

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

## TUC DISCOVERS THE H-BOMB

IT is twelve years since the atomic bombs fell upon the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the years that have followed the world has gradually learned the nature of the thing that the scientists have produced. During that twelve years the glorious alliance that won the war has crumbled, as friendships based only on common hatreds inevitably will, and the mushroom cloud now overshadows the whole of mankind.

The A-Bomb was a filthy weapon from the start. It was dropped upon a people ignorant of its very existence more as an experiment than as a military necessity, for the Japanese Government had already sued for peace before the bomb was used. Having been made, however, its effects had to be known, and the people of those two teeming cities were chosen for the slaughter, the maiming, the deformities.

### TUC Hears the Bang

These were the first real atomic bomb tests, and we cannot remember the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party or any section of the official Labour Movement of this country raising a whimper of protest against them. They were too concerned at the time with supporting the war to have any thought of criticism for the means by which it was fought—by our side.

The dozen years since Hiroshima have seen such development of nuclear weapons that those which dropped in 1945 are now hopelessly

obsolete, superseded, practically conventional. The Hydrogen Bomb, 1957 model, has an explosive power one thousand times that of the puny A-Bombs which did for 100,000 people apiece in the Japanese cities. They make such a bang that even the Trade Union Congress has heard it. And even the Trade Union Congress has heard of the genetic effects of strontium fall-out.

Last week at Blackpool, one thousand representatives of eight-and-a-quarter million organised British workers 'unanimously and with a great shout' passed a composite motion calling for both the abolition of tests and the banning of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

The motion pointed out the known dangers to health that arose from the test, and urged the General Council to press the Government for a more complete inquiry of the hazards arising from the use of radioactive materials in weapons and in industrial developments.

### Why Now?

The generous- (if not simple-minded) reader of these glad tidings last week no doubt thought that here was A Good Thing. At last the most powerful organisation in the country was giving a moral lead—such has been looked for in vain from the Churches for years—which surely the Government could not afford to ignore.

What such people will not stop to ask themselves—will not consider relevant—is the question: *Why has*

*the TUC decided now to carry resolutions about the H-Bomb? Why not last year or the year before? Why no protest about the A-Bomb in 1945—or the petrol bomb in 1950?*

The reason, as we see it, is that the Trade Union Congress identifies itself with the British State, and the allies thereof. While our ally, America, was the sole owner of the Atom or Hydrogen bomb; while Britain herself was runner-up and had still to establish herself as a nuclear-weapon power, then tests should not be halted.

While Russia was behind the West in the ultimate weapon race, there was no point in stopping. Nobody ever wants to drop out of a race, or even call it off, when they are winning. But when Russia began to catch up and pass us—and especially now that with the ICBM she is ahead by two years of America (five years ahead of Britain)—now is the time to call halt and get the whole crazy business stopped. Some people, when they look like losing a game, think it's a silly old game anyway.

### A Change of View

Could this be the reason behind Mr. Bob Edwards' support for the resolution, for example? Mr. Edwards is a Member of Parliament and the secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union, and his support for the motion revolved around the waste of resources represented by the arms race. He said that expenditure on defence in Britain was now

running at £1,500 millions a year or 12s. a week for every man, woman, and child in the country. The cost of N.A.T.O. defence was in the region of £1 million an hour, and Soviet Russia was probably spending at least half that amount. "When we visualise this mountain of wealth and we think what could be done with it—the deserts that could be made into fertile plains . . . if we could only stop this suicidal madness man could live a colourful and a carefree life and even the dreams of the Utopians could be surpassed."

Noble words, indeed, but it is not many years since Mr. Edwards was speaking on the platforms of an organisation called 'Common Cause' together with people of more suspect politics than himself whose only common cause was a bitter anti-communism—usually from a rightist point of view. That was the time when the leaders of the Trade Union movement would not hear of any resolutions demanding the banning of nuclear weapons because that would be playing the Commies' game. And 'Common Cause' barely stopped short of calling for a holy crusade against Russia—atom bombs and all.

But Mr. Edwards—like the TUC—has now changed his mind. And since we do not believe that they are moved by principle we look for the other reason. We find it in Russia's ownership of the 'ultimate deterrent'. It is the only convincing reason to explain why, after twelve years of acceptance of nuclear weapons and a condoning of the lunacy behind them, the TUC suddenly asks for a ban upon them.

And how convenient that the passing of the resolution coincides with the collapse of the disarmament conference in London!

### Crawling to the Government

It is worth noting, in passing, the nature of the resolution. It was an appeal to the Government please to stop making bombs and testing them and please to enquire into the hazards arising . . . etc. Why does the TUC crawl to a Government in these terms? 'With a great shout' the delegates unanimously agreed on this issue. Then why don't they give a great shout and call out the workers in factories making parts for atomic weapons? Why not call out those scientific workers who are in unions—but go on doing as they are told?

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## Reactions to that Report

ELSEWHERE in this issue a contributor comments on the findings and conclusions contained in the Wolfenden Report.

Some sections of the Press have treated the subject in as reasonable a manner as can be expected. Others give the appearance of being soberly opposed to the committee's recommendations, and we can expect the frankly hysterical reactions to manifest themselves while the matter is still "hot" news.

Into the holy and outraged category falls the *Evening Standard* which opened its columns to the Rev. C. O. Rhodes (Editor of the *Church of England Newspaper*) who writes that the report is the most "sane, sober and scientific treatment of vice" he has ever seen.

He also makes the following astonishing speculation on the laws relating to marriage and sexual morality:—

"I sometimes wonder what would happen if all legislation relating to marriage and sexual morality were abolished with one stroke of the pen and human nature were left to find its own way, without the attentions of the police and the courts. I warrant that, after a brief period of confusion, society would settle down into an ordered way of life which would be an improvement in many respects on our present system."

In the same issue of the *Evening Standard* the editorial comment makes the usual miserly observation on the cost to the taxpayer of the committee which amounts to £8,000. The *Evening Standard* does not only disagree with the Rev. Rhodes but states categorically that when it "comes to homosexuality his opinions are wrong" This on two accounts; that homosexuals are bad security risks—they cite Burgess and Maclean as proof of this—and the moral implications of the licensed homosexuality which the report would condone. 'On no account must the Wolfenden recommendations on homosexuality ever be implemented. They are bad, retrograde, and utterly to be condemned', the Editor wrote. The emotionally charged condemnation on "this form of depravity" even between consenting males in the privacy of their homes is something which will be difficult to combat by rational persuasion.

We wonder if Russian homosexuals are regarded by their government as security risks, and whether the *Evening Standard* would be in favour of the British Government recruiting these "depraved" characters on the side of democracy?

## The End of Another Conference

### Agreement on Disarmament-To Differ

DIPLOMACY amongst nations, and indeed political exchanges in general, are always notable for their dreary and ritualistic monotony, and it is therefore hardly surprising that the results are also monotonous in their fruitless similarity.

The disarmament conference which has been taking place in London over the last six months is no exception. Complete failure is its achievement, as with all conferences on this seemingly vexed question. The blame may reasonably be placed equally amongst all concerned, for, despite the inevitable displays of "reasoned partisanship" which will now stem from supporters of both East and West, the blatant truth remains that there was never any prospect of agreement, since neither side had the intention to succeed from the start.

Although this may appear to some to be a sweeping summary by a hardened cynic, the proof lies in the record of the present conference and of all the conferences which have preceded it. There is a formula. Each side in turn outlines its own proposals, which for example we will take to be largely at variance—there is discussion, during which the measure of disagreement either remains in its entirety or is lessened by, say, half. At this point, alarmed at the prospect of agreement, one side or the other digs in its heels on a point which will never be agreed. This is the measure of diplomacy—to create the impression of willingness to continue but for the determination of the other side to create deadlock, to give the appearance of being peace-loving and

constructive against the war-mongering obstinacy of the enemy.

Mr. Zorin in his summing up of the disarmament talks made an impassioned attack upon the whole Western position; he adopted the argument that the West had ruined the whole thing by its refusal to accept the Soviet proposal of an immediate and unconditional cessation of nuclear tests, he stated that this, in addition to the West's proposals for a stage-by-stage plan for disarmament (which were merely a device for avoiding the stopping of tests), placed all responsibility for the failure of the conference on the West. The entire Soviet position was in fact extremely sound, and any partial agreement which had at times been reached was due only because of the concessions which the Soviet had made to the West.

Undoubtedly Mr. Zorin's *tour de force* will have a considerable effect upon the gallery to which he has been playing—United Nations opinion. Many of the uncommitted nations will take the view that the Soviet Union's strenuous efforts towards world peace have been sabotaged by the West.

At this stage of the affair, the West would appear to have lost diplomatic points. The Western position is that the principal danger to mankind is not the testing of nuclear weapons, but the nuclear arms race itself (a distinctly American-sounding argument), and that the best remedy is a "cut-off" of nuclear arms production. If tests were stopped without agreement for a "cut-off", it would simply allow the present "nuclear Powers" to continue their arms race and prevent

other Powers from catching up. Therefore the cut-off becomes inseparable from a ban on tests and a general overall plan must be agreed before any action is taken.

To the uncommitted nations this argument will appear highly evasive in the face of the "direct" proposal made by the Soviet Union. Conditional and dependent proposals always have an aroma of equivocation about them.

In the rough parlance of the realist, the whole situation has the accustomed smell of hypocrisy without so much as a hint of a good intention.

We are informed, in effect, that both sides are anxious to disarm, to stop the arms race, to cease dangerous nuclear tests, and make the world generally a safer place to live in. The ends are therefore agreed: can it be the means which are in question? Not even that, it is the order in which the means should take place. The East wants a ban and then a cut-off—it says. The West wants a cut-off and then a ban—it says. Both proposals are expressed in such terms and by such arguments as to make them mutually exclusive. A convenient deadlock which suggests that the result is precisely as expected . . . an agreement to differ.

When the great Powers want to disarm, and not until them, for no disarmament plan is enforceable, they will disarm. Meanwhile, conferences at any level remain what they have always been, dreary rituals for public consumption, diplomatic displays for the sake of appearances, an opportunity to put the blame on the other side and a chance to score a point of propaganda—to be continued.

## A Dull Conference

ACCORDING to all reports, this year's TUC was a dull Congress. The liveliest moment was the spontaneous outburst of anger which interrupted and swept from the platform a Communist, L. McGree, of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, after he had said that 'the Soviet Union was correct in responding to the appeal of the Hungarian Government to suppress the revolt in Budapest.'

Apart from that, however, a staid gathering worked its stolid way through its agenda without incident. With surprisingly little argument the TUC reversed its traditional attitude on pensions from support of a fixed, equal contribution bringing a fixed, equal pension for all, to acceptance of the Labour Party's new policy of payment and pension according to income. One more nail in the coffin of equality, and a blow for the perpetuation of wage differentials.

Sir Tom O'Brien made a protest about apartheid in South Africa. We wonder if this good Catholic is being moved to speak against the Nationalist Government now that apartheid is reaching the churches?

On nationalisation, the TUC took the first step towards backing away from outright take-over and lining up behind the Labour Party's new 'take over bid'. The TUC accept Labour's policy but 'only as an adjunct' to a full nationalisation programme, after a rambling and sometimes confused discussion which said almost everything except what was in the back of the minds of everyone present—that nationalisation has failed and that the only alternative the Labour movement can dream up is playing with stocks and shares.

The record of post-war Trade Union Congresses is not a very inspiring one. This year's performance was drearier than most.

# ERICH FROMM ON THE HUMAN CONDITION

Several of the speakers at the recent Anarchist Summer School, which had as its theme 'Blueprints for Sanity', referred to the recent book *The Sane Society* by the psycho-analyst Erich Fromm. This book is a continuation of the same author's *The Fear of Freedom* and *Man For Himself*, and it concluded with a declaration of faith in what Fromm calls 'Humanistic Communitarian Socialism', as an

alternative to "robotism of both the capitalist and communist variety".

As an interlude between the several papers read at the summer school which we are publishing currently, we reprint below some extracts from an article by Erich Fromm which appeared in *Perspectives (U.S.A.)* No. 16, in which he summarises the conclusions of his book.

MAN'S character has been moulded by the demands of the world he has built with his own hands. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, man's character orientation was essentially exploitive and hoarding. His course through life was determined by the desire to exploit others and to save his earnings to make further profit from them. In the twentieth century man's character orientation is essentially a receptive and a marketing one. He is receptive in most of his leisure time. He is the eternal consumer; he 'takes in' drink, food, cigarettes, lectures, sights, books, movies—all are consumed, swallowed. The world is one great object for his appetite, a big bottle, a big apple, a big breast. Man has become the suckler, the eternally expectant—and the eternally disappointed one. . . .

What kind of man does our society need in order to function smoothly? It needs men who cooperate smoothly in large groups; who want to consume more and more, and whose tastes are standardized and can be easily influenced and anticipated. It needs men who feel free and independent, who do not feel subject to any authority or principle or conscience, yet are willing to be commanded, to do what is expected, to fit into the social machine without friction—men who can be guided without force, led without leaders, be prompted with-

out any aim except the one to be on the move, to function, to go ahead. Modern capitalism has succeeded in producing this kind of man; he is the automaton, the alienated man.

He is alienated in the sense that his acts and forces have become estranged from him; they stand above and against him, and rule him rather than being ruled by him. His life forces have flowed into things and institutions, and these things, having become idols, are not experienced as the result of his own efforts, but as something apart from him which he worships and to which he submits. Alienated man bows down before the work of his own hands. His idols represent his own life forces in an alienated form. Man does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own forces and riches, but as an impoverished 'thing', dependent on other things—things outside himself, into which he has projected his living substance.

MAN'S social feelings are projected into the state. Just because he has made the state the embodiment of his own social feelings, he worships it and its symbols. He projects his sense of power, wisdom, and courage into his leaders, and he worships them as his idols. As a worker, clerk or manager, modern man is alienated from his work. The worker has become an economic atom that dances to the tune of automatized management. He has no part in planning the work process, in its outcome. He is hardly ever in touch with the whole product. The manager, on the other hand, is in touch with the whole product, but he is alienated from it as something concrete and useful. His aim is to employ profitably the capital invested by others; the commodity is the abstractified embodiment of capital, not something which, as a concrete entity, matters to him. The manager has become a bureaucrat who handles things,

figures, and human beings as mere objects of his activity. Their manipulation is considered to be a concern with human relations, when actually one deals with the most inhuman relations—those between abstractified automatons.

Our consumption is equally alienated. It is determined by the advertising slogans, rather than by our palates, eyes, or ears. . . .

In spite of increased production and comfort, man loses more and more the sense of self, feels that his life is meaningless, even though such feeling is largely unconscious. In the nineteenth century the problem was that *God is dead*; in the twentieth century the problem is that *man is dead*. . . . The danger of the past was that men became slaves. The danger of the future is that men may become robots. True, robots do not rebel. But given man's nature, robots cannot live and remain sane. They become 'golems'; they will destroy their world and themselves because they can no longer stand the boredom of a meaningless life.

WHAT is the alternative to war and robotism? Most fundamentally, perhaps, the answer could be given by reversing Emerson's phrase: 'Things are in the saddle and ride mankind,' and saying: 'Put mankind in the saddle so that it rides things.' This is another way of saying that man must overcome the alienation which makes him an impotent and irrational worshipper of idols. This means, if we remain in the psychological sphere, that he must overcome the marketing and receptive orientation which dominates him now, and emerge into the mature, productive orientation. He must acquire again a sense of self, he must be capable of loving, and of making his work a meaningful and concrete activity. He must emerge from a materialistic orientation and arrive at a level where spiritual

values, love, truth, and justice, truly become of ultimate concern to him. But any attempt to change only one section of life, the human or spiritual one, will fail. In fact, progress occurring only in one sphere is destructive of progress in all spheres. The gospel concerned only with spiritual salvation led to the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church; the French Revolution, with its exclusive concern with political reform, led to Robespierre and Napoleon; socialism, insofar as it was only concerned with economic change, led to Stalinism.

Applying this principle of simultaneous change to all spheres of life, we must think of those economic and political changes which are necessary in order to overcome the psychological fact of alienation. We must retain the industrial method. But we must decentralise work and the state so as to give them *human* proportions, and permit centralisation only to an optimal point which is necessary because of the requirements of industry. In the economic sphere we need co-management of all who work in an enterprise to permit their active and responsible participation. The new forms for such participation can be found. In the political sphere, we must return to the town meeting by creating thousands of small face-to-face groups which are well-informed, which discuss, and whose decisions are integrated in a new 'lower house' . . .

MAN can protect himself from the consequences of his own madness only by creating a sane society which conforms with the needs of man, needs which are rooted in the very conditions of his existence: a society in which man relates to man lovingly, in which he is rooted in bonds of brotherliness and solidarity, rather than in the ties of blood and soil; a society which gives him the possibility of transcending nature by creating rather than by destroying;

one in which everyone gains a sense of self by experiencing himself as the subject of his powers rather than by conformity; one in which a system of orientation and devotion exists without man's needing to distort reality and to worship idols.

Building such a society means taking the next step; it means the end of 'humanoid' history, the phase in which man has not become fully human. It does not mean the 'end of days', the 'completion', the state of perfect harmony in which no conflicts or problems confront man. On the contrary, it is man's fate that his existence is beset by contradictions which he is impelled to solve without ever solving them. When he has overcome the primitive state of human sacrifice, be it in the ritualistic form of the Aztecs or in the secular form of war; when he has been able to regulate his relationship with nature reasonably instead of blindly; when things have truly become his servants rather than his idols—he will be confronted with the truly human conflicts and problems. He will have to be adventuresome, courageous, imaginative, capable of suffering and of joy, but his powers will be in the service of life, and not in the service of death. The new phase of human history, if it comes to pass, will be a beginning, not an end.

ERICH FROMM.

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## BOOK REVIEW

### The Case of Comrade Djilas

*THE NEW CLASS*, M. Djilas, Thames and Hudson. 21s.

THIS book is the latest addition to the growing literature on Communism. Its author—like so many others—has changed his views on the subject.

#### STAGE ONE

He began his political career as an orthodox Stalinist and was in charge of the Agitation and Propaganda department of the Yugoslav CP from 1938 to January 1954. In this capacity he became notorious for his fulsome flattery of Stalin and Tito, and for his advocacy of the entire Soviet way of life. Nor did he only wield the pen to further the Communist cause. As political commissar in his native Montenegro he supervised large-scale liquidations of peasants. These massacres caused such a revulsion that the partisan movement lost most of its appeal, and even Tito found it advisable to recall him to his wartime headquarters. Needless to say, his position in the politbureau did not suffer and he remained one of Tito's closest aides.

#### STAGE TWO

DJILAS'S Communism received its first jolt when Stalin quarrelled with Tito. This dispute was basically a conflict over who should hold power in Belgrade. The ideological justification which Tito and his colleagues constructed for their struggle came much later. It proved a very dreary exegesis of Marx and Lenin, interspersed with attacks on Stalin's home- and foreign- policy. Djilas, as head of Tito's propaganda, was its chief exponent. According to him, Yugoslavia was the only socialist State in the world, its leaders had discovered new economic

laws, established new forms of industrial relations on a socialist basis, etc.

By 1953 Djilas had reached a position which scarcely differed from that of many other Marxists in the West, who were disillusioned in Stalin's Russia but were unable to realize or acknowledge the extent of authoritarian thinkers and politicians like Marx and Lenin were responsible for the highly hierarchical form of party organization and the establishment of the first modern totalitarian State. Nor does it appear from the *New Class* that Djilas has been able to shake off completely his Marxist-Leninist past if the following quotations are any guide. "Lenin . . . contemplated and tried to establish such a stateless society . . . Like Khrushchev, Tito is a representative of the people, that is, of the middle-party strata".

#### STAGE THREE

AT the end of 1953 Djilas had the good fortune of receiving 99.8% of the votes in his constituency and of being unanimously elected president of Tito's parliament. He had the misfortune of publishing a series of articles, some of which were later found to contain "deviationist tendencies". What really aroused the fury of his colleagues, jockeying into positions around Tito, was a scarcely-veiled attack on their luxurious way of life and on their wives whom he accused of not being in a position to boast about their virginity before marriage!

The party apparatus retaliated to this appalling breach of confidence by depriving him of all his posts in the State and Party machine, and by forcing him to make an abject confession.

The next few years gave Djilas suffi-

cient leisure to examine from a different angle the workings of the Communist machine and to draw certain conclusions. These provide the subject-matter of his *New Class*.

His analysis of the Communist system is largely an attack on the Stalinist and post-Stalinist rulers who are accused of imposing the most complete despotism history has known, of monopolizing power and the fruits of power on behalf of their own narrow class interests. The effects of this monopoly on the economy, the arts, the peoples of Eastern Europe and the international Communist movement, are discussed and condemned in no uncertain terms.

None of this readable critique of Communism is however original. Nor is it new to those who have studied the Communist phenomenon. It merely confirms or repeats the stock-in-trade arguments used by opponents of the Communist variety of State socialism. The libertarian labour movement has the longest tradition in this field. Thinkers and writers from Proudhon to M. L. Berneri have warned and denounced—at a time when it was less fashionable than in 1957—the prospect of socialist States and later the existence of totalitarian systems run by those who claim their descent from Marx.

Djilas however is not prepared to go that far in denouncing the idols of his past. His conversion to "democratic socialism" is accompanied by statements which indicate the limitations of his criticism of the Communist system. He considers, for example, that the "state by its nature is an organ of unity and harmony in society, and not only a force over it". His knowledge of history leads

him to write that "there were, long ago, communities without states and authorities. They were not social communities, but something in transition between the semi-animal and human forms of social life. . . . With increasingly complex forms of social life, it would be naive to try to prove that the need for the state would disappear in the future".

Such views and certain other contradictions and omissions are due to his Marxist-Leninist training and his past role in the Communist hierarchy. They will not harm the sale of his books. On the contrary. It is boosted by his publishers and the American information services as a "work which will rock the foundations of Communism" and induce other Communist leaders and intellectuals in Eastern Europe to take the same road. This kind of salesmanship is part and parcel of the official Western policy which appeals to members of the Communist ruling class rather than the masses to make changes in the balance of power by transferring their support from one side to the other. Just as the Communist attacks on Djilas are intended to isolate him from his eventual supporters in the Communist ranks.

Under such circumstances, it is the ex-member of the politbureau who counts as the expert on Communism, and not the worker in East Berlin, the school-boy in Budapest, the slave labourer in Vorkuta or the peasant in Montenegro. But then the ordinary people in Eastern Europe do not have to be told what Communism means. They knew it from bitter experience long before Djilas became, what he termed, "increasingly estranged from the reality of contemporary Communism". I.A.

## THE ROOTS OF RACIALISM

AS our train drew out of the dingy frontier station at Cerbère on its 900 kilometre flight through the night to Paris, two Spanish women in the seats facing us crossed themselves and raised the back of their hand to their lips which were silently uttering the magic words which they believed would preserve them from any dangers that might lie ahead. We turned to our very dark young neighbour, a nineteen-year-old Ghanaian student en route for Canada, who only a few minutes before had told us of some of the difficulties he had experienced during his three weeks stay in Spain, where so many people who had refused him lodgings or to serve him with food had declared that "black men are savages and cannibals". He was unruffled by the train moving off; he had no ritual to perform, no Gods to call on to watch over him . . . he just went on reading his *True Romances* magazine!

★

ON the cross-channel steamer from Bologne to Folkestone last Thursday week the "Class" system, which is so rigidly adhered to even when the boat is loaded to capacity, and a thousand second-class passengers are squeezed into the rear half of the ship, while the 300 "Firsts" enjoy the spacious lounges and the padded seats of the other half—last Thursday, the "Class" system was dropped though less than five hundred travellers boarded the ship.

The reason was not far to seek. On that Thursday there was a third class: some hundreds of West Indian immigrants who had arrived on an earlier train from Genoa were in occupation of the rear end of the ship, and British Railways, normally so zealous in extracting the excess fifteen shillings from those who dare to cross the line which divides their ships as obviously as the paint line divides a newly decorated semi-detached house from its shabby neighbour, felt unable to insist that we second class whites be herded with these third class citizens who are British, yes, but BLACK! So for a brief hour and a half (white) mankind was united as one . . . against the black invasion. The "class" line was replaced by a "race" line, an invisible but effective barrier to fraternization. And as the ship tied up at Folkestone the loud-speakers told the "West Indian party" that they should remain on board until the other passengers had disembarked as "special arrangements had been made for your journey to London". It mattered little to British Transport that our train was three parts empty when it left Folkestone. What mattered was to make clear to all, that there are only two classes in Britain . . . except when there are three!

★

LAST month, in the British self-governing (by which is meant that it is governed by the local white settlers and not from Whitehall, a change of masters often for the worse) colony of Southern Rhodesia a white woman was sent to prison for nine months on charges of "unlawfully and voluntarily indulging in illicit intercourse with an African", to which she had pleaded guilty. She told the Court that she had been in Rhodesia for the past eighteen months, and had not realised that intimacy with an African was illegal. She said that the African concerned, one Mutandwa, a lorry-driver who worked on her estate, had a "fine personality" and "a lot of character". The magistrate however could find no mitigating circumstances. He pointed out that she and her African

lover "were in the position of master and servant", that she "must have encouraged him," and that her guilt was therefore of a more serious nature than his. He thought it would be "grossly unfair" if she should receive a less severe punishment than her lover who had previously been given a six months sentence for his part in the "crime".

It should be made quite clear that the crime was not that a love affair had sprung up between a master (mistress, surely?) and servant (after all where would the women's magazines be if bosses stopped marrying their secretaries?), but because one was white the other black, and from the colours alone one can immediately deduce who was master and who servant.

We find it particularly significant that the law was so vindictive towards the white "criminal" in this case. The white man who beats to death his black servant, that is a minor crime since the prestige of the Master Race has not been lowered; indeed, if anything, it has been enhanced since other black servants will know what to expect if they don't do as they are told. The white man who seduces a black woman, that too fits into the culture-pattern which recognises "sexual outlets" as a basic necessity for males—but not for females.\* When however a white woman has a black lover then white supremacy is at stake. This apparent paradox can in fact be quite simply explained. We are living in a world of male values. It is not that the white woman is put on a pedestal by the white man who considers that she is being humiliated when her sisters "give" themselves to a male of the "inferior" classes or races. It is the white man who feels humiliated when a white woman chooses a black man as her lover in preference to him†, and since he makes the laws it is surely not surprising that he should consider as "crimes" those relationships which place him on a par with the black man. That at this stage the Rhodesian Parliament should approve the motion extending the law to include white men having "illicit intercourse" with black women, far from disproving this point of view, actually strengthens it, for, if at the time when the original law was passed there was equality between white men and women, then it would have been obvious to the legislators to make it applicable to white men as well as white women!

★

THERE is a common link between the cross-channel boat incident and the S. Rhodesian trial. Less obvious perhaps is the connection between these and our first paragraph describing the scene in a night train as it slipped out of Cerbère station. Yet each of the three "incidents" has a common factor: prejudice, pride and superstition. All are conditioned reactions so deeply inculcated in many of us for it to be too easily taken for granted that they are biological, hereditary characteristics which "might possibly be eradicated in a thousand years"! But God, racialism, pride and power are as much the products of the human mind as freedom, community, brotherhood and equality.

And in that train compartment was the living proof of our assertion: the Spanish women who invoked their God to protect them on

\*That in S. Rhodesia, Parliament has recently approved a motion to extend the existing law, under which this woman was sentenced, to include European men having "illicit intercourse" with African women, to our minds, will no more prevent European men from having African women than the sanctions of the Catholic Church prevents every self-respecting Latin husband from having mistresses or indulging in regular brothel-crawls.

†Incidentally, we met on our travels a beautiful woman from the French African colony of Guadeloupe who felt equally humiliated that her sisters, with, for political reasons, the approval and encouragement of the French colonial administration, were marrying Frenchmen!

NEARLY ten years ago the editors of this journal sat around one night discussing an article which had appeared in the then still-existing magazine *Horizon*. It was called "The Origin and Nature of Social Life and the Biological Basis of Co-operation", and it was written by an American biologist, M. F. Ashley Montagu, and, starting from a discussion of the existence of social life in single-celled organisms, and of its nature in animals and infants, he drew conclusions which supplemented those of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*. We talked of the possibility of reprinting this article as a pamphlet together with John Hewetson's "Mutual Aid and Social Evolution", and other similar papers. We never, in fact, took the idea any further, for the usual reasons, but through the years which have followed, we have constantly heard of Ashley Montagu's books and articles published in America, and occasionally in this country. It was he, for instance, who wrote the text of the UNESCO "Statement on Race", signed by scientists from many countries, which, concluding that "for all practical purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth", declared:

"Biological studies lend support to the ethic of universal brotherhood; for man is born with drives towards co-operation and unless these drives are satisfied, men and nations alike fall ill. Man is born a social being who can reach his fullest development only through interaction with his fellows. The denial at any point of this social bond between man and man brings with it disintegration."

The three books before me\* are a testimony to the thoroughness with which Dr. Montagu has pursued this theme. The first of these is a recent American reprint of Kropotkin's book (the first new edition in English since the 1938 Penguin edition of 50,000 copies). This new edition is unique in that it includes as an appendix the famous article by Thomas Henry Huxley "The Struggle for Existence in Human Society" (*Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1888), to which Kropotkin's book (which originally appeared as a series of eight articles in the *Nineteenth Century* between 1890 and 1896) was an extended reply.

In his foreword Dr. Montagu gives an account of Kropotkin's life and teachings and the significance of his work. For Kropotkin, he says,

"anarchism was a part of philosophy to be treated by the same methods as the natural sciences. He saw anarchism as the means by which justice (that is equality and reciprocity) in all human relations could be established throughout the world of humanity. This could best be achieved by the complete elimination of the state and all governmental processes, and their replacement by a free and spontaneous co-operation among individuals, groups, regions and nations."

"To-day *Mutual Aid* is the most famous of Kropotkin's many books. It is a classic. The point of view it represents has slowly but steadily made its way, and, indeed, we are not far removed

\*MUTUAL AID: A Factor of Evolution by Peter Kropotkin, with a foreword by Ashley Montagu (Boston: Extending Horizons Press, cloth, 3 dollars, paper 2 dollars).

ON BEING HUMAN by Ashley Montagu (Abelard-Sehman Ltd., 9s. 6d.). THE DIRECTION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT by Ashley Montagu (Watts, 28s.).

their journey and who thought black men savages and cannibals; the Ghanaian boy who was going halfway round the globe in search of knowledge ("I don't mind if it takes me ten years to become a doctor; but when I return home I want to be perfect and help my people"); the beautiful Guadeloupean woman, mother of two children, who was studying in order to assert herself as a human being in this male-dominated world; and lastly the writer of these lines who has no God, who enjoyed the human contact with these so diverse fellow beings, and who, as he gazed at that shy beauty in the corner seat could only reflect how much less beautiful her eyes would be if her skin were what the "whites" call white!

### CORRECTION

In the editorial on "The Essence of Freedom" in last week's issue, due to a printer's error in the last paragraph we were made to say of the "informed thinking minority" that it "existed before the advent of the newspaper and contrives in spite of the Press!" For "contrives" read "contrives to survive".

## PEOPLE AND IDEAS

# Kropotkin and Ashley Montagu

from the time when it will become part of the generally accepted canon of evolutionary biology. In the light of scientific investigation in the many fields upon which *Mutual Aid* draws since the publication of the latter, Kropotkin's data and the discussion he bases on them stand up remarkably well. The work of Allee and his students, of Wheeler, Emerson, and others, in ecology, of anthropologists too numerous to name on primitive and non-literate peoples, and of field naturalists, have independently abundantly served to confirm Kropotkin's main thesis".

★

DR. MONTAGU'S two books cover the same ground as each other, sometimes in the same words. This is because, though they have been published simultaneously here, one of them, *On Being Human*, was published in America in 1950 as "a small interim volume" designed to reach as wide an audience as possible, before the completion of *The Direction of Human Development* a "larger and more technical book", which first appeared in America in 1955. Even this book, he feels, could be almost indefinitely extended, and he has had to prune his material to avoid "burying the reader under a mass of data". Both books derive from the course of lectures on the 'socialisation process' which the author delivered at Harvard in 1945; the longer of the two was kept continuously simmering for ten years, and its content is, Dr. Montagu writes, "perhaps the most dramatic and important experience of my life".

That *The Direction of Human Development* complements rather than supersedes Kropotkin's sixty-year-old volume is due to the difference in the evidence that the two authors handle. Kropotkin examines the mutual aid principle in simple and complex societies, structurally and historically, considering in turn the animal world, 'savages', 'barbarians', the mediaeval city and the modern world. His appendices range from flights of butterflies to agricultural co-operatives. Kropotkin, the geographer, approached the subject anthropologically. Dr. Montagu on the other hand, whose earlier works would lead one to describe him as a physical and cultural anthropologist, is here largely concerned with the evidence from physiology and psychology. And since, "the fundamentally social nature of all living things has its origin in the reproductive relationship between parent and offspring", or, to put it the other way round, "the universal fact of reproduction constitutes the foundation of the social relationship which characterises all living organisms", a great deal of his book is concerned with the birth and infancy of the individual, rather than, as in Kropotkin's book, with the evidence from social institutions of "the feeling of human solidarity, deeply lodged in men's understanding and heart, because it has been nurtured by all our preceding evolution".

★

FROM his assemblage of the data for "the biological basis of co-operation", Dr. Montagu passes to chapters on the meaning of the nervous system, heredity and environment, "life in the womb and the trauma of birth" and basic and acquired needs. The rest of the book is about love. "During the last few years", he writes in the section on

dependency, inter-dependency and love, "it has been discovered that immediately after birth the greatest physiological and psychological benefits are conferred upon the mother by the infant and by the mother upon the infant if the co-operative relationship is permitted to follow its natural course." The extraordinary thing of course is that anyone should have doubted this. He quotes the well-known evidence of Dr. Harry Bakwin and others about those babies who in the period of super-hygienic maternity procedure in the twenties and thirties, died of loneliness and lack of tactile contact. The physiological dependency of the foetus and the new-born, he says, "becomes in society, a socially organised dependency in which the interacting person finds the meaning of his life in his relations with other persons and their thoughts and activities".

"To bind cell to cell for co-operation by projection of the self in sympathy with other organisms, that is the essence of social life. But no cell is more intricately bound to another than is man to his fellows, to his social group. The binding of the person to his group represents, in fact, a loss of individual freedom and a gain in personal freedom through increasing identification with the social group—an identification in which the wholeness of the person is increased and preserved only because it is a functioning interactive part of a greater whole, society. In this process the consciousness of self may actually become intensified, the sense of personal identity may become even more vivid, and one's bondage to one's society more firmly established than ever. 'Individuality', as the development of personal identity, is neither the contrary nor the contradictory of social identification; it is social identification".

And he quotes Robert Frost's couplet: "Men work together, I told him from the heart, 'Whether they work together or apart:'"

★

MEN who do not love one another, Dr. Montagu declares, "are sick—sick not from any disease arising within themselves, but from a disease which has been enculturated within them by the false values of their societies". The love which he sees as "the model and the pattern of the human relationship which should exist between all human beings", is the love of a mother for her child. "It is in the development of this maternally based capacity for love that the future of humanity lies". This emphasis on the maternal principle (Dr. Montagu is the author of a book on *The Natural Superiority of Women*) is a characteristic of a number of American sociological and psychoanalytical writers, for example Bruno Bettelheim, Margaret Mead, Erich Fromm, and may be regarded as a welcome reaction against misconceptions in both the popular and scientific mind (cf. Freud with his 'primal horde' and 'Old Man'), about the nature of primitive societies. As Montagu points out, the more we learn about such societies, the less we are inclined to call them either primitive or savage.

But does this insistence on love as the supreme social value, weaken the force of the mass of evidence that Dr. Montagu brings forward? Kropotkin declared in his introduction to *Mutual Aid* that,

"to reduce animal sociability to love and sympathy means to reduce its gene-

Continued on p. 4

## Who are the Superior Ones?

ANOTHER battle is being fought in the Southern States of America between the anti-integrationists and the negro children who attempt to implement the Supreme Court's ruling against segregated schools. In Little Rock, Arkansas, provoked by a bunch of white lunatics opposing them entering the high school, negro children are behaving with the restraint which the black people of Montgomery displayed over the consistent boycott of the public transport system last year.

When coloured pupils turned up a few days ago to enrol at the high school they were met by the state militia which had been called out by the State Governor, Orval Faubus. He claimed that the action was to prevent trouble which might arise if the children insisted on entering the school. But in fact the militia stopped the children from entering. Across the river in North Little Rock the white students themselves violently prevented six negro boys from entering the high school. There is no doubt that the white

man in the South feels that his power is slipping from him, and will not easily give up his irrational claim to superiority which has been pathetically safeguarded in his eyes by the segregated principles which govern most Southern institutions.

As we go to press (Monday, September 10th), it is reported that Federal Judge Davis has asked the U.S. Attorney General to file an injunction against Governor Orval Faubus. The judge sought his injunction after Governor Faubus said on television that he would keep the troops at the school as long as the situation warranted it. He also claimed a few days ago that he had other sources of armed strength to call out. Offers of volunteers have been reaching his office from half the states in the union. But they are fighting a losing battle, and the people who have emerged from all these struggles in the South as superior dignified individuals have been the negroes who, with a few exceptions, have handled the problem with restrained determination.

POWER, RESPONSIBILITY & FREEDOM-2

(Continued from previous issue)

Responsibility

POWER renders its subjects and its wielders irresponsible. It is true that those in power are often regarded as being in 'responsible' positions.

shall not be held accountable for their actions is best left to the supporters of power to argue about.

sary for us to develop within ourselves the capacity and courage to be free persons who are prepared to take responsibility for our actions.

Freedom

It was Nietzsche who said that freedom "is the will to be responsible for oneself" and personal responsibility based upon individual sovereignty is the fundamental prerequisite for the creation of free human relationships.

The power-holder assumes or is delegated 'responsibility' for the lives of others. For those others responsibility, in its moral connotation, no longer exists if they accept this situation as being valid.

Freedom, however, is one of that host of words which are used and abused by so many people for so many purposes. Any definition of it, therefore, must be to a certain extent arbitrary.

One philosophical definition of freedom is that it is "an ever-widening awareness of choice within the limita-

tion of our human condition". This definition is quite valid as a description of the subjective realisation of freedom on the part of the individual person and of the responsibility which is its concomitant.

S. E. PARKER.

The Machiavellians (1943) pp. 195-196. Ibid. Page 105.

(To be continued)

We need many more NEW READERS and your help to reach them!

Comments on the Wolfenden Report

THE report of the Wolfenden Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution has just been published. Among other things it recommends that homosexual behaviour between consenting adults in private should no longer be a criminal offence.

consistencies. For the committee these relationships rest in the sphere of an individual's private responsibility, and as such should be outside the law. This, as will appear obvious, is even more insecure a basis for legislation.

Piccadilly where foreign visitors are supposed to be shocked, and where it is not fit for innocent young people to walk. Indeed, the Committee realises that if their suggestions were carried out, it might very well lead to an increase in the "call-girl" system, and in the advertising cards for "models", masseuses and so on.

IT is not often that the popular press discusses controversial subjects concerning sex in anything other than a sensational manner. In some ways they are not wholly to blame; these topics are usually so crowded with speculation and conflicting theories and devoid of any factual foundations that there is often nothing else to do than to tell a freelance journalist to drag up all he can find.

One can conveniently contrast the comparatively sane line taken by 12 out of the 13 on the Committee with the one-man minority view of Mr. James Adair. The tones are familiar and no comment is necessary in this paper: "The influence of example in forming the views and developing the characters of young people can scarcely be overlooked."

Yet in this section there is a hint of the reasonableness and sympathy that we are led to expect in the Report as a whole. This concerns that criminal offence of living on the earnings of a prostitute. On this the Committee says: "Evidence suggests that the arrangement between the prostitute and the man she lives with is usually brought about at the instance of the woman. He may be, whether her legal husband or not, the equivalent of a husband to the promiscuous woman; he is frequently the only person in the world towards whom she feels affection and sense of possession; he is usually her champion in disputes, and her protector in a skirmish."

Whatever we may think about the conclusions that have been reached, the problems have been discussed on a most sober level. Considering that there are two members of the committee belonging to the religious profession, there is scarcely a whiff of cascock.

If all the report were of the standard shown in the first section, one might think the future of human decency was not so black as is sometimes painted. But the section on prostitution is full of muddled thinking and misdirected effort. It is generally assumed, rightly so, that prostitution is not one of our cherished institutions. However, no-one comes near to the obvious truth, that it is not only the prostitute that is to be blamed but the state of affairs in which men find it necessary to seek her company.

The committee based their recommendations of changes in the law concerning homosexuals, on the principle that the law should not interfere with the sphere of private responsibility, a sentiment with which we should all agree. Nevertheless they should have left this alone and thought up some other reason. Surely when we come to think of it there are other fields which are private and the concern of no-one else but the individuals concerned.

The Report deals specifically with two subjects: Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, two subjects on which public opinion is fairly well formed. Indeed it was partly because of popular outcry on the former that the committee was originally set up. It is the general revulsion that is felt whenever the subject of homosexuality is mentioned that has prevented any serious discussion up to now. Young people can discuss these days whether it is right for couples to sleep together before they are married, although the censorious official viewpoint is always the last word, but on the other hand the word homosexuality always produces an instant reaction of disgust. This is especially so among working families, whose codes of morality, though possibly shocking to some, are in themselves genuinely tight, and rigidly exclude one sort of relationship; and these are the people at whom the lurid press treatment is aimed. Added to this the quaint quasi-theological attitude of the Church (especially the Catholics), and it would appear that the dice was loaded against the Committee coming out with anything like humane recommendations.

One should then commend the committee for coming out with an unmoralistic attitude. The present law making it a criminal offence for men to have sexual relations with each other even in private is based on no real principle at all, and what basis it has is full of in-

The Soviet Government claimed some years after the Revolution that prostitution in Russia had disappeared. One can be sure that it was not because a society had arisen where there was so little need for prostitutes that they had gone into other more gainful employment. If prostitution had disappeared from the streets of Moscow, it was to the credit of the police.

The Wolfenden Committee has been listening just a little too attentively to the widespread outcry on the visible state of the West End of London. The institution of prison as the ultimate penalty for street offences is their only solution, which shows a pretty ignorant outlook. It cannot possibly clean up London, but merely sweep the dirt off the streets and out of sight, away from

Kropotkin & Ashley Montagu

Continued from p. 3 reality and its importance, just as human ethics based upon love and personal sympathy only have contributed to narrow the comprehension of the moral feeling as a whole. It is not love to my neighbour-whom I often do not know at all-which induces me to seize a pail of water and to rush towards his house when I see it on fire; it is a far wider, even though more vague feeling or instinct of human solidarity and sociability which moves me.

The importance of this distinction will be easily appreciated by the student of animal psychology, and the more so by the student of human ethics. Love, sympathy and self-sacrifice certainly play an immense part in the progressive development of our moral feelings. But it is not love and not even sympathy upon which Society is based in mankind. It is the conscience-be it only at the stage of an instinct-of human solidarity. It is the unconscious recognition of the force that is borrowed by each man from the practice of mutual aid; of the close dependency of every one's happiness upon the happiness of all...

Is the difference only a matter of words, or is this in fact a more accurate conclusion to Dr. Montagu's very valuable summary of modern science's investigation of human potentialities?

C.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB, 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1. LECTURE - DISCUSSIONS SEPT. 15-S. E. Parker on THE ART OF LOVING SEPT. 22-Max Patrick on FRANCOIS VILLON with readings by Bonar Thompson Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

OPEN AIR MEETINGS Maxwell Street Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1. (Tel.: MUSeum 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMSON speaks

Every Friday and Saturday: SOCIAL EVENINGS

AFRICAN FORUM

Lecture on AMERICAN INTEREST IN AFRICA by the First Secretary of the American Embassy TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 7.30 p.m.

FREEDOM The Anarchist Weekly Postal Subscription Rates: 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies: 12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25) Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers.

TUC Discovers H-Bomb

Continued from p. 1 Why does not the TUC urge its millions of members to take action to assert their responsibility for their own lives and the wealth they produce? Why just crawl to a Government?

Because that's the sort of organisation the TUC is. A crawling, servile outfit, bold enough to shout at shadows, but with neither head nor stomach for a real struggle with the real problems of the world.

Excuse us while we pass a composite motion on the TUC...

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 36

Deficit on Freedom £720 Contributions received £517 DEFICIT £203 August 30 to September 5

PER D.L.: San Francisco: L'Incaricato £8/8/0; Rensselaer: G.T. £3/10/0; Bronx: J.M. £1/15/0; Mt. Vernon: W.D. 14/-; Elizabeth, N.J.: V.C. 14/-; Vancouver: L.B. 14/-; Quincy: S. £1/10/0; W. Somerville: D.C. £1/15/0; San Francisco: L'Incaricato £10/10/0; Monongahela: per S.F. £6/16/6; Tampa: A.B. £1/10/0; A.C. £1/10/0; P.F. 7/-; Gilroy: M.R. £1/15/0; J.Y. 14/-; Haverhill: J.M. 14/-; T.R. 14/-; G.O. 14/-; Beverley: P.I. £1/15/0; New London: I. Liberi £1/15/0; Wallingford: Group L.B. 14/-; Hershey: C.C. £1/15/0; Cleveland: A.P. £1/15/0; London: D.R.\* 10/-; San Francisco: J.N. 14/-; Chicago: per G.G. Italian Picnic £7/0/10; Huddersfield: A.L. 8/-; Northwood: E.H. 1/-; Leicester: E.N.B.A. 3/-; Merriott: M.W. 8/-; Cookham: G.H. £2/2/0; Glasgow: T.D. 6/-; London: S.B.\* 5/-; London: R.M. £2; London: Anon.\* 1/2; London: W.F. 10/-; Glasgow: S.M. 5/11; Hong Kong: M.S. 10/-; Billingham: D. & J.G. 2/6; Welwyn: loser\* 10/-.

Total ... 67 7 11 Previously acknowledged ... 450 0 5 1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £517 8 4 \* Indicates regular contributor.

Fire Fund Bicester: R.M. 2/6; Billingham: D.&J.G. 2/6. Total ... 5 0 Previously acknowledged ... 368 3 3 TOTAL TO DATE ... £368 8 3 GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: S.B.; A.S.; K.; S.E.P.