

"One man cannot make another quite free, because the one who has the power is imprisoned in it and consequently has a false relation to him whom he wishes to free."
KIERKEGAARD.

"MANKIND IS ONE"

declare UNESCO Biologists in Statement on Race Problems

Biological studies lend support to the ethic of universal brotherhood; for man is born with drives toward union, and unless these drives are satisfied, men and nations fall ill. Man is born a social being who can reach his fullest development only through interaction with his fellows. At any point of this social bond between men and man there is disintegration. In this sense, every man is his fellow's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind."

The idea that man is innately social, that a cooperative commonwealth based on universal brotherhood, lies at the root of all anarchist teaching. Yet the passage above is quoted from anarchist writings; it is the concluding paragraph from the remarkable UNESCO "Statement by Experts on Race Problems", issued in London on July 20th, 1950.

The UNESCO statement—it covers 100 pages and a half mimeographed pages of text—contains matter which is of the highest importance to a world torn between one war and the next. It covers a number of current problems in an authoritative manner, and it is of exceptional interest to all who are concerned with the future well-being of mankind. To anarchists it has the interest of adding scientific support to the basic conceptions of

the biological standpoint—it may therefore be defined as one of the group of populations constituting the species *homo sapiens*. These populations are capable of interbreeding with one another but, by virtue of the isolating barriers which in the past kept them more or less separated, exhibit certain physical differences as a result of their somewhat different biological histories. These represent variations, as it were, on a common theme."

After specifically indicating that the English, the Americans, the Jews, the Indians or the Chinese are not races, the statement declares: "National, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups; and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrative genetic connection with

racial traits, because serious errors of this kind are habitually committed when the term "race" is used in popular parlance, it would be better when speaking of the human races to drop the term "race" altogether and speak of "ethnic groups".

The importance of this paragraph is very great: for it means that the basic unity of all men transcends these "national, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups". One's first loyalty is to the brotherhood of mankind, and not to one's government or one's religion or to any mere group loyalty.

THREE MAIN DIVISIONS

Men may be divided into three major divisions: the Mongoloid, the Negroid, and the Caucasoid divisions. But the UNESCO statement is careful to point out that just as these divisions arose from the separation of mankind geographically, so they are not static "and there is every reason to believe that they will change in the future".

There is no scientific ground for one division regarding itself as superior to any other. "Given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realise their

potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same. The scientific investigations of recent years fully support the dictum of Confucius (551-478 B.C.): 'Men's natures are alike; it is their habits that carry them far apart.'"

And they drive the lesson home: "As for personality and character, these may be considered raceless. In every human group a rich variety of personality and character types will be found, and there is no reason for believing that any human group is richer than any other in these respects."

Noy, the bearing of all this on the colour bar is obvious. It also bears on war propaganda about the "sub-human" Japanese; or about the Russians). The UNESCO scientists are not afraid to direct the light of science on such dark places as Malan's laws against mixed marriages in South Africa, or similar laws in some of the States in U.S.A., or the Nuremberg laws of Hitler. As their statement is absolutely direct, we reproduce the passage in full:

"With respect to race mixture, the evidence points unequivocally to the fact that this has been going on from the earliest times. Indeed, one of the chief processes of race-formation and race- extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races or ethnic groups. Furthermore, no convincing evidence has been adduced that race mixture itself produces biologically bad effects. Statements that human hybrids frequently show undesirable traits, both physically and mentally, physical disharmonies and mental degeneracies, are not supported by the facts. There is, therefore, no biological justification for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different ethnic groups."

Later on they repeat this: "There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, are to be traced to social factors." (Our italics..)

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

The implications of these statements are very far-reaching. They condemn as impertinent and superfluous the pretensions of imperialism whereby one group of men impose their domination on another, even when they claim to do so for the good of the colonial people. They condemn utterly the arrogance of the white (Caucasoid) peoples towards the coloured (negroid and Mongoloid). And they do so from no merely negative attitude. The statement of the UNESCO scientists rests on the solid positive fact of the biological unity of mankind.

The stressing of this unity could not be more timely, coming as it does at a moment when the menace of yet another global war seems more or less imminent. In the face of scientific knowledge the responsibility for continued war lies clearly on the social institutions of mankind, political, national, economic and religious. Anarchists have long denounced these institutions which divide mankind and have insisted on internationalism, on the essential brotherhood of man. Now the scientists have explicitly endorsed this teaching.

CO-OPERATION A BIOLOGICAL TENDENCY

Let us not fail to note the importance of the UNESCO statement from another point of view. The development of the atom bomb, of projects for bacterial warfare, show the irresponsibility not of science but of scientists in our present society. The UNESCO experts are to be warmly

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REMEMBER SPAIN

READERS will have noticed from "Through the Press" in a recent issue that a "society for friendship with the Spanish people" has been formed in Scotland. Any gesture of friendship towards the Spanish people is certainly desirable, but it is only too clear that this society is for friendship with the Spanish ruling class. The support given to it by the Spanish naval attaché, and by Maj-Gen Sir Walter Maxwell-Scott, should prevent anybody from having any illusions about it, and the cat is let out of the bag by the announcement that "the restoration of diplomatic relations will be the only political aim". The breaking of these relations, rushed through the United Nations several years ago, to the embarrassment of the "realists" of the British and American governments, was an empty gesture which Bevin and Acheson would be pleased to see rescinded, despite the former's assurance that he "deplores the regime". This did not prevent the arrangement of dollar and sterling credits for Franco's government, nor the recent conclusion of a further trade agreement with Britain. The restoration of diplomatic relations would only be an official confirmation of what is already obvious—that the Powers would rather support the slave state of Franco than countenance, let alone encourage, a Spanish revolution. Indeed, it is apparent from the statements of American military leaders that they intend to assist in the repression of any revolutionary upsurge in Spain, under the pretext of preventing the spread of Communism.

A letter in the Daily Telegraph urges the formation of a similar body for this spurious "friendship" in England, mentioning (what a recommendation!) that the Scottish body has the support of a well-known trade union official. There is little to be said here, but we can do to help the people of Spain, but at least we must warn people off such organisations as these.

Fortunately, there are some people who remember Spain. There are, for example, the anarchists on trial at Genoa (see Freedom, 24/6/50), who gave moving testimony that they did not forget "the infamy of Franco, of the many evils and the misery afflicting the Spanish people for which he is responsible." Then there is the artist Paul Casals who recently broke his voluntary silence in the French village of Prades in the Pyrenees (the nearest place where he could live to his native Catalonia), in order to participate in the Bach bicentenary commemoration. Casals would not leave his village of exile. Casals would not leave his village, and for any of Europe's musicians to play at the pilgrimage by him as a tribute, Prades, was intended by him as a tribute, not to his own genius, but to the sufferings of his people. Casals says:

"Always I remember the hideousness of war, the cruelty, the anguish, the suffering. But the world forgets. I cannot play for a world which turns its head away."

The novelist, H. E. Bates, recently contributed an article to Illustrated (22/7/50), with telling photographs by Paul Almay, describing the corrupt, feudal, and priest-ridden regime, and the poverty and hopelessness of the people. His concluding words are well worth quoting and remembering:

"The twentieth century has seen everywhere an immense and disturbing increase in the rift and antagonism between State and individual. Modern States created of individual will have a curious way of turning into forces acting repressively on the very will that created them. Wins for freedom against the tyrannies of totalitarianism have a way of presenting the victors with less freedom than that with which they started and a taint by the tyrannies against which they fought."

"Spain, as I see it, is an illuminating example of the repression of the individual by State-held, Church-aided power. It is the perfect example—aggravated by centuries of associated custom of fear and climatic apathy—of power cynicism: of the way the many may be held in subjection by a few, of the way the control by State, for all its rightness in theory, may work when wrongly interpreted and wrongly used. It is a terrifying example of the State mausoleum."

"That is why the children of Spain continue to haunt me: not simply because they are Spanish children but because they are as symptomatic of the future of all other children as the Civil War of Spain was symptomatic of all other wars. In a world in which the faint rumblings of a third conflict increase even as I write these words, the hands held out for bread may hold in them, if we are not desperately careful, a frightening prophecy. The fate of the children of Spain to-day might become, as I see it, the fate of our own children, in our more hideous to-morrow."

These are the words, not of a revolutionary, but of a sensitive liberal writer, shocked and frightened by what he has seen. The inevitable result of State-organised society comes as a melancholy surprise to him. There are many for whom it is not a surprise. How much more active they should be in circumventing this "more hideous to-morrow!"

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

No "Withering of the State," says Stalin

IN a review of the basic Marxist principles, published in the Russian magazine *The Bolshevik*, Stalin has made it quite clear to his followers that there is no chance of the State "withering away" in Russia. Stalin gives as the excuse that, because of capitalist encirclement, the Socialist Sixth of the world must "take care not to weaken but to strengthen its State, the organs of the State, the intelligence Service, and the Army. It must do this if it does not want to be destroyed by the capitalist encirclement". Stalin also attacks those "un-critical bookworms in our party" who after the Revolution wanted to adopt measures which would have resulted in the withering away of the State, such as "the abolition of certain organs of the State, and among other things, the abolition of the army as a permanent institution". The anarchists have long ago pointed out to those "un-critical bookworms" that once the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat had replaced the capitalist state it would be as difficult to get rid of the new State as it was to get rid of the old. The Russian experiment has shown that, thirty years after the revolution in Russia, the State is far from "withering away", and Stalin even informs us that it has got to be strengthened, not weakened!

It is not surprising therefore that some orthodox Marxists are pinning their hopes on Tito's regime in Yugoslavia. Some think, or hope, that the recently passed Act of National Assembly is designed, to quote Boris Kindrich, chairman of the Economic Council of Yugoslavia, as a practical step towards the realisation of the theory of the "withering away of the State". Whether the Act of National Assembly, in fact, introduces the principle of Workers' Control is a question which will be discussed at length in *Freedom*, but so

far as this column is concerned, information from Yugoslavia would indicate that Tito has little to learn from his former master in the question of maintaining power through terror.

At present, Tito is having considerable trouble with the peasants in Croatia. Twelve peasants were condemned to death within the last month in a village near Karlovac after a riot against local Communist authorities. It is estimated that the arrests numbered not less than 400. In the village of Glina, alone, peasants say that there were 150 arrests during May, and that the men are still held in prison without trial. It is also significant that the "trouble centres" are in those parts of the country where during the war years Tito enjoyed most popularity.

ALL DUTIES AND NO RIGHTS

DURING the war years we often drew attention to the fact that coloured Americans were expected to don uniforms and fight for "democracy" then to be denied that "democracy" when they returned home. It is happening again today. Recent issues of the *New York Herald Tribune* headline the part played by Negro doughboys in the fighting in Korea; one dispatch from the Pohang area describes how "a line of muddained Negro doughboys thrown round the perimeter of base was combing the mountains with counter-fire. Among them were 100 or more men who had crawled three miles across dark paddies after the task force which was riding to the defence of the airfield was twice ambushed on the highway from Kyongju to Pohang." Meanwhile, back in Virginia, a group of 15 Negroes were ambushed by a mob of 400 whites,

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WAR SCHOOLS

Perhaps the most insidious aspect of the increasing influence of the military upon the educational institutions of the United States is the evident dependence of many small colleges upon financial assistance obtained from the Army or the Navy. Colleges and universities received this assistance not only for training units on the campus, but also for extensive programmes of military research. The Army research budget of 1947 included \$70,000,000 for studies in colleges; in 1948-49, Navy research amounted to \$20,000,000, covering about 500 projects in colleges and universities. According to the *New York Times*, in 1949 the Government spent a total of \$160,000,000 "for research to be conducted on the nation's campuses." It follows that the military services control more and more of the scientific research programmes, by controlling the money which supports those programmes. The implications of the growing power of the military, in education as elsewhere, leave little doubt as to the kind of a society that will result, if nothing is done to reverse this trend.

Mamas (U.S.A.), 28/6/50.

A RUSSIAN REBEL

Grigori Petrovitch Maximoff

Grigori Petrovitch Maximoff was born on November 10th, 1893, in the Russian village of Mitsuchino in the province of Smolensk. After finishing elementary school he was sent by his parents to the Seminary at Vladimir to study theology. He soon realised that such a career was not for him and left the seminary without completing his studies. He then went to Petersburg (now Leningrad) where he attended the agricultural college, taking his examination as an agronomist there in 1915.

Maximoff early became acquainted with the revolutionary movement. By nature a restless seeker for new spiritual and social values, he studied, as a young student, the programs and tactics of the various revolutionary parties until by chance there fell into his hands some writings of Kropotkin and Stepiak in which he found confirmed many ideas with which he was already struggling. This internal development was really pushed forward when some time later in a private library deep in the provinces he discovered two works by Bakunin, which exercised a powerful influence upon him. Of all anarchist thinkers, it was Bakunin who influenced Maximoff most deeply and enduringly. The keen words of the great rebel, and the irrefutable logic of his evidence, which had influenced Russian youth for so long a time, also caught the young Maximoff in their spell and never let him go. Thus he already considered himself an anarchist during his student days, and since it goes without saying that a man with his natural gifts will make his knowledge available to others, he was already seeking to spread his ideas among the students of Petersburg and the peasants of the surrounding countryside by 1912. Although he opposed the war, in 1915 we find Maximoff in the Russian army, in order to spread revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers.

When the long-awaited revolution finally broke out, and brought an end to the tyranny of Tzarism which had oppressed the Russian people for centuries, Maximoff was in Petrograd where he took an active part in the revolutionary events. He soon was working for unity among the labour unions, in which he was active as an orator, and after a short time became a member of the revolutionary trade union leadership of Petrograd.

It was a time of great expectations and boundless hopes, which, like once before in the Great French Revolution, could have led to a turning point in the social development of Europe, if the Bolshevik government and the so-called Dictatorship of the Proletariat had not prematurely clipped its wings and destroyed all hope for a real liberation of the Russian people. In the vice of the totalitarian state and the state capitalist dictatorship of the economy, which trampled all human rights underfoot, no worthwhile future could develop, but only a new despotism, under whose poisoned breath all spiritual freedom, all human values and all striving for social justice had to wither.

To be sure, the new rulers had to exercise a great deal of prudence until their power was secure, but after the bloody suppression of the Kronstadt sailors, the real pioneers of the Russian Revolution, and the so-called liquidation of all other socialist parties, there were no more halts in their advance. Maximoff himself was arrested six times by the new regime. In Kharkov he was condemned to death in 1919. He was then in the Red Army, but refused to participate in the police-action of disarming the peasants when the army was assigned to this task. Only the energetic protest of the steel-workers' union saved his life. His last arrest occurred on March 8th, 1921, when he, together with other comrades, were imprisoned in the Taganka fortress in Moscow, although there was no charge against them except their anarchist beliefs. The prisoners then began a hunger strike, which lasted ten and a half days and probably would have lasted until the bitter end if a circumstance had

not occurred which brought about a speedy change in their fate.

At that time the Congress of the Red Trade Union International was being held in Moscow, which was attended by a large number of syndicalist delegates from abroad, since Lenin and his followers then still believed that they could win the libertarian workers' organisations of Europe to their cause. When the syndicalist delegates learned of the hunger strike of their Russian comrades, they immediately protested, and demanded the release of the prisoners. Stormy scenes occurred at the Congress itself. At last an agreement was reached between the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the foreign delegates. The regime declared itself willing to release Maximoff and his friends from prison, but only on condition that they be deported to other countries. The agreement was drawn up in a long document that was signed by the Spanish delegates Orlandi and Leval and the French anarcho-syndicalists Sirolo and Michel. Alexander Shapiro signed for the Russian comrades and Lunacharski for the Central Committee of the C.P. Alexander Berkman, who was then living in Moscow, together with Emma Goldman, was also supposed to sign the paper, but refused on the grounds that he was opposed on principle to all deportations.

It was, in fact, a singular document. Capitalist regimes have frequently driven "undesirable aliens" from their countries, but here it was not a question of aliens, but of native Russians who had been born in the country. When Bismarck, at the time of the Socialist Law, wanted to strengthen the law and to this end asked the Reichstag for a decree giving the government power to deport German citizens from their homeland because they were socialist, the Reichstag refused on the grounds that no civilised state was morally justified in deporting natives from their homeland. Thus, although it was impossible in Imperial Germany at the time of the worst reaction, the new rulers in the Kremlin did not hesitate to deport persons from their native soil for the sole reason that they held inconvenient opinions. "The Red Fatherland of the Proletariat" had a peculiar political morality which was until then unknown in capitalist countries.

Maximoff and his friends accepted the government's proposal since there was no alternative. They chose well, for if they had remained in Russia they would undoubtedly have been liquidated like so many thousands who fell as sacrifice to the red Moloch. On January 5th, 1922, G. P. Maximoff, V. M. Volin, Michael P. Vorobieff, G. A. Gorelik, P. Michaelov, Marc Mratchny, A. Feldman, A. J. Cherniakov, Ivan A. Judin and Ehm Yartchuk had departed from Russia. The government had provided them with false passports and pretended that they were Czech war prisoners returning to their homeland. Because of this falsification of the real situation the comrades naturally had to undergo many difficulties. When the ship finally reached Stettin after a long and difficult journey, the deportees explained to the German Harbour Commission that they were not Czechs, but Russians who had been driven from their country because of their political beliefs. It was not a simple matter. Yet the officials of the bourgeois republic in Germany showed more human sympathy than the rulers of the so-called Proletarian Dictatorship in Moscow. Maximoff and Mratchny were permitted to go to Berlin to explain the situation to their German comrades, and if the latter were prepared to take responsibility for the conduct of the deportees, no difficulties would be placed in their way.

When we were informed of the situation, Fritz Kater, the chairman of our movement, went to the Berlin chief of police and promised, in the name of the F.A.U.D. (the German Anarchist Federation), that he would assume full responsibility for the newcomers. Whereupon the remaining comrades in Stettin set out for Berlin. Together with their families they numbered about twenty persons, yet the German comrades, who at that time

were themselves living under the greatest material hardships, showed them that solidarity was not an empty concept.

It was in Berlin that I first got to know Maximoff and his wife Olga, together with the other comrades. Olga, too, could look back on a life filled with sacrifices. In 1909, when little more than a child, she was condemned to eight years hard labour for smuggling and distributing forbidden literature; because of her youth, however, this sentence was reduced to exile in Siberia for life. She was sent to the Province of Jenessich in the Kansk district. There she remained until 1917 when the revolution broke out and she went to Moscow. She was then active in the libertarian movement in Kharkov and the Urals. She met Maximoff in Moscow in 1918. A more compatible couple can scarcely be imagined. It was as though they were made for each other, and they lived in the closest intimacy.

The Maximoffs remained about three years in Berlin, then, towards the end of the year 1924, they travelled to Paris, where they stayed for six or seven months, and then in 1925 they journeyed to America.

The life of exile is at best not easy for an active person. For Maximoff it was doubly difficult for he felt the closest bonds with his Russian homeland and the Russian people and threw poorly on foreign soil. For many years he nourished the hope that a new revolution would break out in Russia and he could return home, but this dream vanished and he had to recognise that his deepest longing could not be satisfied. But Maximoff was a brave man with creative ability, who accomplished an astonishing amount despite the unfavourable circumstances. His zeal for work was all the more remarkable in that he had to earn his living as a paper-hanger and could only devote his free hours to creative work.

Maximoff's last work, on which he worked for a long time, is an extensive collection of the teachings and methods of Bakunin. The volume is divided into four sections and covers Bakunin's ideas on all spiritual and social questions: religion, knowledge, the state, community, individual, family, property, historical development, education, freedom, equality, the transitional period; as well as all methods of economic and political strug-

gle: unions, associations and the struggle for daily bread.

Maximoff had gotten the Russian text ready some time ago, and had also carefully revised the English translation which will soon appear under the title of *Scientific Anarchism: The Systematic Exposition of M. A. Bakunin's Teaching*. He wanted to complete the book with an essay on Bakunin as introduction, but he didn't find time for it. Only fragments and isolated notes for it exist.

From this short glimpse of Maximoff's literary work one can realise what the libertarian movement has lost in him. He still had much to give, all the more so in that he was one of the few who had really learned something from the painful catastrophe of recent history and was seeking ways and means to deal with the new situation.

This short life sketch would not be complete if we neglected to mention his outstanding character traits. Creative intelligence is a gift of nature, which can neither teach nor learn; but it fulfills its purpose when it is accompanied by pure character and social concern. For him anarchism was not a means for times to come, but a part of his own life; it played a part in all his activities. He also possessed a penetrating understanding for other concepts, his own, as long as he was convinced of such conceptions were inspired by will and deep conviction. His work will

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FREEDOM IN EDUCATION

Elizabeth Byrne Fern. Lear Publishers, N.Y.

THIS is a book which recognises the essentially authoritarian nature of our schools. "Essentially", because while we seek to guide and harness the child's activities into forms that we consider desirable, some form of coercion, whether the direct threat or the more subtle method of suggestion, is inevitable.

The damning effects of our little autocracies, with their training in submission and rule, competition and damn your neighbour morality, are described and condemned. Elizabeth Fern, when she writes of the child's need for freedom to act and behave naturally and not merely conveniently, writes sincerely. She describes in detail her experiences in her "Children's Playhouse" and, later, in the Modern School at New Jersey, and her attempts to provide an environment without rules and masters for the children. Her own development is revealed in the incident she gives of the "Children's Playhouse", when, with all rules and formal schemes of work gone, the morning assembly circle was retained; retained until she realized that the children felt it to be a vestige of the old master and child order, when it too was dropped.

Sincerity is not apparent in her treatment of sex. Masturbation is considered an abnormal vice; the result of too much rest. After telling of a school run by physicians, in which the children were kept active all day and had their hands tied at night to cure their habits of "self-abuse" and to restore them to "normality", she criticises, not the correction, but the quiet life they had led in the past. She then asserts that adolescent sex experiments are caused by such childhood restrictions, and that with a free childhood the adolescent state would be one of abstract emotional life, and not the perverted condition of actual sex experience. This statement, together with the hostile attitude towards infantile sexuality adopted earlier in the book indicates an attempt to rationalize an emotional reaction against children's sexual activity.

However, apart from this failing, her book is a record of an honest attempt to establish healthy conditions for children's growth. After the spate of books by modern exponents of "activity", each of them sure that he knows just how the children should be active, or just how their natural interests should be utilized, this book is good reading. A.G.W.

EARTH ABIDES. By George R. Stewart. (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.)

THIS is a long, competent and entertaining novel on a theme which should interest readers of Freedom. An obscure airborne microbe wipes out mankind, all but a few individuals and groups here and there. They are left (in U.S.A.) it is with the vast storehouse and superstructure of modern civilisation from which to supply themselves with food, clothes, tools, and what not. Otherwise they start life afresh from zero: no government, no nuttin in the way of con-

straints or restraints. The hero is a research graduate in a not very useful branch of science, but he can think usefully and ends by becoming a sort of god for the community he has organised. It does not end as we should like it to end, but for every reader it provides a constant supply of stimulation and a sort of permanent quizz based on such questions as: How would you tackle this problem? What would you do in those circumstances? The author writes with a Defoe-like verisimilitude which makes it all vastly entertaining. C.D.

THE SPANIARDS IN THEIR HISTORY. By Ramon Menéndez Pidal. Translated with a Prefatory Essay on the author's work by Walter Starkie. (Hollis and Carter, 16s.)

MENENDEZ PIDAL is an aged survivor of the group of Spanish liberals and humanists which during this century and until the outbreak of the Spanish War did good work in Spanish letters. Whether they were always right or wrong is now somewhat of an academic question. The point is that they were sincere men who tried within their limits to expound views calculated to be humanly beneficial to their fellow-countrymen. Menéndez Pidal long ago proved himself to be a great scholar, a man of boundless energy and a voluminous writer on a great variety of subjects. He became Director of the Spanish Academy and, under Franco, resumed that post. The present work—five chapters on old themes—is merely an introductory essay to a monumental history of Spain, though the author first thought of it as an epilogue.

MUTUAL AID

IN a world which seems dedicated to brutality and inhumanity, acts of kindness and consideration appear to be rare. There are reasons for this appearance, not the least being the policy of newspapers to sensationalise crime and violence.

Ordinary human kindness and tolerance do not have much news value—which in itself shows how common they must be. But if the world were really as the journalists seem to visualise it—and can't you imagine the wave of satisfaction that surges through a newspaper office when the story breaks of a nice juicy murder?—then what would be sensational would be the very opposite of to-day.

If the savage world of human nature run amok, screaming banner headlines would run: "Man Gives Child a Penny!" or "Boy Scout Helps Old Lady Across Street!" or even "Blind Man Not Robbed!"

But in spite of generations of capitalism with its ideology of each against all, and in spite of the increasing frequency of war with its conditioning for callousness, still evidence is constantly forthcoming that ordinary people, in dozens of small unobtrusive ways, help each other, practice mutual aid, for no other reason than that it is their way of expressing their human nature.

Two Examples

Let two instances suffice for the time being to illustrate our point. For the first we reprint a letter from the London Star (28/6/50)—the front page of which splashed news of the organised savagery in Korea:

The importance of the book is not so much in the fact that its publication was permitted in Franco's Spain as in its contents. So great a scholar as an excellent expositor could hardly be in his very ripe maturity, to be so interesting reading on such aspects of "Spanishism" as Iberian individualism, austerity and so forth. It is a great gift for illuminating history with side-lights of learning and common sense. Like all the best of the authors who write history, he almost completely ignores economics and social factors. His sort of history barely requires them. On the other hand he is deeply into analysis of psychological factors and, if one cannot always agree with him, one must respect his very humanist outlook. No Catalan, or Gallego will accept his interpretation of regionalism—for the economic does exist, and is often powerful. It will the greater part of the population be deeply impressed. His plea for Roman Catholicism, which must please the Franco regime, is the very last sentence in the book.

"If Spaniards can join together to great collective tasks before them, they can agree in establishing an era of justice and selectivity free from past injustice, they will at last bring to an end these tossings of the ship of State and set her on a steady course towards the high destinies of the nation."

Before we reach that high spot, Ramon Menéndez Pidal had gone far to convince the reader that, because of the nature of Spaniards, 'statism' is doomed to failure in the Peninsula. Walter Starkie's Prefatory Essay may help some readers, but it will confuse others. His translation, however, is excellent, and the book is one for the shelves of serious students of Spanish history. C.D.

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For the second example, we take the case of a French criminal, sentenced to death for having murdered five people, including his sister. Not much mutual aid about that, you will say. But it's not as simple as that.
Julien Demay has written to the King and Queen of England, Queen Juliana of Holland, and the Pope, telling them he became a murderer because after the war he could not get out of the habit of killing.
And, showing a social conscience which has outlasted the terrible conditioning of war, he has also written to the French Academy of Medicine donating his body to science and his eyes to the poorest blind man in France. P.S.

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was as great as his comradely feeling for all who came in contact with him. He lived as an anarchist, not because he felt some sort of duty to do so, but because he could not do otherwise, for his inmost being always caused him to act as he felt and thought. He was not one of those poor fanatics who never have an original thought and who do not respect the spiritual freedom of others because they believe themselves always in the right. He knew that no one of us has been given absolute truth, but can only honestly strive and struggle for truth. Dogmatism always sets in when the mind is frozen. Maximoff was tolerant of all men and that means a great deal in a world as stressful as ours is to-day.

RUDOLF ROCKER.

(Translated from the German by Holley Cantine.)

Maximoff's journalistic activity was not confined to writing books, but he was also an able speaker. Rocker lists six anarchist papers in which he was editor or part editor or contributor. As these are not mentioned, we have omitted them, regretting the reasons of space, together with books or pamphlets also in which his works appeared in English.

His works appeared in English, "Promises and Reality," 1935, a pamphlet; and his study of Bolshevism, "The Guillotine at Work: Terror in Russia," pp. 634, 1940.—Eds.]

THROUGH THE PRESS

HER...

Wood Nance, former Army chaplain in Florida, said yesterday ministers of their flocks "it is better to be shot than a dead saint," and invite the rifle ranges to learn how to shoot.

Approved of using bacteria, gas bombs, or any other weapon to kill Communists from dominating the world.

Sunday Chronicle, 6/8/50.

AND PUPIL

Buying daggers, swords, and other weapons by the dozen in the open-air market at Salisbury, Wilts. A mother brought a bayonet and her son had just pushed it into

Same paper, same date.

POLITICIANS

Politics is the art of interference. Its power is power. It has nothing to do with the growing of potatoes, the making of shoes or the selling of automobiles—things men do of their own accord for their mutual benefit. Politics cannot be a single good; it can only take. For its pretensions and self-delusion, the politician can only concern himself with giving of privileges to some (including himself) to the disadvantage of others. He has no other competence. Not only the professional politician is engaged in politics. The professional is but the interested agent of those who try to take care out of the market place than they are back. That is, they seek privileges, and only the politician with his power of interference can provide them. He only in a position to disturb the peace.

Analysis (New York), July, 1950.

F.-M. NOSEY PARKER

Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery, who yesterday visited boys at the Concordia Forestry Camp at Newtimber Hill (Sussex), handed £5 to the warden so he could get to Brighton could be arranged. He suggested at the same time that perhaps one or two of the boys could get their hair cut.

Manchester Guardian, 9/8/50.

Perhaps F.-M. Lord Montgomery should get his long nose trimmed?

NOT A WORD TO WINNIE!

By securing the attendance of the inimitable Mr. (Sam) Costa at their Garden Party in Sharston on Saturday, Wythenshawe (Manchester) Conservatives are considered to have gone a long way towards winning the next election.

Manchester City News.

Won't this upset the No. 1 Tory comic?

UNIVERSITY OF CRIME

Sir Leo Page spoke to a senior prison officer of his anxiety regarding the possible contamination of a prisoner in his early twenties. The reply he got was certainly frank: "I know the he got was said the officer, 'and I should think that at present he is not in the least vicious or depraved. But if he stays here for two years he will go out a hardened recidivist as certainly as night follows day.'"

The Listener, 27/7/50.

AMERICA ON A WAR FOOTING

"The Communists will probably engage in some limited action, but at this point we rather invite it. It will give us some target practice."

—Brig.-Gen. William L. Roberts, Head of the U.S. Military Mission in South Korea. New York Herald Tribune, May 29th, 1950.

New York, 4/8/50.

The outbreak of hostilities now appears like a well-worn plot. Conscious or otherwise.

In just about a month America has leaped into a war economy, war psychology, war production, war hysteria and war idiocy. It all increases every day at an hysterical pace.

The fighting in Korea has been the excuse: Rocketing prices; budget-haggling to stupendous sums; Congress has (1) extended the draft law; (2) then increased the limit on number of soldiers; (3) then lifted all limit. Many ships have been taken out of the mothball fleet, hundreds of thousands of reserves and National Guards have been called up; the set draft quotas have been expanded; Congress is attempting to force on Truman controls of prices and wages he supposedly "does not want"—now.

The word "now" has become a sort of magic word. (A friend of mine makes his predictions on the basis of what Harry Truman says he is not going to do.) Of course, when he says "not now", you can predict it will be done next week. When he does not bother to add the "now" it only takes a few days.

But by now everything is so well along that no excuses are ever necessary. Because if "our boys are dying..." etc.

The real purpose of this "little war" (and a Korean defeat would probably serve the same purpose even better) is to get us all set for 1954 when the big real war is scheduled to go (Some put it as early as '52).

The war has already assumed the nightmarish quality of a 1984 war. There is already a curious distractedness on the part of a numbed or disinterested public, coupled with periodic hysterical attacks and well-ordered flag waving started from time to time in official circles and going on automatically in some of the lower echelons of our society.

There has been a series of spontaneous sadistic attacks on Communists all over the country. It has assumed proportions indicating a close approach and complete suppression of all anti-government and war forces. Beatings and arrests of "peace" demonstrators and petitioners in a dozen cities and outside factory gates. Outlawing of the C.P. in Birmingham, Alabama, and one or two other towns. Prohibition of the sale of the Daily Worker on Detroit news stands and some other towns. Prohibiting a "Peace" rally in New York City's Union Square: 15 arrested, many injured, 1,000 cops and horsemen present. This by the C.P.'s former darling, Bill O'Dwyer. More spy arrests.

Bills outlawing the C.P. in various ways are now before Congress. Action may

RESISTANCE (New York), Vol. 9, No. 1, June-July, 1950 (obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, 3d.)

The latest RESISTANCE contains a long article "The Dream and the Street", by David Wieck in which he seeks, "to bring focus back for a moment, to where the potential strength of anarchism ultimately lies: people in fraternal solidarity, mutual aid."

Paul Mattick writes on "America and Europe" and Jackson MacLow discussing "Hunger-Art and the Hunger Artists" dwells on the difficulties of the artist in America to-day. There are also letters, reviews, and a note on the late Hippolyte Havel.

"The only thing I am after in this war, is to cheat my way through as best I can, painlessly if possible, without substantial loss and with as much individual enrichment as I can gather. I would not help being an anarchist and could not possibly take seriously any political power or authority whoever they may be. I view myself as a maltreated individual who is being kicked around and exploited by the powers and bureaucracies, and I am merely trying to hold my own against their meanness and brutality with all the cunning and craftiness I can muster." —Gerhard Nebel in his war diary. Aut Ausonscher Erde.

seem to be expected. Plans for the incarceration of "radicals" are ready. America is well on the way to total war. If there hadn't been a 58th parallel they would have had to invent one. MacArthur back from a non-stop flight to Korea, on being asked by a reporter: "Our troops are fighting well, aren't they?" replied: "The troops of all nations fight well." Fierce old cynic!

As news of American defeats keep coming in day after day (official reports list "only" 100 American dead in a month

LETTER FROM AMERICA

of war!) the man in the street, despite the universally optimistic day by day statements of the generals, feels confused, wants "help" from other nations, can't understand how Asiatics can fight so well. The American papers still quote G.I.'s calling Koreans "gooks"; "I must have gotten a hundred gooks, but they still came on." American liberals must not be too alarmed at this. After all, G.I.'s call South and North Koreans "gooks".

Politically, America still has no answer for the peoples of the world crushed by imperialism, capitalism or fascism in its various forms. Its only answer is violence and death. Production of the Hydrogen Bomb is to go into full swing. DuPont is to do it for \$1 (!) excluding, of course, the salaries of its officials. Radio-active dust is the latest terror weapon. Local defence activities have been reactivated. Plans have been presented for the construction of air raid shelters in New York City. Giant rockets are shot off Florida. A new atom test at Bikini is soon scheduled to take place. No-strike pledges are being readied. The Reserves are called for active duty (Congressmen in the Reserves are deferred). Seamen are to be screened. No "Commies" will get

jobs on "war-vital cargoes". Plans are being made for patrols to inspect every ship entering East and West coast harbours for atom bombs. A scientist states A-bombs cannot be detected by Geiger counters, but only by ripping open every crate. And so it goes.

A total defeat in Korea would be the best thing the war sadists could desire. Then there would be an even more com-

Foreign Commentary

Continued from p. 1

Fellow Traveller Quits

armed with knives, tyre irons and lead pipe. And all this because these Negroes had dared to use the same beach facilities for bathing as the white man!

Whites and blacks can die on the same beaches, but bathing together is quite another matter in democratic America.

ANOTHER FELLOW-TRAVELLER QUILTS

SOMEONE recently pointed out that there were more ex-Communists in the world to-day than Communists. And one could add that there must be more ex-fellow-travellers in the world to-day than ex-Communists. But the Communist pundits don't even blush at such deflections. They work on the principle that one "uses" these people when it suits one, and ignores them or blackens them when they no longer toe the line; it's as simple as that.

The latest deflection is no other than Henry Wallace, who has been the Communists' blue-eyed boy for at least two years. He has now sent in his resignation to the Progressive Party, which, it may be recalled, was formed to run him for United States President in 1948. Last month he declared himself on the side of America and the United Nations in the Korean conflict, and in disagreement with the party about Formosa and the atomic bomb. And in a radio address this month, he declared "Russia is clearly the aggressor."

plete and faster mobilisation. A reign of terror could be unleashed against all "Communists". The government could do everything it wanted.

Small note for lovers of science fiction: 1 out of 4 New York City draftees continues to fail to show up for the induction.

Smaller note for lovers: the bombardier who pressed the button releasing the A-bomb on Hiroshima is reported to have entered a monastery in Canada.

J. GALLEGO.

Continued from p. 1

RE-ARMING GERMANY?

It will be interesting to follow Mr. Wallace's career during the coming months. For it is not to be excluded that he will be given some government assignment, since there are no principles in the game of politics. The essential feature in politics is a short memory, and with the aid of an obliging press the public's memory can also be short-lived.

HOW soon the fine phrases of the Allies

can be forgotten is a perfect example of the technique of making people forget what the politicians want them to forget. We were told that never again would Germany be allowed to arm, and that we, the Allies (U.S., France, Britain and Russia) would occupy Germany for fifty years, if necessary, to ensure that Germany were not allowed to plunge the world into another conflict (or words to that effect). Only six years, since these noble words were uttered, we know that the Russians have armed the police in their zone and trained them as a military formation, and now the Americans are doing likewise. The alleged purposes of this measure is to relieve American forces from the duty of guarding American dumps in their zone. A further message from the American zone states that the U.S. Army there has "ordered 21,000 of its German and displaced persons guards to receive small arms training and to live in "barracks".

It's the thin edge of the wedge. LIBERTARIAN.

The Future of South Africa

WITHIN the apparently prosperous body of South Africa, ancient cankers are destroying two vital organs: her people and her soil. Unless a speedy cure is found, the country has no future. The canker of racialism is the more important because it is the more deluding and produces the more immediately alarming surface symptoms. About two and a half million whites maintain a Western standard of life in the midst of eight million black people, the majority of whom live very primitively. All economic development is built up on this vast reservoir of cheap labour.

The gold mining industry is entirely geared to the system of migratory workers. Under it, Africans, contracting for eight months to 13 months of labour, leave their families back in native reserves (tracts set aside exclusively for native occupation). These men (some 300,000 in the Witwatersrand mines) are paid enough for their own immediate needs. Their families are supposed to live off the land meanwhile. But the pressure of population, the rapid deterioration of the soil, primitive agricultural practices, and a long succession of droughts have made this quite impossible. The families for the most part therefore exist in great poverty.

Income directly derived from the natives is spent on them, but this is quite inadequate. Any additional expenditure on them is grudgingly withheld. The results include widespread illiteracy; shocking ill-health and malnutrition; shocking soil erosion; appalling overcrowding in the towns; rapid increase of crime; and, inevitably, a constant growth of mistrust and fear between white and black.

IT is increasingly in the interests of developing industries that a settled reservoir of skilled and semi-skilled workers develop. But the traditional policy of white South Africa is to oppose the attainment of industrial skills by the African, lest the white man's position be threatened. Any skill acquired is consequently not reflected in the native's wages or living conditions, or in the positions he may occupy. Nevertheless, an increasing number of Africans are becoming illiterate—some very highly educated. Consciousness of disabilities and potentialities is growing. The native has heard democratic ideals professed and seen not only progress in Africa to the north, but the emancipation

of Asiatic countries from white domination. Such recent world events have profoundly affected him.

The change of government nearly two years ago has greatly accelerated this self-awareness. The former Smuts regime was easy-going—determined, it is true, to maintain white supremacy, but by European immigration rather than an ultra-repressive native policy. The newer Malan rule, narrowly nationalistic, fears large-scale immigration, which might introduce too strong a liberal influence into race attitudes. It is committed to its repressive "apartheid" policy. The result is that Africans, forgetting traditional feuds, are beginning to see the white man as their common oppressor. They draw together.

The government leaders try to read sinister Communistic influences into every manifestation of native unrest. They see "Communism" in sporadic outbreaks of violence, in African speeches, in native resolutions of non-cooperation, in election by the natives of a Communist to represent them in Parliament (where the entire native population has only three white representatives).

NOTHING could be more misleading than shouts of Communism. True, many of the conditions for Communism exist: Domination by a small colour

aristocracy; limited political representation; social and economic restriction and frustration; extreme poverty beside wealth; and constant reminders of permanent and total black "inferiority". But most observers agree that it is not Communism, but nationalism, that is showing itself, and African leaders bear this out.

Dr. Moroka, new President of the African Congress, for example, puts the native view in this conciliatory way: "There can be no shadow of doubt, even to the most sceptical European, that there is a rising and irresistible upsurge of African nationalism. He beats the air who tries to halt the march or hamper those who stir it anywhere. But one thing must be perfectly clear, and that is the ardent wish of the natives to live in peace and harmony with the white section of the population of this country. On our side we will bend every nerve towards the attainment of that order of things which promotes peace and harmony. But in this venture we will not play the rôle of the inferior. There will be peace and harmony when side by side with the Europeans and on terms of equality, fraternity and liberty, the native contributes his share to the progress of the country."

In the words of an old African chief, "there is no more any dark corner in the world." A solution of this black-white question is therefore of the greatest importance to-day.

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★
27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL

Letters

THIS year's Summer School was held in London at the Trade Union Club, over the August Bank Holiday week-end. It was attended by comrades from all over the country: from Glasgow, Liverpool, Colne, Newcastle, Gosport, Crews, the Isle of Man, York, Bradford, Birmingham, and many other places as well, of course as London.

The lectures had been planned to cover as wide a field as possible while dealing with the important issues of to-day, and the series began with an examination of various aspects of anarchism, continued with lectures on agriculture, delinquency and war-resistance, and closed with a survey of the position of anarchist ideas and influence in the world of 1950.

JOHN HEWETSON spoke first on "Aspects of Anarchism". Dealing with the intransigent and uncompromising nature of anarchist ideas, he said that whereas reformist bodies would alter conceptions to suit the circumstances, Anarchists wanted to alter circumstances to fit their conception of life. It would, he said, be futile to attempt to attract people to anarchism by "watering our wine"—we might build a mass movement, but it would not be an anarchist movement. We are not living, in this country, in a revolutionary period, and the situation to-day calls for retrenchment, where the revolutionary quality of individuality in the movement is of special importance. It was a similar position as that in which Malatesta found himself when the revolutionary wave in Italy after World War I died down and he was faced with building and consolidating the movement in a time of apathy and disillusion.

Dealing with our attitude to reformist activity, John Hewetson pointed out how anarchist ideas were behind advances in many fields of thought, such as Penal Reform, Progressive Education and Sex Education, and how the UNESCO scientists (whose report is dealt with elsewhere in this issue) were confirming with scientific evidence attitudes which Anarchists had intuitively held for years.

He concluded by saying that it falls to Anarchists to supply the dynamic for social change and destruction of the capitalist ideology.

SAM FANAROFF, speaking on "Agriculture, Industry and the Commune", commenced by pointing out how work is a biological necessity—that agriculture satisfies our basic needs and industry our cultivated needs, and what we have to fight is the regimentation and dehumanisation in much of modern industry, and what we have to find is ways of decentralising our forms of production into more congenial ways of living.

Having lived in Palestine communities, Sam Fanaroff was able to say how we could learn much from them on the functional level. In many communities no money was used, there were no officials and jobs were rotated, engineers and landworkers switching jobs as the occasion demands. This made for flexibility, functional efficiency of the community as a whole, and elimination of boredom with one particular job.

The division of hand from brain in modern industry makes work automatic and habit-forming. Factory girls have to escape their monotony through fantasy, and the knocking-off whistle becomes the

most important event of the day. Claiming that education should teach self-sustenance, Sam asserted the need for the integration of the human being so that all our functions and needs find satisfaction in a balanced way of life.

ALEX COMFORT began his lecture on "Delinquency" by saying that psychologists are not interested in crime, which is simply the breaking of the law, but in delinquency, which is the result of the anti-social impulses of a deranged mind.

Psychiatrists have been shocked to find that the psychological make-up of "bucket-shop" company promoters and the leaders of political parties are very similar. It is a form of delinquency to desire to dominate others, and so it is largely a matter of chance and opportunity whether the delinquent ends up in prison or the Cabinet!

Quoting Stott's *Delinquency and Human Nature*, giving the case histories of over 100 boys in a remand home, Alex Comfort showed that religion and discipline—the lack of which magistrates claim to cause delinquency—whether present or absent in a home, play no significant part in developing or preventing delinquency. It is emotional pressure on a child which produces the sense of inferiority, the need for attention, or the desire to get away from home which result in delinquency—and this can happen in homes in all classes.

Agreeing that it is useless to 'cure' delinquents only to send them back to a neurotic society, Alex Comfort said we could base our idea of revolution on psychiatry, and only in a balanced society can we hope for balanced individuals—those who realise all their potentialities without impinging on anyone else's.

JIMMY RAESIDE'S lecture was on "Anarchism and Resistance to War". Showing the futility of war, he said that in 1936 the Germans had conscription, ration and identity cards, and we had not. Now, the Germans were no longer conscripted, but we were, and we had ration books and identity cards. We were more totalitarian after a war to prevent it than before.

In the coming war, it will be no mean achievement to keep alive—and this, for each one of us, remains the most important consideration. And if, in ensuring our survival, we have to use not merely courage and observance but shrewdness and cunning, then let us not hesitate to use them. If we take the ordinary course of conscientious objection, we are accepting the right of the State to judge us. Although it does good to set an example by resisting by going to prison, it is even better both for ourselves and as propaganda to evade not only service but also the punishment by which the State tries to coerce us.

Do not set up a code of behaviour, said Jimmy Raeside, which you cannot keep in all circumstances. Resist war by all means—as the situation demands.

ALBERT MELTZER, beginning his lecture on "Anarchism and the World Picture", had to admit that Anarchism, as a force, hardly appeared on the world scene. Discounting the "realistic" policies of the moment and the theories that "Great Men" make history, he traced the effects of the small revolutions, and showed how Anarchism only had significance in relation to the measure of revolutionary and libertarian attitudes among the people themselves.

Anarchists, he said, must encourage the urge towards de-centralisation which shows itself whenever the people take action on their own behalf, and we should press on to their natural conclusions the social reforms which for us are only stepping-stones on the way. Anarchists must reject the rights of the State—even down to registering our changes of address.

Referring to the world's Syndicalist movements, Albert Meltzer deplored their attitude towards Anarchism, which was treated like a poor relation, to be kept in the background as much as possible. At a time when words like Freedom, Democracy, Communism and Socialism were losing their meaning, Anarchism remained a word which still meant the same as ever and the Anarchist movement

Czech Youth Directed to Mines
For the current five-year plan in Czechoslovakia, a decree has been approved directing the bulk of juvenile labour into the heavy industries. Only 18.4 per cent. of boys and girls of school-leaving age will receive further education. Forty-one per cent. will be directed into heavy industries like mining and engineering, and the rest will go to other industries. More housewives will be asked to go into light industries.

the only realistic influence on social thought.

ON Sunday afternoon, an open-air meeting was held in Hyde Park, where Eddie Shaw and Jimmy Raeside showed the rest of us what could be done in the way of public speaking, to a very large and interested crowd. In the evening, a social was held with a Dixieland-style jazz band (and singing by George Melly) providing the entertainment.

The discussion following all the lectures was stimulating and lively. Once again our Summer School proved itself an admirable medium for the circulation of new ideas and re-discussion of old ones, and when the week-end concluded with a vote of thanks for the organisers, everyone thought that a valuable contribution had been made to the progress of the movement.

WAR COMMENTARY AND FREEDOM FILES

The demand for the files of our paper, which we recently offered to our readers at a nominal price, has surpassed expectations, and we were unable to complete the task of making up the files by the end of last month as we had hoped. We had also underestimated what a job it was to make up 100 files; that is, of sorting out over 20,000 papers!

However, the work is completed. Comrades who arranged to collect their files can now do so at any time, from the Freedom Bookshop, and the dispatching by post to the others has started, and should be completed by next week.

American comrades and other readers abroad have until August 31st to send us their orders. Do so now, and avoid possible disappointment, as of the 100 files, over 70 have already been ordered.

FREEDOM PRESS.

"MANKIND IS ONE"

FROM PAGE ONE

extolled for their courage and their sense of responsibility which men of science owe to their fellows in the promotion of social progress and the dispelling of the results of error and ignorance. Our final quotation requires no comment:

"The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished. For all practical social purposes, 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth of 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused untold suffering. It still prevents the normal development of millions of human beings and deprives civilisation of the effective co-operation of productive minds. The biological differences between ethnic groups should be disregarded from the standpoint of social acceptance and social action. The unity of mankind from both the biological and social viewpoints is the main thing. To recognise this and to act accordingly is the first requirement of modern man. It is but to recognise what a great biologist wrote in 1875: 'As man advances in civilisation, and small tribes are united into larger, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point being once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races.' These are the words of Charles Darwin in *The Descent of Man* (2nd ed., 1875, pp. 178-188). And, indeed, the whole of human history shows that a co-operative spirit is not only natural to men, but more deeply rooted than self-seeking tendencies. If this were not so we should not see the growth of integration and organisation of his communities which the centuries and the millennia plainly exhibit."

IS WAR INEVITABLE?

The article thus entitled (*Freedom*, August 5th) is a masterly analysis of the world situation—but as is usual with all anarchist expositions, it peters out into nothing but incoherent mutterings about "revolution". What is the sense of inveighing against governments without uttering a word against the instrument by which all governments suppress the individual: credit?

Quite contrary to the statement in the concluding paragraph of the article, the "great French revolution" did weaken the French people, and, moreover, enthroned a corrupt bureaucracy exactly as did the Russian and German revolutions, and exactly as violence has always done. Which is why the Russian anarchists were eaten alive by the Bolsheviks. It is merely absurd to pretend to hold a creed that seeks the freedom of the individual and to expect to attain it by the violence and aggression of one section of society

Sex Behaviour Today

DEAR SIR,

I was very interested in J.H.'s criticisms of *Sexual Behaviour in Society*. Most of our differences are on straightforward points of opinion, but I would like if I may to correct a few inaccuracies: "wild love" (not "wild life") is Iwan Bloch's phrase, which he will find explained on the same page. I cited Mace and Mackenzie to disagree with them, and neither is recommended in the bibliography. Chesser is cited for a good exposition of the physical side of sex hygiene, and Unwin because, although (as another reviewer has pointed out) very few anthropologists now take him very seriously, his work is of "general interest" to anyone trying to assess the evidence. It is not the practice in scientific papers to cite only the experimental evidence in favour of a hypothesis. Neill, indeed, might well have been included as a viewpoint: Reich, I think, should be viewed against the background of his recent discoveries of spontaneous generation, perpetual motion, and new forms of energy, a subject on which I preferred not to embark.

The actual figures for contraceptive efficiency which I had in mind were on the low side—since writing, I have seen Fanning's report to the Royal Commission on Population which gives a conception rate of 9 per 100 years exposure in users, as to 41 in non-users, or approximately a 4/5 reduction. This could no doubt be bettered by better instruction and new methods: and, as I said, no doubt it will be—in this case, the arguments against early sexual intercourse may be expected to lose their force, and if and when it can be divorced from guilt and from unwanted conception I think it may well be beneficial. I thought I had made it clear that any or all of my suggestions can at any time be modified by advances in contraceptive technique.

It seems to me far-fetched to suggest that the risks of soap-and-water abortion are arguments of my own prudery—in any case, since the mortality from regular surgery is almost nil, these methods would be needless if medical termination of pregnancy were not prohibited by law. I thought I made my opinion of this prohibition, and of most other prohibitions, fairly clear.

I offer no apology for my continued fanaticism over the need for a stable environment for the child in any society which hopes to produce the type of conditions envisaged by libertarians. We have here a means of cutting off at its source the supply of future Hitler and misfits, and I think the evidence supports me in saying that while "fidelity" in a strictly physical sense has no social importance, stability, in the sense of one father and one mother per child throughout development, is of paramount importance to the type of society we want.

ALEX COMFORT.

J.H. writes:

"It is unfortunate that "wild life" was given for "wild love"—an uncorrected printer's error. The term is, however, not rendered more meaningful by reiterating that it is Bloch's, especially since Bloch's chapter on "wild love" (pp. 281 to 302 in his *Sexual Life of Our Time*, English translation, 1908) is itself incoherent because Bloch is rationalizing his own disapproval of the lighter kind of sexual relationship, and by no means confines his disparaging term to those in which the interests of one partner are disregarded or willfully hurt by the other. It is because Comfort—who has not the excuse of writing in the Edwardian epoch—is equally unprecise, and therefore unwittingly aids sexual obscurantism, that it seems to me important to take up what might otherwise seem a trifling matter. As to the Fanning Report (evidence collected for the use of the Royal Commission on Population), this seems to me irrelevant. It was designed to find out what methods of contraception are at present in general use, and far they bear on the birth rate, it relates to all methods whether expert or not, whether employed with expert advice or with ignorance and injustice. If one shows, as Comfort does, that the sexual wilderness of the 1950s has a bearing on social responsibility, and therefore believes that the urges of adolescents must be given opening, any advice offered in an individual case would presumably be given on efficient contraception, in connection with Lewis Fanning's report to the purpose.

That soap and water abortions are without risk is obvious; but it is true that the number of abortions are done every day by this method, and girls and women in private life have no idea of the consequences. Only the unfavourable results of the medical profession or the coroner's direct attention only to these, and the problem out of perspective, exaggerate the dangers—and Alex Comfort does this—add to the miseries and anxieties of the very serious and widespread individual problem of an unwanted baby. Since it does not seem that anxiety in fact deters women from abortion, any more than the abortion legal position does, the net result simply to increase the already enormous volume of worry which impedes rational sexual fulfilment.

In conclusion, I think it important to remember that one censures one's friends very much more sharply than those who are in less general agreement. It is because Comfort's work is valuable, that those who are best able to appreciate its value, are also most sensitive to what seem to them flaws. Nor should one underestimate the significance of bringing such matters into the light of public discussion—that they are discussed at all is probably much more important for the future than the details of what is said.

against another which always has resulted and always must result in the annihilation of liberty. It is always the exploiting scum which rises to the top in such class-war confusions.

The freedom of the individual in this economic era rests in his economic status—his freedom from duress to ration books, identity cards, army call-ups, tax demand notices and all the rest of the low devices imposed by the rule of debt.

Wars are arranged in order to perpetrate international DEBT. Without wars the debt system could not survive ten years, and without wars the debt mongers could not make mankind gasping at the disgusting indignities heaped upon us by its Cabinet Ministers.

And we can only abolish the debt system by a concerted demand that the credit of the people be distributed to them instead of being chucked up against them as a debt. It is what the people make and do which is now the collar security of all the money voted in Parliament to create the ever-increasing National Debt. This is in sharp contrast already the property of the people, and all agree to pay interest on it, and were not our own money. Anarchy will always fall a victim to the greed until the credit of the people is given to the individuals in the nation, and can be no freedom while the people are

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