned me to torment. . . it had been like the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and there are white scars on my soul, where ignorance and superstition burnt me with their hell fires in those stifling days. Am I blasphemous? It is their word, not mine. Beside that battle of my young days all others have been easy, for whatever was without, within my own Will was supreme. It has owed no allegiance, and never shall; it has moved steadily in one direction, the know-

ledge and assertion of its own liberty with all the responsibility thereon." (*The Making of an Anarchist*.)

She came out of the Convent a Freethinker, though she had not read a book or heard a word in favour of Freethought. She joined the Secularist movement and became one of its leading lecturers. It was during this period of her life that the Haymarket bomb was thrown. When she heard of it, she cried "They ought to be hanged." She was soon to regret this unthinking remark and at the turn of the century she stated at a memorial meeting held to celebrate the Chicago Anarchist's martyrdom:

"For that ignorant, outrageous, blood-thirsty sentence I shall never forgive myself; though the dead men would have forgiven me, though I know those who loved them forgive me. But my own voice, as it sounded that night, will sound in my ear until I die—a bitter reproach and a shame. I have only one word of extenuation for myself and millions of others who did as I did that night—ignorance."

Just as Haymarket provided the impetus towards Anarchism for

Priestess of Pity and of Vengeance

Emma Goldman, so it did for Voltairine de Cleyre. After a short period as a Socialist (the result of hearing a lecture by Clarence Darrow) she became an Anarchist of the Individualist school of Benjamin Tucker. (Later, however, she simply referred to herself as an Anarchist, though as a result of the revolutionary outbreaks which occurred during the first decade of this century, especially the Mexican Revolution, her standpoint came nearer to Anarchist Communism than to Individualist Anarchism.) She became a close friend of Dyer D. Lum, the comrade of Albert Parsons and co-editor of *Alarm*, the Anarchist paper famous for its association with the events of 1886. When Lum died in 1894, she wrote one of her most poignant poems, *In Memoriam*, as her tribute to his memory and work.

A son was born to her on June 12th, 1890, as the result of a free union contracted with a Freethinker named James B. Elliott, a devotee of Thomas Paine. (For those who like coincidences, a daughter of this son, Harvey de Cleyre, recently won a prize with an essay on Thomas Paine—her name is Voltairine.) The union was an unhappy one and finally broke up, Elliott taking the child with him. Voltairine did not see her son again until 1905, when he was fifteen.

In 1897, she came to Britain on a lecture tour (among the comrades who assisted her on this tour was Mat Kavanagh) and this was one of the few reliefs she had from her work of teaching languages to the Jewish immigrants in Philadelphia, where she spent most of her life. Five years after this, in 1902, a former pupil, in the deluded belief that she was an anti-Semite, attempted to assassinate her as she was returning from a music lesson. Though several bullets entered her body, she survived. As a result of her wounds and the shock she received, she became afflicted with a continual pounding in the ears. A visit to Norway, as advised by her doctors, brought a temporary improvement, but she soon had to enter hospital again and undergo several operations. In keeping with her Anarchist principles, she refused to prosecute her assailant (as did Louise Michel when a similar attempt was made on her) and appealed for funds for his defence. In spite of her efforts "the law took its course" and he was sent to prison for seven years. He died in a mental institution two years later, having become completely insane.

Voltairine de Cleyre's life was devoid of those dramatic incidents which punctuated the life of her more famous contemporary, Emma Goldman. Her struggles were more of a mental character. She was never in

prison (a rare occurrence for such a well-known Anarchist in those days) though she was forcibly removed from the platform on several occasions and arrested, but she was never convicted. Emma Goldman relates an anecdote which she states Voltairine de Cleyre used to tell:

"It was in 1907, in Philadelphia, when the guardians of the law descended upon her home. They were surprised to find that Voltairine did not look like the traditional newspaper Anarchist. They seemed sorry to arrest her, but 'Them's orders,' they apologetically declared. They made a search of her apartment, scattering her papers and books and, finally, discovering a copy of her revolutionary poems entitled *The Worm Turns*. With contempt they threw it aside. 'Hell, it's only about worms!' they remarked. (*Voltairine de Cleyre*.)

In 1910 she went to live in Chicago continuing her work as a teacher of languages, lecturing for the Anarchist movement, translating from the French a life of Louise Michel as well as works by other foreign Anarchists. All the time her affliction increased its torment. She endured it bravely, but eventually a mastoid developed, requiring an immediate operation. It might have been successful had not the poison spread to her brain. Emma Goldman states:

"The first operation impaired her memory; she could recollect no names, even of the closest friends who watched over her. It was reasonably certain that a second operation, if she could have survived it, would have left her without the capacity for speech. Soon grim death made all scientific experiments on the much-tortured body of Voltairine de Cleyre unnecessary. She died on June 6th, 1912. In Waldheim's Cemetery, near the grave of the Chicago Anarchists, lies at rest Voltairine de Cleyre, and every year large masses journey there to pay homage to the memory of America's first Anarchist martyr, and they lovingly remember Voltairine de Cleyre." (*Voltairine de Cleyre*.)

Such briefly was the life of Voltairine de Cleyre. A life lived in strict accordance with her principles; a life in which she preferred to "keep the integrity of my soul, with all the limitations of my material conditions, rather than become the spine-less and ideal-less creature of material needs"; a life that provides a stirring example for Anarchists of to-day. The more of us who emulate her courage and consistency, the sooner it will be possible for us to create a movement which will provide a worthy memorial to her work. How can this be done? Perhaps the following quotation from one of her most striking essays, *The Dominant Idea*, can give us an indication; and also provide a fitting conclusion to this article:

"Let us have Men, Men who will say a word to their souls and keep it—keep it not when it is easy, but keep it when it is hard—keep it when the storm roars and there is a white-streaked sky and blue thunder before, and one's eyes are blinded and one's ears deafened with the war of opposing things; and keep it under the long leaden sky and the grey dreariness that never lifts. Hold unto the last: that is what it means to have a dominant idea, where the same idea had been worked by a whole and unmakes Circumstances."

S. E. PARKER.

Socialist Malthusians—3

IN the previous articles we have seen that men—and more particularly—women have always desired means of controlling conception, and when the more or less magical, more or less rational methods available to them have failed, have resorted to abortion or infanticide. Furthermore, we saw that the desire to control the population numbers was a responsible desire comparing favourably with the irresponsible attitude of population-boasting governments. In this article we shall consider the translation of age-long desires into the actual possibility of conception control.

In the four or five thousand years during which complex cultures have grown up, very considerable advances in contraceptive technique have also developed. Many merely magical formulae were used by the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Greeks and in India, but they also had grasped some rational methods which still have application to-day. Thus they employed vaginal occlusive pessaries, and also physico-chemical means such as butter, honey, and mixtures of vinegar and water. It seems certain, however, that such devices, knowledge of which was transmitted through the ancient medical treatises of Egypt, Greece and the period of Arabic medical supremacy, were limited to the very few educated persons. There is no evidence that such knowledge was

diffused among the workers.

As far as the history of birth control—or indeed any rational attitude towards sex—is concerned, the so-called "Dark Ages" were succeeded by the still darker period of Christian domination from Rome. When the power of the Roman Church was divided at the Reformation, the Reformers (for example, Calvin) showed themselves even more puritanical and anti-sexual than the Holy Church itself. Hence though the upper classes during the eighteenth century knew of withdrawal and the use of the sheath, ignorance of birth control methods and fear and hatred of sex was probably more pitiful during the long reign of the Spiritual Church than at any earlier epochs.

Materialism and Enjoyment of Life

Materialism has its ugly side, but in sapping faith in the benefits of an after life, it succeeded in turning attention to the possible delights of earthly existence. Moreover, the rational philosophers of the age of enlightenment began to cast aside the fatalism of the religious view of life and set men thinking of how they could control the circumstances of individual existence for the good of society and for greater happiness. When Godwin set out a radical and embracing solution to the social problem, he was answered by the conservative clergyman, Thomas Malthus, who declared that social advancement was a dream because population would always increase faster than available food supply, and that therefore indigent poverty would always be the lot of the majority.

This controversy was to prove immensely fruitful in a variety of fields of thought. We have described elsewhere how it provided the starting point for both Darwin and Wallace in their work on the origin of species through natural selection, and later of Kropotkin's elaboration of mutual aid as a factor in evolution (see *Mutual Aid and Social Evolution*, Freedom Press; out of print). It was to provide also the train of thought that led Francis Place to attempt the social diffusion of birth control.

Place saw that the "inevitability" of poverty could be prevented if population control could become feasible, and he sought to spread among the workers generally the knowledge of birth control, which was already sporadically applied by the well-to-do classes. Malthus himself had considered how the population could be limited. But he was a clergyman and his remedy was what he called "moral restraint"—that is to say, abstinence from sexual intercourse in marriage—and the deferring of marriage for as long as possible, thereby prolonging even further the unnatural interval between puberty and sexual experience.

Place saw that such advice was not only impossible to carry out, but that it would also result in an increase in vice through increased resort to prostitutes, and would maintain the very high abortion rate. In his book, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, published in 1822, he proposed contraceptive measures instead of Malthus' "moral restraint".

Birth Control for the Workers

This alone would entitle Place to eminence in the history of social emancipation. But he went further than this, for he set out to translate his proposals into action. He prepared a number of handbills describing simple methods of birth control and arranged for their clandestine distribution. They were addressed to "The Married of Both Sexes",

but he used slightly different wording, and different arguments, for different social groups. In his advice to the working class, Place shows himself to be a very practical propagandist. He pointed out that wages went down when too many workers competed for a limited number of jobs, and he fiercely denounced the employment of children in factories. Such child labour inevitably displaced higher paid adult workers. Hence large families meant poverty, to which a short-term relief was provided by sending the children out to work; the employment of children then deepened poverty still further by causing adult unemployment. To limit population generally and to limit the size of individual workers' families provided an obvious remedy for poverty. His approach was therefore thoroughly materialistic and practical on this plane, but he also spoke of the pleasures of married life and the removal of conditions leading to debauchery, with its—in those days—very real consequences of misery.

Place mentioned two birth control methods: the use of a small sponge tampon, and *coitus interruptus* (withdrawal). Later copies of his handbills mention only the sponge. This would be a tolerably effective method. The importance of his work is however his attempt to make birth control widely available to all classes, and he was followed by several disciples of whom the ablest and most important was Richard Carlile, the radical publisher. Carlile was often imprisoned for his advocacy of free speech and on blasphemy charges, but curiously enough (according to Norman Himes) never for his advocacy of birth control—though he was driven out of Bath on one occasion and his birth control handbook *Every Woman's Book, or What is Love?* publicly burned. Carlile made speaking tours all over England, and between 1822 and 1832 the subject of birth control was very widely discussed.

(To be continued)

Down in the Forest

THE WITHERED BRANCH by D.S. SAVAGE. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 10/6d.)

D. S. SAVAGE is a literary critic whose work will be known to many anarchists through his book *The Personal Principle* and his essays in *Now*. Two of these reappear in the present volume, which contains a revaluation of six modern novelists: Hemingway, Forster, Virginia Woolf, Margiad Evans, Huxley and Joyce. There is also a preface in which the author outlines his critical position.

"All art," he says, "arises from the creative need to raise content into its proper form. Form is that which raises content into significance; the 'significant' is that which has meaning, and meaning consists in a relation to truth." By truth he means absolute truth, orientation to which is "essentially a religious act". In conditions of cultural unity, he adds, man's apprehension of this truth is held within the communal symbols of religious dogma and ritual, and his art is related to them. At the present time of cultural disunity, however, men have lost their connection with truth and its symbols are broken; consequently (to put the argument backwards) the meaning of their art consists in its improper relation to truth; its significance is false, and its form empty or perverse. The six writers he examines are all victims, being subject to false gods: "in the writings of Ernest Hem-

ingway there is displayed a clear form of the slavery to war and to violence, in those of E. M. Forster there is marked slavery to the bourgeois spirit and to society, in Margiad Evans can be distinguished a pronounced form of slavery to passion and to nature, in Aldous Huxley the erotic lure is prominent, and in Joyce the aesthetic lure dominates"; while Virginia Woolf was unable to establish belief in anything but everything.

The longest of the essays is the one on Joyce, which contains an analysis of the Hamlet theme running through *Ulysses*. Shakespeare's play, the author remarks, is "pre-eminently a parable of unbelief"; we are referred to a forthcoming work in which this will be explained. Here it is argued that Stephen (Hamlet), one of the main figures in the novel, after wandering between the divided realms of nature and spirit, arrives eventually at the meaningless, undifferentiated flux in which personality and value are lost: a liquified nature. Joyce himself, the author asserts, moved in the same direction after abandoning his early religious beliefs. Having thus nullified his experience (and withdrawn the sustaining skeleton of value from nature), he attempted to preserve it within the skin of art—like that corpse in one of Poe's stories, which went into deliquescence when the effects of hypnosis ceased. All of life, however trivial, was packed into *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake*. The essay is much more complex than this summary, and it is the most convincing

illustration of the author's general thesis perhaps because in the case of Joyce he is dealing with an explicit avowal of disbelief in religion followed by faith in art. His analysis of Virginia Woolf's work is by no means so persuasive: he seems to understand neither her intentions nor her achievement.

"Man's principal claim to dignity," he says, "is precisely that he is spirit," to which the anarchist would rejoinder that man's principal claim to dignity is that he is free: hence tragedy, comedy, and their suspension in irony. The most enduring novels of our age were written by Lawrence, Proust and Myers, two of them being ironical novelists, and all of them being concerned with freedom and time. But though one cannot grant this author's premises as matter for belief, and so cannot follow him to his conclusions, his essays do have validity as studies in a declining culture; all six of his novelists lived and wrote in awareness of the premises. In this book one sees an independent mind working on a profound level; the criticism is narrow but deep. Mr. Savage is an angry man with a style like a bludgeon; respectable travellers may be alarmed when waylaid by this uncompromising ruffian. But he takes from the rich, one hopes, to give to the poor in the future; he is making a useful difference to our understanding of the present literary scene.

L.A.

from our stock

Resistance (U.S.A.),
March, 1950 3d.

Max Stirner's
L'Unique et sa Propriété 10/-
D. S. Savage's
The Withered Branch 10/6

This Human Nature Charles Duff 3/6
Men of Stones Rex Warner 9/-
The Gladiators Arthur Koestler 10/6
Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx
K. J. Kenafick
Paper 6/-, Boards 7/6

The Penguin Commemorative
Edition of D. H. Lawrence.

Aaron's Rod, 2/6; Kangaroo, 2/6;
Etruscan Places, 1/6; The Lost Girl, 2/6;
St. Mawr and The Virgin and the Gipsy,
1/6; The Plumed Serpent, 2/6;
The Woman Who Rode Away, 1/6;
Selected Essays, 2/6; Selected Letters,
1/6; Selected Poems, 1/6.

The set of volumes cost 20/-, and
copies of "D. H. Lawrence, an Appreciation",
by Richard Aldington, are issued
free to purchasers of the complete set.

The Guillotine at Work
G. P. Maximoff 7/6
Education for Sanity W. B. Currey 7/6
Hunger Knut Hamsen 6/-

Porcupine Pamphlets 1/- each
3 for 2/6

Soul of Man Under Socialism
Oscar Wilde
Defence of Poetry P. B. Shelley
Slavery of our Time Leo Tolstoy

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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

Anti-Militarism in Canada

THE extent of anti-militarist feeling in Canada received a somewhat unexpected confirmation during April, when the annual Congress of the British Columbia Canadian Commonwealth Federation passed a resolution demanding the abolition of the Canadian armed forces and the abandonment of the use of militarism in the relationships between peoples.

The Canadian Commonwealth Federation is the equivalent of the Labour Party in Britain, a Socialist grouping including a wide variety of attitudes. The Communists have long left or been squeezed out of its ranks to join the Labour Progressive Party, and the present resolution in British Columbia cannot therefore be stigmatised, by the militarists, as a sign of Communist influence. It is, on the contrary, the expression of a genuine left-wing grouping which includes members who have been considerably influenced by *Politics* and similar radical organs.

The experience of the British Labour Party has shown only too well that the attempt to reconcile anti-militarism with political activity usually results in the abandonment of the former when the requirements of political expediency dictate it. The C.C.F., particularly in British Columbia, is far from attaining power, and whether such an anti-militarist group would be tolerated in an organisation that seemed likely to attain to government is another question. However, it is encouraging to see the members of a Socialist party of some size and influence returning to this pre-requisite of a revolutionary attitude, the rejection of militarism.

The Doukhobor Trials*

THE recent Doukhobor trials on charges of arson, dynamiting, etc., have resulted in the condemnation of a number of important members of the sect to terms of imprisonment from seven years downwards. I do not propose here to dispute whether the Doukhobors burned schools or dynamited railroads; undoubtedly they did so, but whether the men actually sentenced were primarily responsible does not seem to me to have been proved satisfactorily. Most of the evidence which the police brought forward was that of alleged accomplices, and

at times the trials had a sinister echo of political trials elsewhere, since "confessions" played a sensational part. I do not suggest that the Provincial Police actually obtained this evidence by M.V.D. means, but it seems clear that they played upon the antagonisms between the various Doukhobor factions, and such evidence, which is generally regarded as suspect when unsupported by substantial other proofs, played a very significant part in the trials. Another

CANADIAN NOTES

equally sinister feature of the trials was the way in which the fact that certain Doukhobors had advocated the abolition of marriage was used, under the guise of "incitement to adultery", to arouse prejudice against the accused men.

On the general question of the Doukhobor "atrocities", the prime responsibility for these undoubtedly lies with the Canadian authorities, both Federal and Provincial. The Doukhobors have been traditionally opposed to the state and particularly to any participation in militarism, and when they first came to Canada, it was on the distinct understanding that their anti-militarism should be respected. The Doukhobors themselves realise that militarism is not implanted only on the day when a man enters the army; the process begins from the day he enters a state school, and for this reason the Doukhobors have resisted the attempt to impose compulsory state education on their children. They have also opposed all kinds of registration, and have often refused to pay taxes, on the grounds that this merely helps to promote the evil of war.

The authorities have consistently tried to force the Doukhobors to give up their stand. They have built schools in their communities and tried to force Doukhobor children to attend them, they have seized Doukhobor land for non-payment of taxes, they have arrested and imprisoned hundreds of Doukhobors for various kinds of refusal to register.

The Doukhobors have naturally resisted this with the means of direct action at their disposal. They burned the schools where they were forced upon them, they held nude parades to protest against arrests. For all this it was the Canadian authorities and not the Doukhobors who were primarily responsible.

Other burnings have, I admit, less justification. The effort to seek a consistent policy led to disagreement between various groups of Doukhobors, and some decided to collaborate with the state, with the result that their more radical neighbours would sometimes burn down their houses. The tomb of Peter Verigen was

blown up on several occasions by Sons of Freedom who were afraid that it might become a symbol around which a cult of leader worship would grow. But all these were internal Doukhobor conflicts, and even the men who suffered for them did not suggest that the state had any part in them.

There remains one final controversial question. Most of the recent wave of prejudice against the Doukhobors was built up on a series of attempts at sabotage by trying to blow up the Canadian Pacific railway lines. The reason for this, I think, was that the Doukhobors realised the intimate connection between the C.P.R. and the ruling class in Canada, but the risk to innocent individuals involved seems here quite without justification.

In general, however, there is no doubt that the whole wave of Doukhobor burnings and acts of sabotage can be traced to the bad faith of the British Columbian and Canadian Governments in trying to subordinate the Doukhobors to the requirements of the state by imposing education, taxation and registration. While they continue to do this, I do not think that any number of jail sentences will end Doukhobor direct action. The only solution to the problem is the recognition of the burning desire of these people to live their own lives, free from state interference.

Catholic Quebec

THE Catholic hierarchy of Quebec follows its tortuous course between radicalism and reaction. At the moment it is still anxious to maintain a certain influence in reactionary circles, while keeping its hold over the awakening French-Canadian workers. Episcopal support of recent strikes, in opposition to Government bans, showed how far the bishops were ready to "liberalise" their attitude in order to maintain their influence of the Church. The clash between Church and State over this last issue proved so bitter that the Vatican decided that it was politic to allow Archbishop Charbonneau of Montreal to resign "for reasons of health". A more subtle politician, Monsignor Léger, had been appointed in his place. At the same time, however, the Church strove to have the best of both worlds by issuing another statement declaring that it demanded a better share for labour in industry, and thus tacitly encouraging priest-supervised discontent among the workers, in the clear hope that by playing off the rulers and the ruled the Church will come out on top in the end.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

For a description of the Doukhobor Communities see *Freedom* for October 29th, 1949, and also George Woodcock's *Basis of Communal Living* (Freedom Press, 1/-), page 12.

NICOLA TAMBURRINI

ONCE again it is our sad duty to have to record the death of a comrade. Nicola Tamburrini, who died on April 16th, at the age of 67, first came to this country in 1913. He was born in Campobasso, in Southern Italy, but left his country at an early age to seek work in South America. There he soon became active in the working-class and anarchist movements and the authorities were not slow in taking action to have him deported. But he returned on two more occasions and was deported each time. Before coming to London, he worked in France, where he was particularly active in the syndicalist movement. As far as I know he never contributed articles to the anarchist or syndicalist press, but was considered a great platform speaker, being as fluent in French and Spanish as he was in Italian. He was deported by the French authorities for his political activities, and like so many others before him, sought refuge in this country. In London he found an active group of Italian comrades, including Malatesta, Recchioni, Rossi and Corio, and though he continued to be interested in the revolutionary syndicalist movement, his activities, influenced by Malatesta, were now directed largely to anarchist propaganda. In World War I he took up an uncompromisingly anti-war attitude, which he maintained 25 years later in the so-called anti-fascist war of 1939.

★

As soon as the 1914-18 war ended, he and the other Italian comrades in London set about discussing the possibilities of assisting the movement in Italy, and in fact it can be said that the anarchist paper *Umanità Nuova*—which became a daily until its suppression by Mussolini—was launched in London, and Malatesta who became its editor, was persuaded to undertake the task by such comrades as Tamburrini and Recchioni, who assured the initial finances to make the venture possible.

Tamburrini returned to Italy, but only for a short time, as he was soon threatened by the fascist gangsters, and in 1924 returned to London, where he remained to the end of his life.

Like so many comrades from the Continent, he was never able to fit into the English movement, not through a lack of sympathy for the work being done, but rather because of the difficulty of the

language and of adjusting his ebullient temperament to the more placid and constitutional traditions of the English. Furthermore, during the inter-war years, his chief pre-occupation was the overthrow of Mussolini, and much of this work with his old comrade Recchioni, was of a nature which could not be carried out in public.

★

Early in the war, he had a stroke which impaired his speech, and for a man who was a brilliant speaker and who enjoyed discussion as much as he did, this was a terrible blow, yet he refused to admit defeat and, in spite of all the horrors of the war and the continual crises in his own health during the past ten years, never lost faith in the ideals for which he had struggled since his early youth. Though he could no longer be active, he encouraged us to carry on, being always ready to support any initiative which would further the anarchist cause. He contributed generously to the funds of *Freedom*, to the Freedom Defence Committee when our comrades were arrested in 1945, and more recently to the Marie Louise Berneri Memorial Committee.

His knowledge of the movement, and his grasp of the anarchist ideas as well as the problems of working-class organisation were based on a life of experience and agitation, and as one of the younger generation who knew him intimately, I found discussion with him was always a stimulating and rewarding experience.

And though he did not dwell on the glories of the past, as is so often the case with older comrades, he never abandoned the enthusiasm and steadfastness and idealism which were characteristic of the progressive movements of the past; qualities which account for the "glories of the past". The absence of these qualities in the present generation may partly explain the poverty of the Left in our time.

★

Nicola Tamburrini was cremated at Kensal Green Cemetery. With his family were a few friends and comrades to take their last farewell. The ashes will be placed alongside those of his old comrade of many battles, E. Recchioni: two worthy fighters in the struggle for freedom.

V.R.

THROUGH THE PRESS

MRS. GRUNDY DEFEATED

Despite opposition by local organisations and councillors, Richmond Council decided last night to ask Surrey County Council to allocate five per cent. of the borough's Sunday cinema profits to a local birth-control clinic.

The council considered protests from Kew Catholic Parents' and Electors' Association, the Richmond Branch of the National Council of Women, and the Parish Council of St. John's, and the Deputy Mayor (Ald. E. W. Wilton), urging that the grant should not be made to the Richmond Mothers' Advisory Clinic.

News Chronicle, 19/4/50.

... AND FRAU GRUNDIG AT WORK!

In Beuel, Germany, a group of citizens has started painting underwear on the naked woman in the new 5-mark notes.

News Chronicle, 17/4/50.

SPLASH

Mrs. Truman broke a bottle of champagne against the bow and then, to the cheers of the crowd, she slid slowly and majestically down the greasy slipway into the sea.

Kansas City Star.

LET'S CALL THE WHOLE THING OFF!

America had the lowest divorce rate for seven years in 1949—and marriages were the fewest since 1939, the Public Health Service reported to-day.

It was the third year of a decline in both marriages and divorces.

News Chronicle, 17/4/50.

OH LORD

Mr. L. P. Lord, managing director of Austin Motors, who under the Chancellor's new rule faces surtax on his £100,000 payment for staying with the firm, told me last night:

"I don't think there is much doubt this is aimed at myself and Sir John Black (chairman of Standard Motors, who had a similar reward).

"The principle has been approved in law. It has been through the courts and as far as the House of Lords.

"If Sir Stafford can do this thing it is the end of law."

News Chronicle, 19/3/50.

Well, Mr. Lord, it probably isn't the end of law, but its the end of your £100,000.

PIONEERS OF FREE EDUCATION-4

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL 1782-1852

IT was possibly the memory of his own unhappy childhood which in later years determined the German educationist Friedrich Froebel to do all in his power to bring happiness to the children who came within his sphere. After his death, inscribed on his monument were the words of Goethe which occur so frequently in Froebel's works and which express the motive force of his life: "Come let us live for our children."

His choice of education as a career, however, was largely fortuitous. A friend who was the director of one of the model schools inspired by Pestalozzi was convinced that Froebel's true vocation was teaching and persuaded him to take a job at the school. He was an immediate success. "The very first time," he says, "that I found myself before thirty or forty boys, I felt thoroughly at home. In fact, I perceived that I had at last found my long missed life element. I was inexpressibly happy."

The New Education

After working at this school with signal success for two years, he decided that he wanted more time and opportunity to study and understand the child. So, like Godwin, he experimented with the education of individual children. Eventually, he joined the celebrated institution at Yverdon, where he worked with Pestalozzi. As frequently happens, the disciple transcended the master and soon Froebel had developed his ideas further than Pestalozzi could have dreamed.

His first permanent school was established with the aid of two devoted followers at Keilhau which became an educational community and from which tidings of the "new education" spread all over Europe. When he had been there ten years Froebel published *The Education of Man*, his masterpiece, a book which attracted widespread notice. Meanwhile other institutions were started including several schools in Switzerland and what amounted to a training college for teachers at Burgdorf. Here, his thoughts became more and more occupied with the proper treatment of the pre-school child.

The Kindergarten

The importance of the early years of a child's life in determining his whole future development had long been one of Froebel's most deeply rooted beliefs. But now he decided to devote all his attention

to the education of little children from one to seven years of age, and the training of teachers in the art of infant education. As he grew older, Froebel became less and less interested in the later stages of education and it is for his work with the very young child that Froebel will always be best known.

The name which Froebel coined for his new type of school has won universal fame. He called it the Kindergarten and the first one was opened in Blankenburg in 1837.

The Kindergarten does not mean, as sometimes seems to be assumed, a garden in which the children play; but a garden in which the children are the plants and the teacher is the gardener who helps them to develop along the lines laid down by nature and not by the gardener himself. This is a very similar concept to that of Godwin.

Trouble with the Authorities

The last years of Froebel's life were devoted completely to this work and it seemed probable that they would be his most peaceful years. But suddenly trouble with the authorities came about in a way which could never have been anticipated. His nephew, Karl Froebel, who held more advanced views, had published books which dealt with the social and political emancipation of Germany. In the reaction which set in after 1848, Froebel found himself suspected of socialism and irreligion, and in 1851 an edict was issued forbidding the establishment of schools "after the principles of Friedrich and Karl Froebel" anywhere in Prussia. This was a terrible blow to the old man and he did not long survive the decree. He died in 1852 at the age of seventy and the decree remained in force for ten years after his death.

An exoteric and an esoteric treatment of Froebel's ideas are both possible but for the purpose of this short article the exoteric must suffice. In any case, the use of Froebel's symbolic "Gifts" as aids to education and the value of his songs, games and pictures are rather suspect and certainly have little relevance to the question of freedom in education. It could be argued, indeed, that this aspect of Froebel's work was based not on psychological fact but on metaphysical mumbo-jumbo and on the quasi-philosophical system imperfectly derived

from Hegel. If all this is admitted, however, there still remains a solid contribution to the theory and practice of progressive education.

Self Activity

Simply and briefly, Froebel's ideas are best summed-up in the belief expressed in *The Education of Man*: "All the child is ever to become lies, however slightly indicated, in the child and can be attained from within outward." Each human being therefore must "develop from within, self-active and free, in accordance with the eternal law." This development is spontaneous and Froebel calls it self-activity. Teachers must be very careful how they interfere with this activity. Like Godwin, Froebel believed that the educator's rôle was to be passive, following where the child led. He must constantly keep in mind that "the purpose of teaching is to bring ever more out of man rather than to put more and more into him."

Froebel therefore stood for self-expression. He considered that Pestalozzi had over-emphasized receptivity. So in the schools of Froebel, while the child's perception was developed by the observation and care of natural objects like animals and flowers, his self-expression was at the same time encouraged by working with colour brushes, mat plaiting and clay modelling. Singing, drawing, painting and modelling were for the first time treated as serious educational subjects, taught however not in order to make artists but as a means to full all round development.

The Play Way

He it was, too, who first divided the school day into two parts; of which the first was to be used for academic instruction and the second for manual work. He was a great believer in the doctrine of "learning by doing" and he considered all practical work to be of the highest educational importance. Another feature of Froebel's method is the home-made apparatus made by the children themselves for immediate use, not stereotyped and designed in advance as was the case in the Montessori schools which will be discussed in the next article.

A child's natural activity expresses itself in play. Froebel agreed with

Montaigne that "the games of children are their most serious occupations." Like Homer Lane, who will be discussed later, Froebel spent much time observing little children at play and he came to the conclusion that a child's play is full of meaning and of serious importance. Nowadays, the term "the play way" has become something of an educational cliché and phrases like "play therapy" have entered the jargon of contemporary psychiatry. It is a far cry from the directed and controlled play impulses of Froebel to the play therapy of to-day but the discoveries of Froebel certainly helped to point the way.

Education for Freedom

Froebel used the phrase "education for freedom" to describe his system and he believed that man's progress as a conscious being was towards freedom. It was not, however, the freedom of Rousseau who said: "Everyone is born free and brings the right of personal freedom into the world with him." On the contrary, Froebel regarded man as born entirely fettered on all sides and as having to win freedom by his own striving. Every individual, he believed, has to free himself by the help of educational influences and freedom is the product of an intellectual and moral unfettering resulting from self-activity.

Froebel had learnt to look upon his fundamental principle as one which could not be readily acceptable. "I know," he prophesied, "that it will be centuries before my view of the child and its educational treatment can be generally accepted." It has still not been generally accepted but its influence already upon educational practice in general cannot be over-estimated. There is no space here to discuss the contemporary Froebel Institutes, the National Froebel Foundation, the advantages, if any, which a Froebel trained teacher has over the product of the ordinary training college, or the question of whether some such specialised training is desirable for a teacher in a free school. But the value of the contribution which Froebel made to the "new education" was obviously considerable and, perhaps in some ways more important, his influence upon teaching method in the state schools of this country has been substantial.

TOM EARLEY.

Readers Write

THE FUCHS CASE

I CANNOT agree with V.R.'s article on the case of Dr. Fuchs (*Freedom*, 18/3/50). It seems to me too much like white-washing to speak of Dr. Fuchs' "honest motives". How is it possible to call somebody honest if, being an intelligent man, he takes part in atom bomb research, after Hiroshima, while he could easily have taken a job as a teacher or university lecturer? Moreover, it is not because of one's beautiful eyes that one is chosen to be Deputy at Harwell at £1,500 per annum.

There is already too much suffering and injustice in the world, and it would be better while discussing the case of Dr. Fuchs, to refer clearly to the above two points and say that it is shameful in itself that an intelligent man should take part in preparing mass murders. It is just as bad a case as making experiments on the Jewish prisoners at Dachau in the name of "medical progress". We did not then speak of the doctors' "honest motives" and I hope we never shall do so, otherwise we shall finish by condoning all sorts of "honest" mass-murderers. I.A. London.

★

[V.R. writes: "Dr. Fuchs' motives were honest, because what he did was not for personal gain but for what he thought was right. If, as the evidence indicates, he believed that peace could only be guaranteed by Russia sharing atomic secrets, then it would have been inconsistent of him not to accept a post which gave him access to these secrets."

Since the Hiroshima bomb was dropped by the Americans and not the Russians, this seems to me to be an argument in favour of Fuchs.

I cannot understand what I.A. is driving at in the sentence concerning the "beautiful eyes", etc. The main disagreement between us is in that I maintain that any anti-fascist who, for instance, was convinced that the last war was a struggle against fascism, was morally honest when he participated in the war, whereas I.A. asks, how could he be since wars are immoral. I agree with I.A. that wars are immoral but I also recognise that the principles upon which our morality is based are not shared by the vast majority of people at present. One can, therefore, only assess the honesty of their actions in relation to their principles. This does not prevent us, however, from attacking these principles if we think they are wrong. And I attempted to make this quite clear in the opening paragraphs of my article.]

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

INDOOR Lecture-Discussions every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the

Trade Union Club, Great Newport St., W.C.2 (near Leicester Square Station).

April 30th Speaker: Dora Russell

May 7th Speaker: Tony Gibson

"HAVE PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS A SOCIAL JUSTIFICATION?"

May 14th Speaker: Jacob Osman

"THE SUDAN AT THE CROSSROAD"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

INDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at the

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

with

Frank Leech, John Geffney, Eddie Shaw.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP

Open Air Meetings

every Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

on Lewis's blitzed site

COLNE & NELSON DISTRICT

Discussion Group held fortnightly.

Sunday, May 7th at 3.0 p.m.

at

Twisters and Drawers Club, Cambridge Street, Colne (Lancs.)

NORTH EAST LONDON GROUP

Discussion Meetings fortnightly, 7.30 p.m.

May 2nd Open Discussion

May 16th Edgar Priddy

"OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM"

Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

HAMPSTEAD

Discussion Meetings

are held every Tuesday at 8 p.m. prompt.

at

5, Villas-on-the-Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3

May 2nd

"IS ANARCHISM PRACTICABLE?"

Discussion led by Donald Henderson

May 9th

"WHAT IS TO BE DONE?"

Discussion led by Jack Rubin

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

COMRADES, In the case of Seretse Khama, the colour-bar and appeasement of Dr. Malan and his Nazi-style racialists, are the causes of the government's attitude. No-one can doubt that if Seretse had married anyone but a white girl the present situation would not have arisen.

Similarly, the South African government's oppression of the Negroes and Indians cannot have failed to affect the colonial administrators, who probably wish they had the power to do the same. The desire to control the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, which are mostly fertile and a source of native labour for the Union, motivates the South African political bosses, though the only result of their incorporation would be an extension of the segregation policy with its identification papers, passes and labour compounds. The treatment of the Negro is bad enough in South Africa without increasing the area of this slave-state. At least, the tribal system of the Protectorates does fulfil some of the needs of the native in a primitive society unlike the so-called white civilisation with its cheap drink and moral degradation. The workers in the mines have to be given salty water at frequent intervals to prevent collapse. Rev. Michael Scott revealed to the United Nations that sometimes Negro workers were armed with knuckle-dusters, lined up and made to fight each other for the amusement of their employers. The excuse made for this sadistic sport was that it prevented them raping white women. The fear born of the attempt to maintain their privileged position causes the white population to suppress the black. Many white men carry arms and the fear of a

native rising is never far from their thoughts.

But South Africa is only a section of a vaster struggle which includes America and the colonies of all imperial powers. Nor will it be enough to drive out or remove foreign oppressors. The Indians have found to their cost that the native capitalist is as brutal and as self-seeking as his predecessors. William Morris' words: "No man is fit to be another man's master," are true. Freedom will only be attained by direct attack on authority itself.

FRANCIS TONKS.

HOW MUCH PROPERTY DO WE NEED?

COMRADES,

While agreeing with the main points made in the article in *Freedom* on the abolition of property, over-simplification seems likely to make an unfortunate impression on many people. The section dealing with those goods classed as personal possessions conjures up a vision of groups of anarchists going round the houses stripping them of all goods except one chair, cup, saucer, plate, suit, etc., and half a bed, per person, and storing up this colossal quantity of goods in buildings. In the first place this would create an immediate housing shortage unless it is intended to use the museums, art galleries, and meeting halls for this purpose. It would also require large staffs of people to look after and service these goods. But more important, it seems to ignore the variation that exists in human beings which anarchism should allow for and develop.

I agree that those objects used only occasionally could best be borrowed from such centres. And the present schemes for tractors, books, records, etc., would have to be developed to cover innumerable articles. But is it wrong, for the general practitioner or midwife to have

whole-time use of a car; the man who likes to do part-time joinery to have a set of tools; the gardener his spade; and the student his books? And must we dash down the road with a handcart every time a few friends drop in for an evening or week-end?

Scientific development in modern communities makes it unnecessary for us to be so rigorous with ourselves, and it is doubtful if more primitive communities would benefit by having half our crockery, vacuum cleaners, motor cars, etc., dumped upon them one sunny afternoon.

Yours fraternally,
HAROLD H. SCULTHORPE.

W. C. OWEN

COMRADES,

May I point out an error in the notice of the death of Dr. S. Vere Pearson?—W. C. Owen was often a contributor of articles to *Freedom*, but was never, at any time, Editor.

L. G. WOLFE.

RESISTANCE (New York), Vol. 8, No. 4. March, 1950. (Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, 3d.)

It is always a pleasure to welcome a new issue of *Resistance*. The latest contains *Ideas of Anarchy: The Individual and the Community* by David Wiek; *The Theory of the "Removal of Inner Conflict"* by F. S. Perls and Paul Goodman; *Notes on Literary Anarchism in England* by George Woodcock; *The Human Condition* by Jackson Mac Low (a discussion of the book *A Field of Broken Stones*); *The Australian Scene* by K. J. Kenafick; *On Putting Moral Questions First* by Irving Feldman; and book reviews and poems. *Resistance* is a magazine which many readers of *Freedom* should find interesting and stimulating.

The International Congress—5

We publish below the fifth instalment of translations of the resolutions passed at the recent International Anarchist Congress. (Previous articles appeared in our issues of 21st January, 4th March, 1st April and 15th April.)

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST SOLIDARITY

THE International Anarchist Congress affirms once again, that solidarity is the highest expression of human fellowship as a means of defence against the various forms of injustice created by authoritarian society.

In the past, the absence of effective cohesion between anarchists has allowed numerous opportunities to pass by, where effective solidarity could have avoided the sacrifice of comrades who were victims of oppression.

On the other hand, we cannot advise any set of rules in this field; it must be left to each geographical group to act in the way most appropriate to local conditions. But at the same time we think it is of interest to point out particularly significant experiences. For example, Argentina, a country where anarchist solidarity has given very positive results,

FROM PAGE ONE

Foreign Policy: Prelude to War

of the years before 1914, with the impetus given to them by the rise of revolutionary syndicalism, were effectively dissipated by the crusade against the Kaiser. Nor is their much care to hide the part which economic rivalries played in the genesis of the first world war—thirty-odd years afterwards there is no need to keep up the old pretences.

It is not only the gullible workers who are gullied by this age-old trick of governments. H. G. Wells lent his powers and talents to the cause of presenting a respectable gloss to the 1914 war; afterwards he declared that he would never be duped into such a dirty business again. But there was hardly any need—there were plenty of ready dupes among the intellectual "leaders" in the second world war. Did not Bertrand Russell speak up for the Empire and do his bit to make it a respectable outfit for the American public? And the ranks of patriotic socialists provide a mine of willing war apologists fully up-to-date and primed with the latest material.

GRAINS OF TRUTH

Now there is no disputing the truth of much of this foreign policy gag. The capitalist nations did seek to encircle and confine the growing power of Nazi Germany, as they had done Bolshevik and Stalinist Russia. Soviet Imperialism constantly seeks to strengthen its power and weaken its democratic rivals. In recognising this self-evident truth, one is merely restating the familiar fact that capitalist groupings are continually at rivalry with each other for control of more power and wealth. The revolutionary socialists of the nineteenth

century recognised that well enough; but it did not make them fall in behind their governments in the war game in which the workers fight out the rivalries of the capitalist class. Instead they developed an anti-militarist body of thought and looked beyond the unceasing rivalries to the removal of their causes.

We have seen the old trick played often enough now to recognise it in contemporary guise instead of having to wait a generation before admitting that we have been duped. In his recent speech, Truman declared that foreign policy would be above-board and open. One of President Wilson's Fourteen Points was No Secret Treaties—that was thirty-two years ago. When Bevin became Foreign Minister he spoke of lifting international relations into the clear light of day. Since then we have seen the intrigues and bargainings about Palestine, about Trieste, about the Austrian Treaty and so on. It is time to look beyond threadbare political tricks and consider realities.

ACHESON'S SPEECH.

Before the last war, Spain and the World, this paper's predecessor, was an outspoken fighter against Nazism and Fascism and their apologists and appeasers. Nor did it need the cold war to make anarchists recognise the faults of the Russian system—we were attacking the Bolshevik counter-revolution when socialist revolutionists were still swallowing the police regime as "revolutionary defence". We therefore do not require Mr. Dean Acheson to tell us about the defects of Soviet tyranny.

use of the international services (C.R.I.A.) when, seeking to make contacts for solidarity with other countries, they have difficulties in making direct contact, through lack of addresses, or for any other reason;

(d) In the interests of useful statistics and of propaganda, the groups and federations should notify the international organisation of the results achieved and of the purpose and destination of their aid, as well as sending all that they can to the international organisation, in order that its distribution, directly or indirectly, can be arranged in accordance with the existing possibilities, and with the wishes of the donors.

We have limited ourselves to aid for the imprisoned and the persecuted, leaving aside those other aspects of solidarity which we consider can best be arranged directly.

Agitation and verbal and written propaganda against the abuse of power and against the barbarity of authority could equally be co-ordinated in such a way as to avoid contradictions in our propaganda.

The organisation of propaganda makes it necessary to collect and circulate news

★ Out and About ★

Holy Moses

"A rum lot they are, as the Devil said when he looked over the ten commandments."

—HUGH MACDIARMID.

"NOW, children," said Teacher, "what are the Ten Commandments?"

"Please, Miss, something to do with the Highway Code?" said Willy Jones. So the managers of a school in East Suffolk proposed that the Education Committee should print the Commandments in big type and display them in the schools.

But the Rev. W. G. Hargrave-Thomas, vicar of Needham Market, successfully fought the proposal at the committee meeting, saying that: "To put up the Commandments as they are would be misleading and wrong. The second Commandment says: 'For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God'. It goes on to say that He will visit the iniquity of the fathers upon children to the third and fourth generations. No decent father would do such a thing." Later, he said: "The second Commandment is not the only one at fault," and went on to pick holes in a few more of them.

But the words "as they are" in the vicar's remarks, suggests a solution. Readers of *Animal Farm*, will remember that the principles of Animalism were reduced to Seven Commandments painted on the wall of the big barn. As time went by, they gradually changed so that, to "All animals are equal," were added the words, "but some animals are more equal than others". Should not the Ten Commandments be similarly brought up to date? For example: "Thou shalt not kill, unless told to by the government"; or "Thou shalt not commit adultery, unless thou art rich enough to buy a divorce."

However, don't think that the vicar could get away with his heresy and schism. His boss, the Archbishop, speaking, appropriately, at the annual beano of the Canterbury Chamber of Trade ("Thou shalt not steal, unless thou art in business") said: "The remark was idiotic. The Ten Commandments are very ancient things, and far from considering them barbaric and out of date, this country wants to get started on them." After telling us that Christian ethics are founded on them, he declared that: "This country has got to forget the liberalism of the past 50 years in which man thought there was no room for doctrines but only for trusting to his own instincts. He thought that by doing so, the world would get better and better. Instead it has got worse and worse. Nice ideas cannot live in a world like this."

So put away your instincts, comrades, blow the dust off the family Bible from underneath the aspidistra, give up your nice ideas, and get some nasty ones! C.

and information as quickly as possible, in such a way that our means of propaganda can be supplied in useful time before our adversaries have had time to seize it and spread confusion through the circulation of distorted reports.

The Congress considers that the suggestions outlined above, will be enough for the moment as the basis of effective international action.

(To be continued)

Special Appeal

April 3rd to April 20th:

Los Angeles: D.McG. £1/1/3; Glasgow: T.D. 7/9; Douglas: M.C.* 2/6; Anon* 2/6; Bradford: D.R. 10/-; Stoneclough: E.O.N. 7/10; London: I.A.* 1/6; Anon 8/-; Stoneclough: E.O.N. 6/6; per O.M., Detroit: D.T. 14/-; Miami: Z. £5/5/0; San Francisco: F. £1/15/0; San Francisco: P.P. 14/-; Gosport: F.G.* 5/-; Smethwick: A.W. 11/2; Bolton: R.T.S. 2/-; Port Clinton: D.M. 3/4.

Total	£12 17 4
Previously acknowledged	£87 17 10
1950 TOTAL TO DATE	£100 15 2

*After initials indicates contributors to the 5/- a month scheme proposed by a London reader.

FREEDOM
Anarchist Fortnightly
Price 3d.

Postal Subscription Rates
6 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$1).
12 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$2).

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies
6 months 7/6 (\$1.50).
12 months 15/- (\$3).

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

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