

AFRICA

Can Constitutional Methods Help the African Worker?

George Padmore: *AFRICA: Britain's Third Empire* (Dobson, 12s. 6d.)

A STRANGER in South Africa will be quickly informed of the folly of offering any opinions on questions of local political and social significance. He will be told that they are "peculiar" to the country and only understood after they are explained. The same advice is given liberally to strangers in other countries where similar conditions prevail.

Now there are three things common to all these countries. They all have a "colour" problem, the basis of which is a conflict between a majority of indigenous people and a ruling minority of European descent. They all have governments in which the majority have only token representation and a social pattern in which the material benefits are exclusively for the white minority. And, to refer back to our opening observation, it is this minority which will advise the stranger to keep out of local affairs because of their "peculiar" nature.

The stranger, however, if he is at all resourceful, will soon discover the reason for such a reluctance to discuss and explain local affairs. He will find, inevitably, that the "peculiar" problems are the same in all such countries and that it is not so much the problems as the methods used to solve them, which should not be discussed with strangers.

A study of George Padmore's *Africa* will throw this situation into sharp focus. The European settler or administrator's sense of guilt and uneasiness towards Africa springs partly from an awareness, subconscious maybe, of applying two different sets of principals to his life. Towards his own caste he will show kindness and consideration. Towards those he imagines to be socially inferior, the Africans, he will display indifference and hostility. It is not difficult to realise that this second attitude of the European springs from fear and social insecurity. It is a case of men who have gone forward and created an artificial society and now cannot go back. It is easier to face the consequences with a cultivated self-righteousness and an aggressive determination, than it is to face it with humility and an awareness of great wrongs done.

It is with a view to this coming crisis that George Padmore's book is valuable. He takes the reader from Gambia to Sudan, from Uganda to the Cape, filling in the historical and social background of the coming struggle. Very methodically the crimes of the European against his African subjects are listed. By a melange of starvation, subtlety and the sjambok, the African has been impelled to submit. To pay taxes when he cannot afford to buy food, to be ejected from his own tribal lands because mineral wealth has been discovered, to be conscripted into mines, to be flogged for the most petty

offences, to have strikes suppressed by shooting, to have no say in the conducting of his own affairs. Yet facts do not convey adequately a picture of this accumulation of human misery. Words are meaningless to describe suffering and human degradation repeated tens of millions of times. And one knows that the tragedy, the problem, is so wide, is so beyond even Africa, that it stretches to the very reader of this book, who will either refuse to believe the facts listed or shrug his shoulders helplessly.

Yet this is not to say that the book serves no purpose. It is a document which can be put to much good use, though one suspects by those already converted. It has also received the distinction of being banned by the Gold Coast Government. If the book disappoints, however, it is when the author leaves the facts of his case, as if they are not enough, and inserts some observations of his own.

For example, all through the main stream of this book is the theme of a European civilization and form of administration being imposed on a distinctly African way of life, and that this is the basis for much of the conflict. Yet the author, despite this, seems to see the Africans' objective as one modelling itself on the European. Parliamentary democracy, trade unions, national states, Rhodes Scholarships, wealth after the European pattern. At the beginning of the book he laments the passing of the old decentralized tribal life: "Before the disintegration of tribal society occurred, the Africans held their land collectively. That is to say, there was no private property in land, which was looked upon as nature's gift to all the people and not the exclusive possession of any particular section." Towards the end of the book he is saying: "If the workers also continue to draw closer together in the fire of the struggle for economic and social betterment, the tawdriness and retarding influence of tribalism will be sharply revealed, and a spur will be brought to national unity and the solidarity of the common people. In this way, trade unionism can reinforce political nationalism and provide the key which will open the door to Africa's future progress, unity and amity and the realization of the United States of Africa."

And the method to be used to bring this about? Despite the condemnation implied by all the facts with which he presents his case, the political manoeuvring the abortive conferences, the lies and treachery of the authorities, he persists in a belief that the solution rests in this direction. His mistake is to believe that by political action, by a democratic "gradualism", by allowing the African middle-class intellectuals to lead their more ignorant countrymen (not a Mister Johnson among 'em), by constitutional approaches to the British, that something can be achieved. One cannot help feeling disappointed that the obvious conclusions

to be derived from this book are not shared by the author.

For at intervals through the book he illustrates with some relish the success of direct action. Where conferences and appeals have failed, as in the case of Africans have resorted to effective and concerted passive action, success has nearly always resulted. Sometimes it has

meant refusal to pay exorbitant taxes, such a successful boycott of British consumer goods. Again, the cocoa producers of the Gold Coast refused to sell their crops at profitless rates, crops on which the British were relying to balance their dollar accounts, until they were given a fairer deal.

Yet the author pleads: "... it is obvious to anyone even superficially

Read seriously discusses the proposition that "mankind must be predisposed for peace by the right kind of education". The chapters appeared originally as lectures or articles—one of which inspired George Woodcock's, quoted above and are based on Read's more complete statement in *Education through Art*.

What is the right kind of education? There can be no charge of indoctrination against Read. He believes it is to be found in the discipline of art, and his main point is that the moral basis of discipline should be aesthetic—not rational or legal or social. And in one sentence "Play is the prophylactic of war", he sums up nearly all the work and theory of A. S.Neill.

In the course of the book Read makes some penetrating comments on Freud who admits that he has left part of the riddle of group formations untouched—Freud said (in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, p. 70):—"A path leads by way of imitation to empathy... Moreover, there is still much to be explained in the manifestations of existing identifications. These result among other things in a person limiting his aggressiveness towards those with whom he has identified himself, and in his sparing them and giving them help."

Read comments: "It is precisely the significance of the process of identification for intellectual life that is our present concern. When Freud says that a path leads 'by way of limitation to empathy' he may or may not have been aware that he was indicating the path of art.* It is true that there is another path—identification with the leader—the totalitarian path in which there is no empathic relationship with other people, but only a blind obedience to one command. But this is not what we mean by morality; morality is essentially mutuality, the sharing a common ideal. And the process by which we are induced to share a common ideal is none other than that indicated by Freud—the creation of an empathic relationship with our fellow citizens by means of common rituals, by means of imitation of the same patterns—by meeting, as it were, in the common form or quality of the universally valid work of art."

Read freely acknowledges his debt to another psychologist, Dr. Edward Glover and in particular to his book *War, Society and Pacifism*. To those who contend that the abolition of government will make an end to inter-state war some marks of Glover on State Parentalism of intense interest since they are more psychological, as opposed to ideological grounds. Glover says: "State worship is a form of... derived from the displacement of dependence", and that "however... the State may be in the regular... material things it is nevertheless... ward and superstitious organisations... ANTHONY WILSON"

* Read notes that in discussing various types of poetry in the *Republic* Plato uses *imitation* to mean nothing more than a natural object or other, a process by which the poet or assimilates himself to the person he is portraying, and thereby distinguishes his own personality to time being. This is *empathy*.

FREEDOM
acquainted with the problem and needs of these territories that without the financial and active co-operation of the educated Africans there can be no lasting development and reconstruction in the colonies."
Which means that the white man's rule continues.

In fact, one would like to suggest that Mr. Padmore's idea that lasting development and reconstruction depends on the active co-operation of the educated Africans be changed to: "the active co-operation of All Africans"

CHARLES HUMANA

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

IN an article entitled "The Folly of Revolutionary Violence" printed in *Adelphi* in the Spring of 1947, George Woodcock wrote:

"The actual use of violence arouses a brutality which infects large masses of people. The terrible cruelties practised by revolutionary idealists... show that even the best intentioned people are capable of the worst deeds when they begin to use violence to achieve their ideas... As has been shown by the degeneration of so many revolutions, after the hated government has been overthrown, (their) actions can lead only to a reign of fear more crushing than that which existed before."

This quotation clearly shows George Woodcock's belief in non-violence, and has phrases "best-intentioned people", "worst deeds", "degeneration of so many revolutions", which are expressions of moral value.

In accepting his statement I also advocate pacifism as one of the aims of education. A parent or teacher cannot avoid making a choice in determining the type of environment and opportunities he presents to children and upon which the possibilities of their development depend. One of the functions of a teacher should be to organise things that will lead to worthwhile activities. Not to organise is not to make children free but to make them impoverished; whereas they should be at liberty—to accept or not to accept grown-up suggestions. This applies as much to gardening or book learning as to practice in living in a non-violent society.

I am well aware that objection to pacifism as an aim of education is made in the name of freedom. It is said that to try to cultivate non-violent behaviour is to submit children to unwarrantable moral pressure. Yet people who make this objection at the same time insist on intellectual and social values without recognising the inconsistency, or do not realise that the essence of a non-violent approach itself excludes compulsion or force on the part of those who make it. It is a question of persuasion and of drawing out certain latent qualities rather than others.

In his book *Education for Peace* (Routledge Kegan Paul, 7/6), Herbert

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ARCHITECTURE FOR STUDENTS CONDEMN BUILDING, ARCHITECTURE and EDUCATION

PLAN 6 (Journal of Architectural Students Association, pp. 32, 2/6)

IT would be a pity if readers made a booklet under the impression that it was just another students magazine, full of gossip, private jokes and other articles, because it is not really so at all, but an exciting and stimulating piece of pamphleteering in condemnation of the present state of building and architecture and education.

The booklet is extremely well printed and its novel typographical arrangement is part of the argument in that each page is divided into three—one part for the subject, and may be read either down the page, or from page to page in each subject. This is not a typographer's trick, but an expression of the inter-relation of the subjects.

The authors of *Plan 6* explain their purpose as follows:

"In the first part our concern is to illustrate in the fields of building, architecture, and education, the process of breakdown. This we see in the individual, in the society, in the community, and in the environment. These relationships, still seen through building, architecture, and education, we symbolise in the words *integration*, as opposed to *dissociation*, and we say that the many relationships evident within it are identified by their *differences*, and we apply to their isolation from each other."

The booklet shows evidence of the influence of thinkers like Mumford, Kropotkin, Geddes, Reich, Read, and the Peckham experimenters, and it is encouraging that these young architects should be drawn towards such positive and libertarian writers, but we wish they could find rather simpler words to express their point of view. (They probably feel this too for a "Diagram Index" included on page 32.)

On the other hand—the section on education is admirably well written:

"The people who make up the school community are divided up rather in the manner of a military organisation. The teachers are brought to his staff. The teachers are to themselves as a collection of specialists with little in common but mutual suspicion. The prefects are to the other children as sergeant-majors are to the children. The children are arranged nearly into classes and receive promotion in the ranks. The whole of the school is a continuous reception of instruction. The background of our conception is a stimulating and busy life of activity than is the case with the other schools. The children attend the building and girls attend at opposite ends of the building to ensure that there is no possibility of their seeing one another at their toilet. If a governor enters the school he does not see the entrance to ensure that he does not see the baker enters he does so at the end of the children should pick up on the ground. Small wonder that the teacher has found it so difficult to play the role of dictator than that of a guide."

Plan 6 is lively and thought-provoking and it is to be hoped that later issues will be of the same wide interest.

FOOTNOTE.—An architect who wrote for *Freedom Bookshop* was offered *Plan 6* and "insulted on every page," he admitted. V.R.

ORWELL'S UNPUBLISHED NOTEBOOKS

ALL but a few pages of the June number of *World Review* are devoted to George Orwell who died in January of this year. It contains much material of value towards an assessment of Orwell's social ideas and Mr. Stefan Schirmanski, as Editor and publisher of *World Review*, deserves our thanks and congratulations for a beautiful production at a price well within the reach of everyone's purse.*

The volume consists of extracts from George Orwell's unpublished notebooks, a long personal memoir by Mr. T. R. Fyvel and a section headed *Revolutions* in which five writers each contribute a critical essay on one of Orwell's major works. There is also a short tribute to Orwell by Bertrand Russell, and an even shorter *Footnote about 1984* by Aldous Huxley which is, in fact, a terrible indictment of Western democracy.

* Copies of *World Review* are obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, price 1s. 6d. (postage 3d.)

THE notebooks were kept over two periods during the early part of the war: from May 1940 to August 1941 and from March to November 1942. The extracts published come from the first period. They seem to me to include a fair proportion of uninteresting material, but as the Editor points out, in so far as it remains "a true reflection of his ideas at the time" it is of interest for an understanding of Orwell.

The notebooks certainly reveal the struggle between Orwell the humanist and Orwell the "realist", and throughout these pages one continually finds examples of Orwell's healthy distrust of the ruling-classes alongside quite reactionary views which imply a belief in the possibilities of solving our problems by war, governments and the very institutions which at bottom he despises and mistrusts.

Thus: (24/6/40): "... If the invasion happens and fails all is well, and we shall have a definitely left-wing government and a conscious movement against the governing class..." Two sentences

later he writes: "Orders to the L.D.V. that all revolvers are to be handed over to the police, as they are needed for the army. Clinging to useless weapons like revolvers, when the Germans have sub-machine guns, is typical of the British Army, but I believe the real reason for the order is to prevent weapons getting into the 'wrong hands'..." And by 'wrong hands' Orwell obviously includes himself and the "conscious movement against the governing class."

Again, Orwell who believes in government, albeit "left-wing government" and who supports the war, has these reflections to make about taxes which are the life blood of governments and without which capitalist wars could not be prepared: (9/8/40) "Towards the government I feel no scruples and would dodge paying the tax if I could. Yet I would give my life for England readily enough if I thought it necessary. No one is patriotic about taxes." These sentences are also interesting for another reason. Orwell supported conscription during the war, which means being obliged to give one's life if the government thinks it is necessary. Yet in his notebook it is "if I thought it necessary!"

★ BUT in spite of these and many more infuriating statements, I agree with Herbert Read that what "is fundamental to Orwell is a love of humanity and a passionate desire to live in freedom". One can charge him with having been too optimistic, of deluding himself into believing that power does not always corrupt or that governments could be "of the people", but the Notebooks also reveal a fundamental honesty even to the extent of including thoughts and actions of which he is obviously far from proud, and which many another person would have omitted as reflecting unfavourably on them if read at a later date. For example, he writes (22/1/41): "Yesterday I ripped down a number of these [People's Convention—Communist inspired] posters, the first time I have ever done such a thing... At any normal time it is against my instincts to write on a wall or to interfere with what any-

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THE KHAMA CALYPSO

THE banning by the British government of Serete Khama, chief of the Bamangwato tribe, who married a white wife, has aroused dark-skinned people and their champions all over the world. But in the Caribbean area, reports *Worldover Press*, the protests are beginning to take the form of calypsos.

The composers of impromptu rhymes are turning out verses which will travel through the region for many a day to come, doing more to hurt British ears than formal manifestoes.

Some of the singers have been broadcast over the B.B.C. before the present time. What will happen to them, when observers are asking, if they can put their protesting compositions on the air? Here, for instance, is one:

Dear loud talk of democracy,
What is the position of Serete?
You abandoned his faith on the Socialist
Party he must abdicate.

THROUGH THE PRESS

UNDERSTANDABLE DISTANCE

...the remaining band of nomadic Indians in Canada has signed a treaty with the Government and agreed to reserve 34,000 acres of reservation in 150 miles north of Rocky Mountain on the eastern fringe of the Canadian prairie. The treaty was signed by Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs, and a wandering band of nomadic Indians who hitherto have refused to accept a white man's money for signatories was willing to sign, apparently in the first instance to be resented by the consequences of the treaty.

The *Times*, 22/5/50. The Indian who saw the recent article on the Indian in *The Leader*, will be surprised at their reluctance.

ENGLISH VICE

...the novel of the restoration of corporal punishment. The rapid, ridiculous sentences," she should be increased tenfold. It is the opportunity [of] birching one of our criminals—or of using a good iron whiplash boots on one. And I do not know where to inflict the punishment."

Children, too, should not be spared such words or a "cuff across the ear". What was the occasion of this display of violence? Was it at some demonstration of the art of all-in wrestling?

Not so. The speech was delivered at the annual meeting of the Craven and Wharfedale branch of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

STATE & SOCIETY

It should be noted that Stalin a year or two ago announced that the Party no longer holds that the state will wither away. Such a heresy against Marxist dogma made surprisingly little stir; it was got over by one of the most skillful uses of dialectic argument. When state power is invested with cultural and moral authority social monopoly it is more dangerous than the division of powers and plurality of functions than plain state domination in a society which is so fully conditioned that all its organs work unceasingly for the fulfilment of one of its universal aims has no principles in it by which its trend can be challenged. Society is its supreme—the state marches in its clothing—and it is not known as state. So the political faiths of our day are really social faiths using the vast apparatus of state power.
—Canon V. A. Demant in *The Listener*, 1/6/50.

DEPT. OF PROFOUND THOUGHT

What has Signor Pelizzi to suggest? His solution can be stated in a single sentence. He believes that for the Fascist to have succeeded in Italy as the architects of a new social order, they would have had to organise the guilds or corporations on the lines of anarchico-syndicalism [sic].
—Review in *Times Literary Supplement*, 26/5/50.

Bought for Conduct

FOR years now the elementary and high school teachers of New York have been engaged in a running feud with the mayor of the city and the governor of the State over salaries and the absence of increases thereto. Like many another legitimate gripe against officialdom, that of the teachers has enlisted much sympathy and little active support. No one questions the justice of the teachers' cause, but as usual justice must take a back seat to expedient iron-bound principle, this time the one that denies public employes the privilege of striking.

This obviously places the teachers in an unenviable position, for above all professionals they are expected to hem close to the line rigidly grooved for them by form, taste, and puritanical standards of morality. For even Sanitation Department employes, were they to threaten a walkout, would not reap such general condemnation and calumny as would smother teachers similarly determined to improve their lot. Perhaps this is our tardy retaliation for the distasteful discipline to which teachers are called upon to subject us during our adolescent years, but whatever it is, for them we set up special rules as though at best they were three rungs beneath a jailed pickpocket, whose elementary rights we take such formal pains to protect.

As part of his strident campaign for re-election, His Honour Mayor O'Dwyer has pledged an "adequate" adjustment to teachers' salaries, but as is not infrequently the case, a flexible memory is Circa handmaid to political opportunism. The situation in New York, moreover is uniquely contributory to such artifice, for all else failing, the mayor can claim impotence before the stern stewardship of the state, which is to say the governor. When backed against a wall the mayor neatly passes the buck to the state, hoping thereby both to shirk responsibility and to side out of an embarrassing predicament. In fairness to him it must be noted that the mayor is far from sovereign in fiscal matters, even purely municipal ones. That this anomalous situation is as though a bank president cannot receive a raise without the approval of one of his junior tellers, apparently does not discommode the majority of the citizens of New York City.

The Mayor's Nest-Egg

Came budget time early this year, and His Honour pulled every parliamentary trick in his extensive repertoire in the attempt to curtail discomforting discussion of such matters as promises, privations and principles. Actually, if one can temporarily inactivate his orientation to a sense of fair play, one must accord His Honor some sort of palm for unadulterated gall. For here was an official who had just swilled at the public trough to the tune of \$15,000 per year heaped upon his former pay of \$25,000 (and has led his cronies to proportional glutonities with the explanation [sic] that "in this kind of a job you have to put something away for a rainy day"), an official who had just returned from his third extended vacation since election day last November (and is already rumoured

to be planning a fourth), an official who had gained re-election on an anti-racketeering platform, an official who had cut innumerable political throats to promote his own aspirations—*here* was an official who was bleating inability to pay, etc., etc., etc., municipal morale, etc., etc., etc.

Finally, and still bemoaning a deficiency of ready cash for the purpose (latest indications point to another boost

NEW YORK LETTER

in subway fares—the second in two years—to help raise the money), he peevishly begrudged the teachers an increase of \$150 to \$250 per year.

The teachers, charging betrayal, retaliated by discontinuing their supervision of students' extracurricular activities. His Honor's dignity was affronted. The action of the teachers was nothing less than *lese majeste*.

Students Skip Class-Struggle

On Monday, 27th March, several hundreds of high school students, aggrieved as much by the curtailment of their extracurricular activities as by one concern with the wage dispute itself, went to City Hall and requested an interview with His Honor. Insulated by a cordon of guards and secretaries, His Honor, wounded panjandrum sulking over this patent "lack of respect for lawful authority", angrily rejected the petition. "Communists!" he screamed.

The next day the demonstrators grew to several thousands. His Honor called out the police. No one, apparently, is quite so suspicious of the democratic process as those who materially benefit most from it.

Wednesday the demonstrators came to eight thousand at City Hall, with supporting rallies and walkouts mushrooming in high schools throughout the city.

On Thursday about double that number of students marched on City Hall. This time, club-wielding police—mounted, on foot, in squad cars—were deployed in force to handle the enemy. As, incidentally, was a small army of truist officers. The so-and-so kids had to be taught a lesson. His Honor had so ordered.

Friday the number of demonstrators before City Hall had dwindled to a few thousand. On Saturday none appeared. Nor, not unexpectedly, on Sunday.

On Monday, exactly one week after the eruption of this school-hour rebellion, City Hall and its environs were deathly quiet. Perhaps many of the students had repaired instead to Chelsea to cook up a hot reception for the May Day paraders, but His Honor saw fit to dispatch no truist officers to snare the ringleaders of this gang.

A Monday-to-Friday, nine-to-three-o'clock insurrection of schoolchildren in New York had petered out.

It is superfluous to dilate upon the press and radio comments evoked by this affair. The comfortably unimaginative

reporters, given their lead by His Honor, dusted off the standard *bête noire* of the day: the Communists had fomented the uprising, they solemnly averred in concert, and eagerly let it go at that. It always has been easier to sloganize than to think. And safer, too.

The truth is that the authorities—municipal, parental, educational, social—are in mortal fear of the truth. When a flood threatens, flee. That's the way to live to see another day, and as a rule-of-thumb policy it is protective, if not exactly valourous.

The youths had gone to City Hall in orderly fashion. It was only when they found themselves confronted point-blank with the cloven hooves of police mounts, with hastily improvised barricades, and with the capitious condescension of city officials that they kicked over the traces. It was borrowed license.

Nor was it difficult to sense that they were seeking something—something in compensation for having been cheated out of the grace of general proficacy relished during the war by their older brothers and sisters. Perhaps they resented the fact that another war would necessarily assume such shape as to deny them similar freedom.

Or perhaps they just went along for a lark.

Let Truce Prevail

With truce declared, His Honor has consented to meet with "duly accredited delegates" of the students to thrash out "misunderstandings". Each high school has what is known as a General Organisation, the principal function of the elected officers of which is to rubber-stamp official school policy. It is with these "accredited" delegates that His Honor will discuss the "issues". And who is to "accredit" them? None other than the president of the Board of Education, a venal politician of rather ill-repute himself a recent recipient of a salary increase from \$25,000 to \$32,500 per annum.

In such an atmosphere flourishes this academic microcosm of the outside world.

It is useless to speculate on the outcome of whatever meetings His Honor will vouchsafe the "accredited" delegates. He will talk, talk, talk; they will listen, listen, listen; and the upshot will be the same \$150 to \$250 per year increase he had already decreed, an upshot to which the "accredited" delegates will give their sober endorsement. Perchance His Honor will toss in a few playgrounds as bribes for future good behaviour. In well-fenced playgrounds, remember, restless high school students can dissipate their pent-up energies in activities more socially acceptable—and far less embarrassing to constituted authority—than public demonstrations not under the girdle of "accredited" delegates.

One cannot help reflecting upon what certainly would have resulted had a mere one-half of one per cent. of the student bodies decided, without fanfare, to absent themselves from classes until their teachers won their draw-out battle.

Fifteen hundred quiet but determined absentees would quickly have succeeded where 30,000 noisy agitators, enjoying their circus while some teachers were fighting for bread, could not but fail.

SEYMOUR GREENBERG.

FOUR FREEDOMS TWO TOO MANY?

RECENTLY San Diego set about to dedicate a veteran's memorial building to "those Americans who have fought for the Four Freedoms". A hot protest from Admiral Standley, wartime Moscow ambassador, stopped it. He argued that we don't want to achieve freedom from want and fear—we need them as stimulants to free enterprise. San Diego City Council acquiesced, instructed city manager to find some choice expression in U.S. Constitution to use instead of the Four Freedoms.

Maybe four is too many. One—just plain freedom—might be better. *Industrial Worker (U.S.A.)*

THE MAN WHO KNOWS HIS VILLAGE

AMONG the more acute observations of modern sociologists is their emphasis on the fact that people who know one another well are able to solve what problems they have in common much better than those who are united only by the bonds of the social contract. Ideological hates do not prosper within the life of a village. Face-to-face experience of one another, through the years, produces too much common sense in people for them to believe very bad things of one another, or for them to fear one another very much. As Gordon Taylor, the sociologist, has said:

"Members of these groups . . . form assessments of one another, but they go further: each individual establishes positive links of affection or regard for other members. These links seem to

be based largely on shared experience, and acceptance of the other individual for what he is, good or bad.

This is the case of social psychology against the large city, where a man can live all his life as stranger to the rest of the population. He can die of loneliness; he can turn into a criminal; he can become a philanthropist or a grafter, and not one of his next-door "neighbours" need ever know the kind of a man he is. The more closely packed together people live, the less they may understand of human beings, and the more isolated from natural human contact they may be. So, the sociologist proposes, let us divide our cities up into smaller units—into groups small enough for people to know one another. Let us abolish this anonymous mass which, knowing little, fears much, and feeds on suspicions and deceptions.

Manas (U.S.A.), 17/4/50.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

If You Accept Government You Accept War

FEW laymen knew anything about the powers of—or even the possibility of manufacturing—atom bombs until the newspapers headlined the Hiroshima attack. But to-day hardly a person has not heard of the H-bomb, and there is no secrecy about its potentialities for destruction, yet there is complete apathy among the people while the leaders of governments wrangle with one another, deciding *smor-* themselves when and if the diplomatic and economic deadlock will be "solved" by releasing a few H-bombs on the principal cities of the world. The "peace campaign" organised by the Communists is but a political campaign in which undoubtedly many genuine militant anti-militarists have joined because there is no other outlet for their work. But so far no rank and file international movement has come forward. Why is this? George Orwell in his *Notebooks* (see *World Review*, June issue) supplied the answer when he wrote, "If you accept government, you accept war, and if you accept war, you must in most cases desire one side or the other to win."

EVERY country in the world to-day declares that what it seeks above all things is Peace. Yet every country in the world is crippling its economic recovery by rearmament on an unprecedented scale, and scientists are using up their lives and knowledge in searching for ways and means of sowing death and destruction on an ever-increasing scale.

The April number of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Chicago) contains a report article by Dr. Hans A. Bethe, Professor of Physics at Cornell University, in the section on the Hydrogen Bomb. In the section dealing with the Effects of the Hydrogen Bomb, he points out that "its power would be essentially unlimited and would increase as the amount of heavy hydrogen that can be carried in the bomb." He then goes on to deal with the effect of a bomb with "an energy release a thousand times greater than the Hiroshima H-bomb" and demonstrates that it would cause "almost complete destruction of buildings up to a radius of ten miles. A single bomb can obliterate almost all of greater New York or Moscow or London or any of the largest cities of the world." Of an "all-out war" fought with H-bombs, Dr. Bethe writes: "It would mean the killing of most of the inhabitants of the cities by direct action of the bombs, and possibly of many more people by radioactivity. Many of the survivors would perish for lack of shelter, others from hunger. The devastation that we have seen in Germany, and which overwhelmed many American visitors when they first saw it, would be nothing compared with the effects of hydrogen war."

On the moral issues involved in such a war, Dr. Bethe makes this very significant statement:

"It is argued that it would be better for us to lose our lives than our liberty; and this I personally agree with. But I believe that this is not the question; I believe that we would lose far more than our lives in a war fought with hydrogen bombs, that we would in fact lose all our liberties and human values at the same time, and so thoroughly that we would not recover them for an unforeseeably long time."

Now this is an important admission for it destroys the arguments of those intellectuals who have taken sides in the cold war on the ground that a Russian victory would be the end of all culture, moral values, etc., etc., (or in the case of the pro-Russian section, that an American victory would have these same results). For, if Dr. Bethe is right, whichever side were to win the H-bomb war, all human values would be destroyed.

But even Dr. Bethe does not seem aware of the significance of his own statement for he then takes up a further two pages discussing questions of strategy and diplomacy, and pins his hopes for lasting peace on some sort of agreement being reached between Washington and Moscow to control the use of A and H-bombs. That idea "if you accept government you accept war" is too simple for intelligent and even sincere men like Dr. Bethe, who can only clearly understand such statements as E—M—C—

Does the world face annihilation because we cannot see the wood for trees? LIBERTARIAN.

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LETTER TO THE EDITORS

FREE UNION AND FREE LOVE

I AM afraid that Alex Comfort's letter concerning my article clouds rather than illuminates the issues I raised.

I wish to clear up five of the main points of confusion arising from Comfort's letter.

1. Changes of parents. What Comfort means, presumably, is repeated changes of those in loco parentis (as one cannot change ones parents); this must logically include nurses, schoolteachers and family friends, who make up the adult medium on which the child lives.

2. "Extra-marital continence" and "Intra-marital continence". The former means sexual abstinence outside marriage, and the latter means sexual abstinence within marriage.

3. "Cases of partner-switching which pass through the hands of the psychiatrist". These show adult immaturity, says Comfort.

4. "Isn't the need for a perpetual sexual adventure being rather overstated?" I don't know why Comfort insists on the romantic convention of calling sexual activity outside marriage "adventure".

5. "I would derive pleasure rather than pain from other people's admiration of the woman I loved." In my discussion of jealousy, I was not concerned with admiration.

Comfort and I obviously have a great measure of agreement on the importance of emotional security and happiness as being the prerequisite for the healthy development of children, and also on the necessity for self-regulation in conduct.

FROM PAGE ONE

Rationing: A Shallow Compromise

the consumer of the lower income groups—were only recognized when, during the first world war, the capitalist classes of the various warring states found that their survival depended on their ability to enlist the working-class in their economic battles.

Success of Rationing It must be conceded that wartime rationing has been on the whole successful in providing that adequate amounts of the limited food supplies have been available to society in general and not merely to the rich.

And it is well to remember that, even during the war, there were a considerable number of persons in poorer districts who could not afford to take up all their rations.

market enabling the rich to escape the rigours of a more equitable distribution of goods.

Another Aspect Rationing had also, however, another aspect quite unconcerned with justice and ideas of fairness. It was part of the great wartime campaign to limit spending, and as such became increasingly irksome as limiting variety in consumable goods.

It is likely also that there is considerable truth in the Conservatives' complaint that rationing, price control, and all the other instruments of planned production, do, in fact, tie up industry and obstruct its capacity to expand.

expedient. Called into being, not by the claims of social justice (though not wholly uninfluenced by them), but by the necessities of wartime, it retained certain ruling-class characters.

Through and through the bourgeois conception of rationing is permeated by this conception of "purchasing ability"—which has nothing whatever to do with fairness or social justice.

Socialist "Control" and Bourgeois "Freedom" Anarchists neither support bourgeois rationing nor fall for Conservative demands for "freeing" of production and the market.

What is required is not rationing in the sense of a nice weighing-up of so much of this and so much of that for each individual member of society; rather is it the general application of the idea that everyone has a right to free participation in both the necessities and the pleasure-giving things of life.

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).

June 11th Speaker: Sam Fanaroff "COMMUNITY LIVING"

June 18th Speaker: John Hewitson "THE FRENCH TERRORISTS AND THE PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED"

June 25th Anarchist speakers "OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

OUTDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at MAXWELL STREET

with Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw, J. Raesice

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, June 18th, 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. JUNE 13th TED MANN "THE WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE"

JUNE 27th Don Taylor "TRENDS OF MODERN CAPITALISM"

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

From the International Congress—7

ANARCHISM AND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS

Our position towards the I.W.M.A. (The International Working-Men's syndicalist International to which syndicalist trade-union movements, particularly those of the Latin and Scandinavian countries, are affiliated. Its headquarters are in Stockholm.)

REAFFIRMING what has been said in the resolution on Syndicalism (see Freedom, 27th May), in which industrial action was considered as the most apt means of developing libertarian ideas, in view of the broad popular support which it engenders, the International Anarchist Congress declares its support of the I.W.M.A., considering it a genuine workers' organisation with a truly international character, and whose revolutionary aim is clearly defined.

In consequence, the Congress recommends support for the development of the I.W.M.A.'s activities by participation, where possible, in the organisation or among the rank and file, always stressing its ultimate aims.

Below we continue the publication of translations of the resolutions passed at the International Anarchist Congress, held at the end of last year in Paris. (Previous articles appeared in our issues of 21st January, 4th March, 1st, 15th and 29th April, and 27th May.)

As a specifically anarchist movement our relations with the I.W.M.A. could be of the closest and most active kind; even more than relations, a frank and cordial collaboration in all possible fields.

Youth Movements

We must point out the necessity to maintain and to establish fraternal and constant relations with Libertarian youth movements, with a view to influencing the greatest number of people with our ideas. We believe that by this method we can effectively contribute to awaken anarchist personalities and to rejoin them in our movement.

Believing that relations between different nations and their understanding of one another are the most solid basis for an effective internationalism, the congress

suggests that closer ties should exist between young libertarians throughout the world, either by direct contact or with the fraternal support of the international anarchist movement.

Pacifist and Anti-Militarist Movements

The International Anarchist Congress considers that the fragmentary and partial content of the pacifist and anti-militarist movements does not suitably represent the deeper reasons nor the origin of the problem of wars. The anarchist position on the questions of complete analysis of the social conditions which pacifism is related to, and the traditions which are, after all, the cause that engender militarism and armaments conflicts.

Nevertheless, the Congress manifests sympathy for all those movements which are genuinely anti-war because they answer a deeply-rooted desire in all peace which is becoming stronger day by day as a result of the painful experience of successive wars. The anarchist will consist in this encouraging and expression to this desire by giving social and constructive content to it from any unilateral position.

Notwithstanding, it is imperative to declare that to constitute pacifist or anti-militarist organisations in the name of Anarchism represents in principle a perversion of efforts which not only do not get us no nearer our goal but also result in a weakening of our action in our domain just considered. The anarchist devoting ourselves exclusively to ordinate activities will have a negative effect on anarchists; a weakening of a dispensable integral action.

Anti-Religious Movements

The Congress points out that the questions cannot be limited to the of ideas, since one must analyse at them as an integral part of a complete of authoritarian manifestations which have attempted and still tend to solve the social problem as a whole.

This statement therefore advises regard to anti-religious activities, to the adoption of a pluralist attitude, and to the one suggested above with respect to pacifism: an absolutely integral attitude towards all that religion represents, engenders, without forgetting any phases nor any of its manifestations, and with the anti-militarist problem, which draws attention to the dangers of specialisation in this field, and which in a probable weakening of the movement as a whole.

"GIVE FOOD AWAY TO U.S. FARMERS CRISIS"

"WE of the U.S.A. must give away the food that we can't eat and sell—give it away quickly and give away generously," a farm group has declared here after conferences with government and agricultural leaders.

That was the conclusion of 50 farmers, farm wives and others in farm-related jobs who spent two weeks in a seminar sponsored by the Friends Committee on National Legislation and the American Friends Service Committee.

"We believe we must drastically curtail our budgeting for war, and spend more real money on peace," the farmers statement went on.

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