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Individual Action - 1953, June 2, Tuesday

John Goldstein

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INDIVIDUAL ACTION

Vol 1, No. 12

New York, N. Y., June 2, 1953

Price Five Cents

ENGLISH PACIFIST A McCARRAN VICTIM

John's Corner

Anarchists, unlike authoritarian radicals, emphasize the dignity and the role of the individual. Anarchists further believe that a social revolution will take place when each individual has made the one man revolution and is thus able to act in concert with his fellow being. On the other hand, a mass movement that suppresses the individual, has never engendered—and will not engender—a free and progressive society.

Because of such aforementioned thought in mind, we decided to name the publication, Individual Action. We intended to commend the fine work performed by certain individuals. And we believe we have brought their work to public attention.

But some people are invariably asking us what the individual can do within the framework of the present oppressive and deceitful social order. We, as well as others, realize that a person cannot create a better world by himself. Yet, an individual must learn how to act ethically now or he will always be a profligate regardless of the prevailing social order.

One of the first duties of a socially conscious individual is to be loyal to his friends and comrades, especially when they are in distress. For example, a comrade is unemployed and homeless, it is our duty to help him in his hour of need. Similarly, he should be willing, when he becomes financially solvent, to assist other comrades who are destitute.

And a radical ought to dis-

play the fact that he is opposed to capitalism and government through his actions. If, for instance, he castigates "free enterprise", he should not employ anyone or seek to befuddle his fellow man. And if he is also opposed to imperialistic wars, he should not work in war factories or do any work that might augment the war effort in any way whatsoever.

In brief, we do not think that we can achieve anarchism unless we in our actions demonstrate that we are prepared for a better and saner world. That is why we are advocating individual non-conformity.

* * *

There are times when we have become utterly despondent and thought that there is no hope for humanity. But recently we have seen encouraging signs that may reflect the attitude of the people. For example, on Armed Forces Day in New York City, the people were watching the parade with very little enthusiasm. In fact, some pacifists who were distributing anti-militarist leaflets received favorable comments and were not molested or even threatened. In previous times, some super-patriots would have perpetrated violence against them. It seems that the people are weary of militarism — and for this we should be thankful since militarism is the pillar of governments. But this is no time to curtail our anti-war activity. On the contrary, it is necessary for us to elucidate that there are individuals who are opposed to both the Washington and Kremlin war-machine.

Humanitarian Ally

South African police, acting with the consent of Malan, ousted several Negro families from their homes in Klerksdorp. The homes were demolished by the government. Malan, by the way, has sent troops to Korea to preserve "Democracy". Fine Democracy.

Fraternal Announcement

A concert will be held on June 11 about 8 O'clock at Community Church for the benefit of the prisoner defense fund. Arlo Tatum, singer and Calton Gamer, pianist, will be the performers. The evening should be an entertaining one.

Held at Ellis Island

Stuart Morris has been allowed into the U. S. after 14 days' imprisonment on Ellis Island. The Immigration Appeals Board found that he and his sponsoring organizations do not advocate resistance to the draft or illegal pacifist activity. His release resulted from pressures brought by Quakers.

Stuart Morris, a prominent English Pacifist, was declared ineligible, under the infamous McCarran act, for admission to the United States. The ex-cleric was scheduled to make an eight-week nation-wide lecture tour. His itinerary was arranged by the War Resisters League and the American Friends Service Committee.

At the present time, Morris is General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union which he helped form during the depression. This organization obtained signatures from people renouncing war. He was also a minister in the Anglican Church, but severed connections with it in 1939 because of its pro-war policy. In 1942, he was arrested and served a nine month prison sentence.

He was barred from lecturing in the nation under section 212-a-27 of the McCarran act which states: "Aliens who the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe seek to enter the United States solely, principally, or incidentally to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest or endanger the welfare, safety and security of the United States".

It is obvious that the politicians of these Benighted States regard a person who preaches against war as a danger to the glorious republic. Mr. Morris, we believe, would have proved to a substantial number of people that war is useless, a blight on humanity, and calculated to solve the contradictions of our social order. Certainly such speeches would have been detrimental to the ruling powers.

Morris could have also elucidated the hypocrisy of the American position on prisoners of War. It is an acknowledged fact that the McCarran act prevents the Chinese and Korean prisoners from entering this

land of the free and home of the brave. Thus the American militarists are—and have been—using the prisoner of war issue as an excuse to perpetrate the dismal and stultifying Korean holocaust. It is likely that the distinguished English Pacifist would have mentioned such palpable facts. No wonder Government authorities thought that he would "endanger the welfare, safety and security of the United States."

The case of Stuart Morris demonstrates that the vicious and fascist McCarran act effects liberals and radicals as well as Soviet agents. It should be plain, even to the most ill-informed, that the ruling class is excluding those who do not echo the Eisenhower line from visiting the United States. We, the people, should fight this infringement on the rights of human beings. We can do so by staging a world-wide protest of McCarranism and all other isms which seek to subvert our right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The time for action is now.

Individual Action

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NOTE ON THE DOUKHOBORS

The articles by George Woodcock in FREEDOM on the Doukhobors are the best analysis of this violent heretical anarchistic sect in British Columbia. Slava Bohu by J. F. Wright, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941, is the best book on the subject in English. He is a Vancouver newspaperman with whom I have corresponded. I visited the Doukhobors in August of 1941 and have corresponded with them since that time. Some of them have visited me here in Phoenix. My interpreter when at Krestova and Thrums, B. C. was Helen Demoskoff, age then about 35 and mother of four children. She spent about seven years in prison for going nude in court and for burning down houses of renegade Doukhobors (and her own house also.) She refused to take a parole and was released recently. She expresses herself very well in letters printed in the CATHOLIC WORKER and is a woman of deep spirituality. I wrote an article on the Doukhobors in RETORT in 1942 but it was too optimistic about them and based on insufficient knowledge. The following is a very brief summary of their history.

Doukhobor means "spirit wrestler". For about 250 years prior to 1900 they were persecuted in Russia because they were pacifists and anarchists. They owned their land in common, took no part in government or courts, and were pacifists when it came to war. They were also vegetarians and did not use tobacco or liquor and very little medicine. They were banished to the Caucasus and around 1894 their young leader Peter Verigin (the Lordly) was sent to Siberia where he met many Tolstoyans doing time there also. He sent back messages for the purification of the Doukhobors and around 1895 they had a public burning of guns and weapons; and extremes of wealth were leveled and tobacco pouches were burned and their vegetarian ideas rejuvenated. They were persecuted all the more. Tolstoy wrote his novel Resurrection to get money to help them migrate to Canada around 1900. The English Quakers also helped. In all seven boatloads came to Sas-

katchewan. Here they helped build the railroads and homesteaded. They thought they were free of military training and allegiance to government but in the fine print of their articles of immigration which was not explained to them was the clause that after 7 years they were to swear allegiance to the King. This they refused to do. Most of them gave up millions of dollars of improved lands and moved to the Kootenay Valley in British Columbia near Nelson where they bought land, planted orchards, and soon had the biggest jam factory in Canada. Peter Verigin (the Lordly) had been released from prison after 15 years and joined them here. He had a chorus of girl singers accompany him. Doukhobors say that the government blew up a train in which he was riding but others say that it was more likely that some young Doukhobor did not like Peter taking his best girl and in revenge blew up the train. Later his derelict son Peter P. Verigin came from Russia and assumed leadership. He led a dissolute life of gambling and drunkenness, his excuse being that there were bad Doukhobors in hell and he had to be bad in order to go there and get them out. He ran the community badly in debt so that the Sun Insurance Co. owned nearly everything. When royalty came from England the authorities did not want the Doukhobors raising trouble so they took over this debt from the insurance company and allowed the Doukhobors to remain on their property.

All along most Doukhobors would not register births and deaths nor send their children to government schools. They often burned down school buildings. By the time of World War II most Doukhobors had become prosperous, worked in war work, subscribed to the Red Cross and were bourgeois. They registered and were exempted from going to war. The more radical ones, called Sons of Freedom, remained true to traditions taking no part in war or government. They paraded on a May Day in Vancouver and were arrested. In court they took off their clothing as a protest. They came into the world naked

Letters to the Editor

Many people are puzzled as to why the Roman Catholic Church opposes psychoanalysis. Pope Pius XII gives us the answer, in substance: the psychiatrists are giving the priest-confessors too much competition in absolving the sinners from their feeling of guilt. The psychoanalysts call the ailments of their patients inhibitions producing neurosis; while the priest confessors call this guilty feeling, original sin. Both these crafts are quack gangs of cheats and deceits. The only difference between the two gangs is: the Priestly-craft is responsible for the social crime of driving their faithful to that type of insanity; while the psychoanalysts are guilty of the crime of robbing their victims during the attempted cure.

Before the age of puberty, I, too, wondered as to why our grand daddy Adam was stupid enough to commit that Original Sin. However, later in my life when I saw the reason for which Adam had fallen, I absolved him completely.

and let it naked and most of the troubles of the world consisted of accumulations of clothing and finery so to show that they had nothing to lose they removed their clothing. They had been sent to jail by the thousands all along. Now while my friend Helen Demoskoff and others were doing 2 years in prison the government turned over the community property to the patriotic Doukhobors. When they were released from prison they announced that on a certain hour they would burn these houses for they were desecrated by renegade Doukhobors who smoked, drank, ate meat, and helped with the war. They were given 5 to 9 years in prison. While they were in jail some of those on the outside said they had a revelation which said that there should be no more burning, bombing, or going in the nude. Whether this was to lull the government into lessening vigilance or whether they turned on their comrades in prison I do not know. Helen's brother Peter help found a so-called free-love colony on Vancouver Island. This was not truly anarchistic for they asked for police protection from irate neighbors. Years ago some Doukhobors went to Mexico and now some want to go to Costa Rica. Some few wanted to go back to Russia. Others felt this was their home and they should stay here. Whether this Sorokin now in Costa Rica is a renegade I do not know. My opinion is that it would be better for the Douk-

Continued on page 3

The reason was Eve. Of course, it was only a picture that I saw, but all the Astartes, the Aphrodites, the Marys, the Cleopatras, the Helen of Troy, are poor imitations of the original woman, that was our mother Eve.

So let us bring up our children in such a way that they will laugh at Sin Original, and not so original, and that they will recognize and respect the moral trespasses against their brother and sister humanity. Then the hocus-pocus of both gangs of cheats, and priestly as well as the psychoanalysts will go the way of the dodo-bird.

—S. DZIENGIELEWSKI
Dickson City, Pa.

Felix says . . .

The airplane is a wonderful invention indeed! In wartime millions of people are killed, maimed or made homeless by bomb-throwing planes. Is it good in peacetime? Look how many lives have been sacrificed and how many have been crippled by crashing planes so that a New York businessman can fly to Chicago in three hours and fifteen minutes to float a loan! Yet the progressives call this "progress".

* * *

Should the U. S. now be called a Republic instead of a Democracy now that the Reps are in power and the Dems have been defeated? Or should we call it a Plutocracy because of G. E.'s Wilson, the Astors, the Vanderbilts and the John D. Rottensmellers? The answer is no. All these terms are incorrect. The correct term is **Ginecocracy** (rule by the women).

Women own most of the nation's wealth and what they don't own they control because they control the owners. This bit of economic info being more useful than all the volumes of Adam Smith, Ricardo and Marx put together.

Her rule is so arrogant that when John Doe, a poor nobody, dares to look at her in the subway she psychologically spits on his face and says: "How dare you."

* * *

We ask our contributors to keep their manuscripts within 800 words and remember the following sayings:

Brevity is the soul of wit.

Well said is soon said.

Good things, when short, are twice as good.

The quintessence of the matter is more effective than a whole farrago of details.

Don't be a bore.

Don't put the reader to sleep.

MALATESTA - Two Languages Removed*

or Is this what the man said?

Preface to "UNDER THE RULE OF 'PROLETARIAN' DICTATORSHIP: JUSTICE ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIST DICTATORS" by editors of **Entente Anarchiste**.

It is good to recall that the Anarchists, who were the first to support without restriction the Russian Revolution in so far as it was a surge from the depths tending toward popular emancipation, were also the first to protest without reticences against the crimes of the new totalitarian regime installed by the Bolsheviks. It is thus that Malatesta, in No. 183 of **New Humanity** (August 1922), was occasioned to polemic against Boris Souvarine, in an epoch where the latter still believed in the "provisional and anormal" character of the terror of the Cheka in Russia. From recent trials we come to recall that this "provisoriness" will have lasted 35 years, and that it is not on the point of re-entering into the generally observed norm in countries where all the subjects are not suspects by definition: (apparently, by some oversight the editors of **ENTENTE ANARCHISTE** left it to the reader to supply the rest of their remarks)

Indeed have the Russian "revolutionary socialists" been condemned to death by the Moscow Tribunal (Tribunal de Moscou). Given the regime which dominates in Russia, there is no being astonished.

At all epochs, in all countries, when the people have overthrown a government and then, instead of persisting in the work of liberation they submit themselves to a new government, the latter for remaining in power and preventing the revolution from continuing or developing itself, has always made use of legal means of repression often worse than those the **ancien regime** used. The "revolutionary tribunes" have always been unjust by the same qualities as military tribunes and, always under the pretext of defending the "revolution" just as the others defend "order", they have directed their blows principally against the revolutionaries who menace the power freshly established. This is what one sees today.

But the new Russian administrators are men of progress, men with theories, men who always have their hand on some verse or other of Marx, ready for being interpreted in

their own fashion for justifying no matter what error, no matter what infamy. Within this species, they could not follow in a pedantic fashion the Czarist tradition. They have desired to improve on it, and have found an atrocious means for attempting to paralyse the activity of the friends of the condemned: they have suspended the execution of the sentence and declared that the detained will be executed as soon as their comrades do something which displeased the government.

One can not say that this kind of blackmail is an ingenious invention of the people enlightened from Moscow, since brigands, police, and conquering soldiers have often employed similar means, for example, in arresting and torturing the parents of persons aimed at. However we did not believe the thing had been elevated into a judicial system. This honor was reserved to those who still claim to be at the head of the revolutionary proletariat.

Very characteristic is the fashion in which Boris Souvarine, a man in the confidence of the Moscow government, comments on and justifies the "delayed sentence" in **L'HUMANITE**, communist journal of Paris:

"The Bolsheviks — says Souvarine — do not have the hypocrisy of pretending to do justice. Like all revolutionary marxists of all countries they know that justice does not exist, and that it is nothing but the expression of the interests of a class.

to be concluded

*This polemic of **ERRICO MALATESTA** was translated from Italian into French by person unknown, for the rubric "Les Archives de l'Anarchie" of **ENTENTE ANARCHISTE**, No. 5. It is translated, as it were, from the French by

—**JOFFRE STEWART**

DOUKHOBORS - continued

hobors to teach their children at home instead of burning down government schools and to allow the renegades to go their own way instead of burning and bombing them. I criticize them thus mildly as a fellow pacifist and fellow anarchist, but any criticism of them from the outside world which supports the A Bomb does not come with good grace.

—**Ammon Hennacy**

The Danger of McCarthy

Senator McCarthy is a menace not because of his personality but because he is the spokesman for elements that covet to suppress all thought at variance with the philosophy of the American Legion and other Neofascist groups. Make no mistake about it, despite the statements of certain liberals who are contending that the Senator's accusations and innuendoes are blunders, there is method behind his madness. He and others of his ilk are trying to discredit individuals whose opinions are — or were — not in conformity with those of Hearst and Senator Jenner.

Many people are under the illusion that McCarthy appeals principally to the industrial tycoons. Nothing can be further from the truth although his work benefits the large corporations. McCarthy attracts the utterly frustrated elements in our society. These people, who have lost all hope in life, desire to find a scape-goat for their troubles — and the non-conformist is indeed a good scape-goat. Hitler and other dictators also appealed to the derelicts and not the bourgeoisie. In other words the pattern of McCarthyism and Hitlerism is quite similar.

Possibly the professional liberals are McCarthy's main target since he has done little if any investigating of the communists. He holds the liberals responsible for the demise of that great humanitarian Chiang Kai Chek. In reality, McCarthy's contentions are erroneous. The career diplomats in the State Department were well aware of the fact that the Chinese Nationalist regime would topple if it did not grant reforms or form a coalition with the Communists. But Chiang Kai Chek refused to heed the advice of John Carter Vincent and other diplomats and so he was defeated by the Chinese Marxists.

McCarthy, however, believes that the Truman administration should have rendered greater assistance to the Nationalist Government. From the capitalist viewpoint, Truman and Acheson acted wisely. Because they realized that the cause of Chiang was hopeless, they thought that they could reach an agreement with the Mao Government which would protect American investments in China. For a short period, this policy seemed successful inasmuch as Mao was not only preserving capitalist property but was encouraging foreign investors. Of course, the Chinese Marxists were compelled to sub-

sequently curtail foreign capital in view of the fact that they blamed Chiang for allowing American and British corporations to exploit the Chinese workers and peasants.

Senator McCarthy accused career diplomats such as John Carter Vincent and Owen Lattimore of being Red agents. He announced to the world that since they were responsible for the Communist victory in China, they should be reproached. John Carter Vincent has been retired to private life while Owen Lattimore is under indictment for perjury. Yes, there is method in McCarthy's madness.

Equally revealing of the Senator's attitude was his investigation of the Voice of America. This Governmental agency employed experts who were former radicals. They had expressed views that were shocking to respectable citizens and were otherwise active in various radical organizations. Apparently, the aforementioned citizens are not complete reactionaries. Senator McCarthy was not pleased with the work of these men. Like other inquisitioners, he dug up information about their past. He discovered that one of the officials wrote a book expressing unconventional thoughts on the sexual question. Horrors of horrors. This official was reprimanded by McCarthy and other "moralists" and finally was forced to resign. In fact, the intellectuals employed by the Voice of America were purged. Another victory for McCarthyism.

The Senator had even the audacity to subject the editor of the New York Post to interrogation. The reason that McCarthy was furious with the newspaper is that it has been critical of him. It is expected that other newspapers that have not followed the ultra-reactionary line will also be investigated. The inquisition in all its ugly forms is with us.

There are two ways we can fight McCarthyism. First of all we must stand up to him and show the world that he is nothing but a liar, a demagogue, and an assassin of Character. Secondly — and this is most important — we must convince the people, to whom he is appealing, that the world can be changed for the better. If we are able to perform this task, McCarthyism will be relegated to oblivion. We can only fight McCarthy by fighting the System that produces him and his type.

—**John Goldstein**

Intolerance and Mutual Aid

Intolerance like the wood-choppers ax is in itself not harmful. It becomes harmful only in wrong and random usage. In a revolution man is intolerant; he is intolerant to those who govern and oppress him. Here his intolerance is sensorially and intellectually justified. His senses and his vision are bound to convince him that he should not tolerate tyranny and slavery in any form and degree. My experiences, however, convince me that man's intolerance is confused and excessive when he extends it to people who are not involved in governing and oppressing him. I am convinced that man's unbounded intolerance on one hand and his limited mutual aid on the other not only are fostered by the same motivation, but are at the basis of our socio-economic inequalities. The area of intolerance can be better understood and justified in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. No, really, we do not yet understand how imperative is the need of an unbounded mutual aid and of a limited intolerance. This is precisely the scope of the sociological wisdom that we are very much in need of acquiring. It is because of this lack that our early brethren have lost their freedoms, and that we are failing in our endeavors, however sincere and courageous, to create our freedoms in which to live and love. At this juncture it is fair to inquire why we are so extensive in the area of intolerance and scant in the area of mutual aid?

Our primitive brethren failed to extend their intra-regional mutual aid to other regions. This shortcoming was mainly due to clannishness, to an in-group and out-group psychology. What was outside one's clan, tribe, or region was considered hostile and alien. This less economical and more socio-psychological frontier, this man-made geographical and ethnical barrier spurred the wars. Government and slavery are but their legitimate offspring.

Now, this primitive blemish of clannishness is still deeply embedded in us, it still determines and influences much of our prejudices. In fact we have deteriorated today. We can not even boast of an intra-regional mutual aid. We are in a de-humanized way competitive within the nation and competitive with other nations. We are, therefore, with all our pretended knowledge, with all our sciences more sociologically ignorant and less humane than our primitive brethren. We have done nothing

in the way of uprooting in us the ancient, aged clannishness and socio-psychological intolerance which perennially help governments to raise and glorify ever new spite-fences to match the vastness and depth of our modern slaveries. We must realize that because we have not surmounted in us this primitive defect, governments do not find it difficult to use us for patriotic and war purposes. Governments can easily incite us to hate anything different within the nation and in other nations.

In modern, or rather in governmental societies the motivation for war and intolerance has been divided. The people are moved to action by one motive, governments by another. Divided interests in society have divided motives for conflict. The people are still moved by their ancient, aged clannishness; governments, however, are moved by power motives. The clan, the tribe, the pre-governmental primitive society as a whole having had a common interest had a common motive for their wars, for their limited mutual aid. Today, however, the governing powers have one reason that of preserving and expanding their powers for the sake of power, and the people they can easily give another reason, a reason corresponding to our aged clannish motive. There is a vast difference. Only the governing powers fight for power, only the governing powers have a real reason, a real need for wars. The people's partnership in war is now putative, the motive and goal delusive, the conquests are not shared in common.

Society has been divided or rather separated from the governing powers. This is the reason why we have different interests and different motives for conflicts. Those who do not know any better contend that the anarchists are bent on destroying society. Nothing is more absurd than this accusation. The truth is governments have destroyed our communities. The peoples interests are not only different from the government, but from each other. The peoples interests are not just different but in conflict. We are competitive within the nation and because of our aged clannishness we are hostile to other nations. The organic society is no more. Now there is the atomized society on one hand and the atomic government on the other. Make no mistake about it, government is not and never was society. It is a split from it, an alienation, a parasitic growth upon it, a represser, a despoiler of it.

Now the clannish motive for

the littlest
feathery
bird of desire
flits in the
lilting foliage
of your eyes
and gives away
your innocent deceit
little girl
when you demand
the chromium
rigmorole
you tell less
than a whole
(but do not know)
and bind the growing
glowing heart
like chinese feet

—RAFAEL JORDAN

intolerance which society always had, and the power motive which governments always had are both harmful to society. We must strive to eliminate both these and all motives which divide men into beligerant groups and into internecine conflicts. What is important however to deduce from this analysis is that action does. We can learn to judge an action in relationship to how much freedom it now creates or as to how much does it now oppress us. The test is in action. Observe how a good many people in this country and in the communist countries are forced to wear muzzles on their mouths, how they meet in stealth and speak in whispers, how their words feebly tricle out from half muffled voices and from intimidated hearts. A free man denounces and combats not ideas, but oppressive action where ever he finds it. This is the prerogative of a free man; this is his way to create and ensure freedom. A man in every act of intolerance to people who do not govern and oppress anyone acts, on a miniature scale, as a McCarthy, a McCarran, a Hitler, a nero, a communist feurer, a commissar. In such action man, even outside of government, builds the policed life. Fascism today is home-spun. There is more danger at home than in foreign invasion. However, unless we are suicidal maniacs, we do not have to

Battery Park

1.
On plains of foreheads
Somehow salient strains of seas
have shown.

Curving through the wry dry fields
of wailing Wall Street
Bricked against the somewhat seldom human heart.

2.
This fort which tyrants thought
would leash
The ecstasy of Europe dying to be free
Now is dead (in a convenient and
a white tied mystery).
(Desire drowned in water cups
And love in deep felicity).

3.
O foreigner in your own native
land
Gazing out to sea.
The quiet palms of India
Are blowing into me.
I hear the limbs of Africa dancing
to be free
And redolent breasts of Bali O
alive! alive! I see!

— N. BAUER

be our own undoing. We can choose another alternative. We may cease to be an inquisitor, a policeman against our own brothers. The loyalty tests and acts, the soul-purging are proper to Washington and the Kremlin alike. They are proper to all governing powers. But we, the governed, should we not keep clear from this nastiness? This is proper as a governmental campaign; this is as it must be, but let us undo it as a peoples campaign. Governmental campaigns cannot last long without the peoples moral aid. We have a real job to do, one proper to our calling; we need to surmount in us an ignominous sociological ignorance and a psychological and ethnical clannishness. Remember the errors of our primitive brethren and how they lost their freedoms. We can benefit much by avoiding their errors and by learning well the way of limiting the area of intolerance and extending the area of mutual aid.

—Jack Hamlin

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