

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"I go round a rock that is in my way, until I have powder enough to blast it; I go round the laws of a nation, until I have gathered strength to overthrow them."

—MAX STIRNER,  
"The Unique One".

## The Statesmen Try to Finish what they Began

# ALL HAPPY IN CYPRUS?

IT would be sectarian carping on our part to maintain that since the solutions proposed by the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey for ending the Cyprus stalemate are not going to introduce anarchism into the island therefore they are no good at all.

We will maintain that until anarchist societies evolve throughout the world tragic situations and conflicts between peoples will continue. There will be no final solution to the problems raised by capitalism, imperialism, national pride, or religion—to mention only the chief factors involved in the Cypriot question—until these aberrations have vanished from human society.

But our point of view is one thing and that of the people of Cyprus is another. This is unfortunate for anarchism and also for the people of Cyprus, for, like people everywhere, as long as they submit themselves to authoritarian ideologies they will always be at the mercy of forces outside their control.

Now for a long time we have had our doubts as to the fervour with which the people who live on Cyprus have identified themselves with the professed aims of the organisations, Greek and Turkish, which have led

the struggle on the island. There has been too much indication that EOKA, for instance, has had to use its terror against Cypriots in order to maintain 'morale' against the British; too much relief among the Cypriots whenever Colonel Grivas has announced a truce; too much worry over jobs should the British leave, now that agreement appears possible.

### Popular Demonstration Ceased

The Cypriots as a whole, it would seem, tired of the struggle some time ago—and in our opinion not without just cause. We have always made clear our contention that Enosis was a futile aim as far as the Cypriot people were concerned. To exchange government from London for government from Athens would mean no change at all in their circumstances. It would not even make any difference to the use of the island as a military base, since Greece (and Turkey) are involved with the British in the NATO 'defence' plans in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The popular demonstrations, the schoolgirls' riots (which, being so embarrassing, were very effective in undermining the morale of the

British troops), have long since ceased. The struggle has been carried on by a small minority of dedicated warriors who, having committed themselves to a path of action, would find it very difficult to get out of it anyway.

As far as we could judge, the Cypriots in general wanted to get back to 'normality'. Even now, when EOKA has called another truce to violence, but has switched the form of struggle to an economic boycott of British goods, it is not finding it easy to get support from the general populace.

The fact is that the British have such a grip upon the economy of the island that the bread-and-butter of most of the islanders is bound up

with the occupation in some way or another, direct or indirect. In stirring up opposition to the occupation, therefore, EOKA has as tough a job on its hands as the direct actionists against nuclear weapons had in trying to stir the people of Norfolk against the establishment of missile bases on their doorsteps.

### Money in the Till

Missile bases mean jobs for local workers, with higher wages than they usually get. The influx of Forces personnel and civilian workers bring trade and money to the local shops and pubs. The people of Norfolk are probably no more bloody-minded than people anywhere else, but they are prepared to gamble on a possible future destruction in exchange for money in the till today.

Similarly the people of Cyprus can see that their immediate bread and butter is supplied by the British—and EOKA does not supply the

economic or social alternatives, any more than does the 'Cyprus is Turkish' organisation. This is not to say that there is not plenty of resentment of the British domination—but still one way out for Cypriots in economic difficulties is for them to come to Britain to work, as 70,000 of them now do.

It is this economic domination which has been the British trump card all along—and since Greece, with economic troubles of her own, does not open her doors to Cypriot immigration, the economic consequences of a break with Britain could be quite serious for Cypriot workers. It would bring national pride as a consolation; it would bring Colonel Grivas out into the open as a national leader of some sort; it would bring Makarios back as a hero and possibly as a President or something. But it would mean considerable tightening of the belt for a people already too used to that to see any romance in it.

### Reasonable Compromises

That is why we imagine the solutions worked out by the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers may be greeted in Cyprus with a 'For this relief—many thanks.' For while it is far from ideal from an anarchist point of view, it may seem the most acceptable compromise all round for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots—and not forgetting the British.

For it has meant compromises—and incidentally, within the context of the power set-up, with all the complications and limitations that implies, these compromises have edged in the direction of the solutions we advocated for Cyprus as far back as last July.

The Greco-Turkish proposals have entailed both sides backing down from their original claims. The

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## From South Wales

# Unemployed Miners to take over Pit?

(From a Correspondent)

RHONDDA, FEB. 8.

ON Monday, February 2nd, the three hundred unemployed miners of Cwmllynfell, near Swansea met to discuss the running of their mine co-operatively. It was one of the mines recently closed by the N.C.B. as being 'uneconomic'. Two important facts led to the calling of this meeting by the N.U.M. lodge.

First, there is no alternative employment in the village for the three hundred men out of work. Closure of the pit means community disruption, because the men will have to move elsewhere to find work, if they can find work at all.

Second, the mine has a million and a half tons of high-grade anthracite still in the ground. The lodge secretary is confident of the men's ability to run the mine economically, and to find a market for the coal.

There are several interested parties in this case. The meeting was called by the lodge of the N.U.M., Labour in complexion, like all the lodges. The men of the lodge have been called 'unco-operative' in their dealings with management. The Kemsley-owned *Western Mail* maintained in a recent editorial that the men of Cwmllynfell deserved the treatment they have received, and regards the current attempts at workers' control as the selfish demands of men who have been living on the goodwill of the 'nation'.

Plaid Cymru, the Free Wales Party is also involved. Four leading members including the president and the local prospective candidate for Parliament were invited to discuss the matter with the lodge in the meeting. Co-operation is an important part of this party's economic policy, and it will undoubtedly give its full support to the movement in Cwmllynfell.

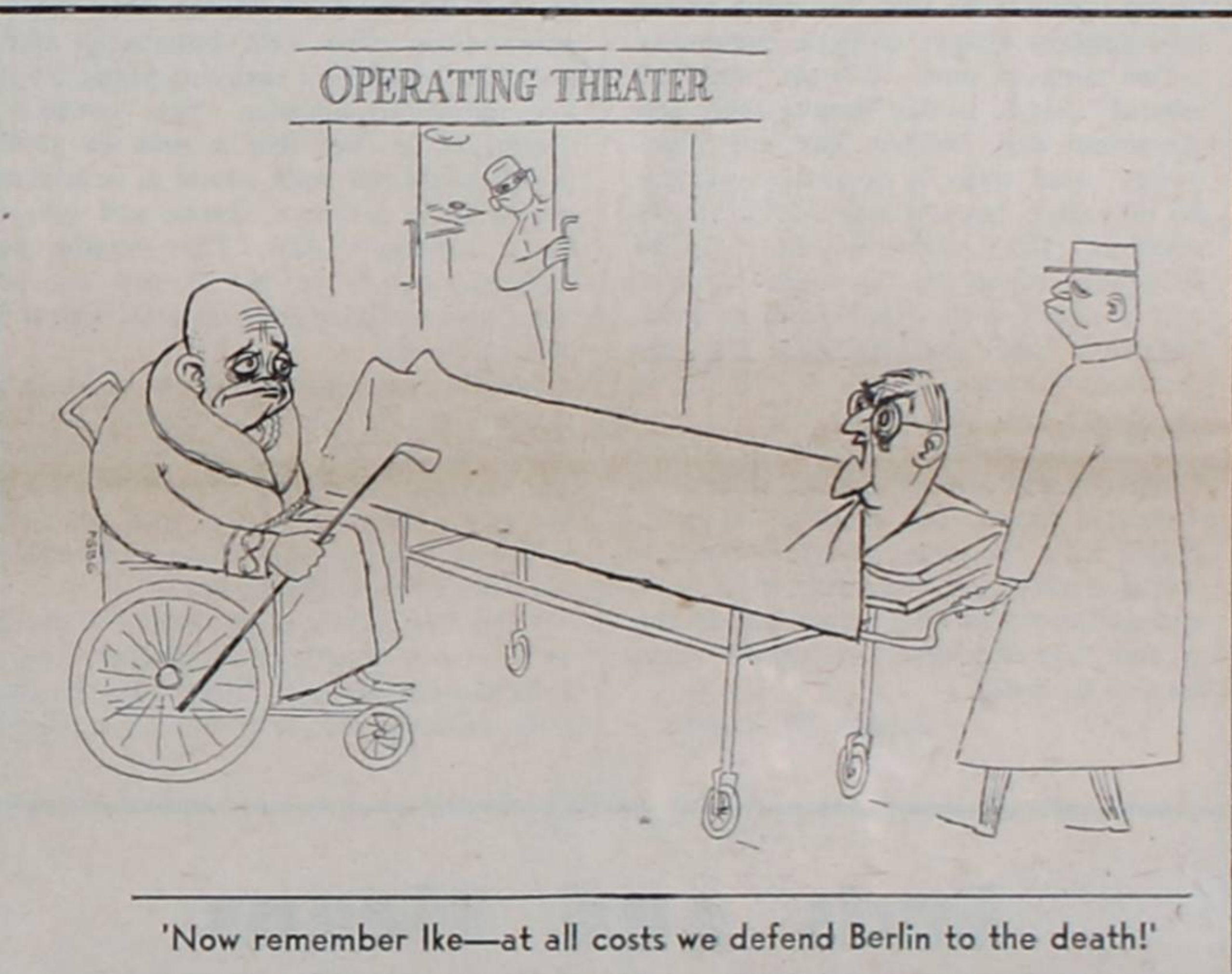
One can almost review together the roles of the N.C.B. and the upper levels of the N.U.M., as their attitudes towards the present attempts at workers' control are very similar. With regard to the pit closures, the N.U.M. leaders, Labour and

Communist, have been content to blame the Tory government, loudly and joyfully (they conveniently forget that the Labour government closed over thirty Welsh pits), and to send delegations to the House of Commons, and the Board of Trade. The union is stoutly opposed to any suggestion of workers' control. They think that they already own it, and, that the miners are the bosses. (Sir James Bowman with his 'I did this' and 'my that' on television doesn't seem to agree). The Cwmllynfell lodge will get no help from the N.U.M.—on the contrary.

The N.C.B. coldly quotes the law in answer to the lodge. No mine with more than thirty miners may be 'privately' owned and run. As far as Bowman and his boys are concerned, that is the end of that. It is of little concern to them that three hundred men are without livelihood. It is outside their field of thought that a law passed by a dozen men and an efficient whip system can be ignored to give men occupation with integrity. Besides, the success under workers' control, of a mine which had been branded by the N.C.B. as uneconomic, would obviously be far too suggestive an example to the rest of the miners. The gentlemen of the board must consider the security of their own positions.

This move by the miners of Cwmllynfell is of obvious interest to syndicalists. Conscious syndicalist thought is absent in the minds of these men. This fact is of no importance compared with the fact that three hundred men in unity have gone beyond merely grumbling at N.C.B. inefficiency and treachery. It may be that it is unemployment that has goaded them, nevertheless, they have stated their belief in their competence to run their own mine, without the bungling interference of outsiders.

The fate of this attempt at workers' control is very uncertain. The lodge has all the big guns of union and management against it, and can count on the active support of only one party. The men deserve our congratulations and our wishes for every success in their fight.



## Reflections on the Lords' Nuclear Disarmament Debate

# Peace by Legislation or Direct Action?

THE debate in the House of Lords last week on the subject of Nuclear Disarmament contained, besides the expression of personal opinions, much factual information which one would have thought was of vital interest to the people of this country. Brief reports of the debate were published by the Press, but the view expressed by Lord Simon, the proposer of the Motion, in winding up the debate, that he "regarded it only as the beginning of what will be a great debate in the country" was pure wishful-thinking . . . unless something happens very soon to shake the people out of their present torpor. By now most adults in this country and in the rest of the world must have a pretty clear picture of the destructive capacity of an H-bomb and of the consequences of a nuclear war. They may ignore some of the secondary effects, or not clearly understand some technical aspects of nuclear fission. But they know that nuclear war means annihilation, and this includes themselves and their families and friends as well as their "enemies".

The weakness of their reactions to this knowledge may in part be explained by the very magnitude of the disaster which makes one's personal relation to it utterly remote and unreal: if everyone is condemned to death then death loses its signifi-

cance. In any case against whom can one defend one's life since all are condemned to die?

Those nuclear disarmament propagandists who despair at the poor results of their campaign so far, must also recognise that normally healthy human beings are much more preoccupied with the problems of life than with thoughts of death, for as we have often pointed out, life would become intolerable if we allowed thoughts of death to dog our very footsteps. After all, not even the daily Press' catalogue of disaster, of deaths by food-poisoning, in car and air accidents, through leaking gas taps and open fires, seems to deter the majority of human beings from themselves taking risks in their day-to-day lives which a concern with death would make them hesitate to take. Do these reactions show a zest or a contempt for life? Or does it perhaps lead one to believe that though most people are endowed with an animal will to live, few have developed a personal philosophy of life, beyond that of living for the moment?

Such human material is not easily influenced by argument, moral or reasoning, but is obedient to authority, and is conservative. In fact it is just how the Churches and the politicians want mankind to be! (In spite of all the talking at election

time, elections are not won on argument. The country is divided into three sections: the one which always votes for the Conservative, the one which always votes Labour and by comparison to the first two, a small, third section of "floating" voters, fence-sitters or indifferents on whom the parties direct their big-guns not of ideological argument—assuming they had any to offer—but in the form of cheap baits of less income-tax, cheaper homes, penny-off-the-petrol or free wigs).

★

WE who are propagandists as well as anarchists, carry on our activities in spite of the bleak prospects for change in the immediate future because we have not lost faith in ourselves. The fact that we as individuals can react against the conditioning efforts of mass communications and the social institutions, leads us to believe that others can do likewise. (Only priests and politicians think of themselves as the exceptions to the rule of human stupidity, fallibility and lack of imagination, initiative and responsibility). What is it that we want to achieve?

In the House of Lords debate on Nuclear Disarmament, Bertrand Russell had this to say:

We must work towards some system

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# Forcing Men to be Free

**FREEDOM CHOOSES SLAVERY**, by J. Freire d'Andrade, George Allen and Unwin, 15s.

J. FREIRE d'ANDRADE begins by the assertion that "... the advancement of mankind has been achieved by two main methods:

"by conquest, followed by the investment of the savings of the conquerors in the development of the conquered territories and the spread of their knowledge and skill among the conquered,

"by the dominant powers establishing a condition in which the savings accumulated in the more progressive countries and the knowledge and skill of their people can flow across frontiers to promote the growth of under-developed areas."

I should have thought that the devastation caused by conquest would have about cancelled out the gains. True, life has continued, despite all the wars and destructions, and progress has gone on, but I see no reason to accept this view (popular in the last century when there were few major wars) that benefits are brought by warfare. I should have thought that it was a tribute to human vitality that mankind has been able to make a few advances here and there, despite people like Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.

War stimulates technical development in baneful ways, which can sometimes be applied to peaceful uses afterwards. But one wonders if the price in human life was worth it. Conquests have often resulted in whole civilisations being swept off the face of the earth, libraries have gone up in smoke, destroying the accumulated knowledge of centuries, works of art have been demolished by drunken soldiery.

D'Andrade claims that America has abandoned both these "two main methods" of advancing mankind, and has fallen back on handing out money to other countries, a sort of thinly disguised charity.

"The most conclusive result of American foreign policy has been the division of the world into a larger number of nations and the movement among racial and religious groups for independence and further division.

"The consequence of the failure to restore a flow of savings across frontiers

has been to force nations to isolate the life of their nationals from the life of nationals of other nations."

"In the face of these two opposing forces, individual freedom is being lost."

There can be no doubt that there is less and less freedom for the individual in the world, as year follows year, but d'Andrade's fundamental assumptions are so "brutalistic" that the arguments he bases on them are invalidated also. Referring to the methods of the Romans to subdue Europe, he says, "We may criticise the means used by the elected to further the process: the oppression, the bloodshed, the cruelty of the conqueror. We cannot exclude the process from world life since we cannot outlaw life itself."

Is one to consider Caesar's methods, the lining up of captured Gauls to strike off the right hand of each man so that he could never fight against Rome again, part of life? I should have thought that it was not a question of outlawing life but of outlawing wantonly inflicted death and cruelty. Nor was it in fact a triumph for progress, since, in many respects, in their art for example, the Gauls and Britons were in advance of Rome, who was only able to make second-rate copies of things Greek.

It is not a natural part of life that humans should hurt each other deliberately. Cruelty and oppression hurt the conqueror as well as the conquered as a matter of fact. They make the heart sick and produce in the end a sense of world-weariness and despair. Hence conquest and subjugation, far from helping on the life-process, are anti-life.

Violence leads to more violence in a descending spiral. Wars that start as gay adventures end in butchery and sheer nihilism. Hating is more exhausting than loving. It may be that this is the reason why empires always collapse eventually.

The curse of most "liberals" and "advanced" people is that despite their progressivism they believe, like any reactionary, that man is naturally warlike. So they dare not embrace the libertarian solution. That is why they have so little influence and appear in their struggles with the men of the Right to be so weak, indecisive and divided, and why the fanatical Communists are so often able to elbow them out of the way.

D'Andrade would probably resent being coupled with the Left, though he writes at times, for example when he deals with the way people's right to travel abroad is restricted, in a most anti-authoritarian way. I am afraid that in fact, like Rousseau, he would "force men to be free".

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## Book Reviews

**ADAPT, OR PERISH, The Dilemma of Nuclear Politics**, by John Bowle, Background Books, 2s.6d.

THE author makes a plea for a new outlook on politics, for World Government and a War on Want backed by all the resources of modern technology. I cannot agree that the first is necessary for the launching of the second. In fact, wherever governments intervene there is inefficiency, and the direction of the War on Want would be better left in the hands of private individuals and their organisations. Of course, as things are now, private persons do not have the wealth at their disposal that governments possess. I suppose this is the reason that reformers look hopefully to governments.

John Bowle has the usual superficiality of approach of the reformist. He considers that man has an "instinct" to plunder which co-exists with his instinct for Mutual Aid. (He has read his Kropotkin). It does not appear to occur to him that this plundering impulse is not an instinct but a sickness, so I suppose his support for world government is logical enough from his point of view. Man must be forced to be social and to give up his outdated belief in unlimited national sovereignty.

I am prepared to give up my national sovereignty without waiting for a world government to make me do so. The problem is that the people who have power over me will not allow me to. But I don't want to give up being numbered, ticketed and docketed by the British State only to find myself being similarly treated by a world state. I should like to see the world split up into small autonomous units with boundaries that could be crossed as easily as going from one parish to another. No "country" should be so big that a man in good health could not walk round it, or across it and back, between sunrise and sunset on a summer's day. This would be technically possible, but it will not be done because people are in love with the idea of power.

Instead we will get this nightmare creature the World State, cheered on (as usual) by all the well-meaning liberals and lovers of mankind. Good intentions are two a penny and the road to Hell is paved a darn sight more thoroughly than the Preston Motorway.

"The ruling class of the future is likely to be one of experts and managers", says John Bowles blithely, "Such may be the price paid for the continuity of civilised

# German Espionage in Eire

**THE JACKBOOT IN IRELAND**, by Sean O'Callaghan, Allan Wingate, 13s. 6d.

PEOPLE who believe that anarchists are mad or just impractical should read this book, because the general impression one draws from its pages is that authoritarians are completely off their heads, even judged from what may be regarded as their own standards.

*The Jackboot in Ireland* deals with German espionage in Eire during the war. Espionage, like war in general, seems to be a mixture of super-efficiency and gross muddle of a kind that would not be tolerated in civilian life, and certainly not in an anarchist group.

For example: "It was explained to him that every operator had an individual style of Morse transmission. With one the pauses might be longer, another might give the dots a trifle too abruptly or make the dashes a trifle too long. Every individual "hand-writing" was recorded on wax discs. This was to ensure that, if the agent was captured, the enemy could not transmit bogus messages on the seized apparatus. An expert could tell at once if the message was bogus by comparing the transmission with the agent's style of recording, already on the waxed discs."

How ingenious! Who would have thought of it? But further on we read how the German agent Goertz, who was sent to organise the I.R.A. for an attack on Northern Ireland, tramped across the wilds of County Wicklow, living on cabbages and potatoes dug out of the ploughed fields, weak with hunger and sick from sleeping in the open air in damp clothing. "But the most fantastic thing about this whole fantastic march was that in his pocket he carried £500 in English money. Nobody had told him that he could use these notes freely in Ireland, that he could have hired a taxi that would take him to Lanagh House within a matter of hours. He staggered on making a wide detour to avoid Dublin where, had he known it, food and shelter awaited him, on through Newbridge, full of soldiers from the nearby military camp at the Curragh."

Why is it that the inefficiency of social rebels and "Bohemians" is always highlighted, while the crass stupidity of those who conform to the accepted rules of society is only pointed out if it happens to be the muddle made by an enemy?

Well, I suppose the answer is obvious

life. It would be a price worth paying."

This sort of opinion is expressed by men who belong to the very class which is likely to provide the new managers and experts. Naturally they look upon their future power with equanimity. To others, who belong to those classes who are likely to be brainwashed into conformity, the prospect is rather less pleasing. A.W.U.

enough. Still, there it is, authoritarianism does not lead to efficiency.

One cannot take very seriously the Welsh, Scottish, Irish and Breton nationalists who co-operated with the Germans.

"... Goertz travelled to Rome as a civilian, to contact a body of Irishmen there. These men were not members of, or connected with, the I.R.A.; in fact, while they wanted a United Ireland, they disliked and distrusted the methods the I.R.A. were using to achieve this aim. They hoped for a German victory under which the unity of all Ireland could be achieved. But they went further than that. If Germany won the war, they proposed a federation of all the Celtic nations: the Irish, the Welsh Nationalists, the Scottish Nationalists and the Celts of Brittany whose Celtic Independence Group at that time had its headquarters in Berlin. Goertz made many valuable contacts with them, contacts which were to be of value to him later in Ireland, when he broke with the I.R.A."

Presumably these Celtic nationalists were reasonable men. They represented the cultured element, and were hostile to I.R.A. fanaticism. Yet can they have honestly believed that their darling federation would be anything other than a Nazi puppet state? They had no reason to love the English nation, but the enemy of your enemy is not necessarily your friend. He may want to sweep both of you out of the way.

As for the I.R.A. men, what shall one say of them? The cruelty of the British Black and Tans explains their motivation adequately. What they wanted was revenge. Their readiness to accept German aid is more comprehensible at any rate. I find it easier to sympathise with people who want to hurt someone who has hurt them than with people who wrap up their motives in a haze of romanticism.

Yet such a search for vengeance is fundamentally futile. For all its fervour, or perhaps because of it, the I.R.A. displayed in its own way an equally great lack of contact with reality.

"... it was an immense blow to Goertz. The Army he was going to train and lead had a Chief of Staff whose military knowledge was less than a German corporal's."

It later turned out that he was a traitor. Out of this chaos of inefficiency and betrayal nothing concrete emerged in the end. Goertz lost his life in a futile endeavour. The only sane people in the story are the ordinary Irish, with their contempt for the police contrasting so remarkably with the British servility to "law and order". That Goertz remained at liberty so long as he did was in the main due to the reluctance of the average Irishman to hand anyone over to the police. As one might have expected it was those who were outside the I.R.A. who were the most reliable.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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## Ends and Means

FEBRUARY is the season of burial. Or so it seems to me, for never have I heard more plentifully strewn the roads of England.

Last week, travelling to London from Kent, one overtakes us, merrily doing forty. The familiar gentlemen in tall hats, who at the rate of a *marche funebre* retain their symbolic inconspicuousness, now horridly resembled a caucus of 19th-century mill owners late for the opening of the Bridgewater Canal Company.

Coming back, another stood on the by-pass thoughtfully untenanted. The Board meeting was over; the shareholders, presumably, had voted for liquidation.

Undertaking would appear to be a steady trade, free from seasonal fluctuations. Perhaps, in the atomic spring, they are getting ready for a big time. I know no funeral director personally, though I once interviewed an insurance agent, on his doorstep, in the cause of disarmament. 'Of course, they'll be putting the premiums up,' was his comment. He rubbed his hands.

Ever since Antigone wept for Polyneices, burial has always obsessed men. People have immolated themselves on pyres; seamen are dumped in the ocean, draped in bunting. But never has there been a more ineluctably sombre, more thoroughly unnatural, ceremonial than today.

Vested interest keeps it so. A well-made coffin, guaranteed to hinder the processes of nature for as long as possible, costs a great deal. Also, the upkeep of the Rolls, and the shine on the top hats, must be paid for.

If death is to be more frequent, perhaps we can at least make it more aesthetic. Unhappily the workers, who can least afford the present system, are most opposed to change. A funeral is nothing if not an event; in some cases, it is the only time the members of the

family see each other. Have you ever counted the minutes between sitting down, and the appearance, over the chicken and ginger wine, of the first joke, when naturalness reasserts itself?

One cares little about personalities. The family are outsiders at a funeral; their grief remains private. We, the on-lookers, are concerned to propitiate the unseen powers, which we do by insincere gestures, followed by a relapse into banality.

In a Socialist state of the Orwellian type, bodies would be pulverised, in the name of hygiene if nothing else. But, assuming this was done after decease and not prematurely, would it be any more inhuman than our way?

The answer is that as Westerners (though possibly this goes for mankind, sadhuhs included) we lack a rationale of death. The man in the street believes in Heaven, but thinks (nevertheless) that death is some sort of misfortune. Groddeck and Reich have their Calvinist theology, wherein Eros and Thanatos play a ghastly game for possession of the soul. We stand fascinated when the result is negative. The triumph of a disease is the judgment of the Id.

Despite Wittgenstein, death is an event in life. To Socrates his own death was an event of the greatest significance in the political life of Athens. To a biologist, the processes of decomposition are as interesting as those of the living organism, and as great a tribute to the spirit which once invested it.

At any rate, there seems great scope for reform. Pending an enquiry by FREEDOM, and if the undertakers do not run me over, I shall follow the example of J. B. S. Haldane, and 'refuse to attend other people's funerals, because I certainly do not want anyone to attend my own, which I hope will be a voyage in a van to the nearest anatomical laboratory.' A.D.F.

## Is Your Easter Egg Really Necessary?

ONE of the penalties of living as a rational being in an irrational society is that one is conscience-stricken from time to time or assailed; fortunately less frequently, for being caught up in the current atavistic survival. One is found distributing eggs at Easter, pulling Christmas crackers, not working on Sunday, lapsing into superstitions about ladders, mirrors, or salt, in one hundred and one different ways one compromises with the rich dark forces that the reign of sweetness and light one is about to usher in will sweep into deserved limbo. There are the stronger-minded of us, who ignore Easter, or (like Jehovah's Witnesses), Christmas, or emulate the free-thought journal that appeared regularly with 'published every Sunday' on its masthead. (This too was a myth like every periodical's stated publishing-day).

One may echo feebly Charles Wesley, 'Why should the devil have all the best tunes?' and appropriate all the Christian festivals and holidays and enjoy them down to the last hot-cross bun or mince pie or take refuge in a scholarly paganism which points out, with truth, the horrible ancestry of all these Christian ceremonies.

Take Easter for example. Even if the crucifixion were not under suspicion of mythology and the resurrection a rather doubtful historical event, the rather fluctuating date of the ceremony ties it in; if not now with the Passover, with earlier fertility cults celebrating the return of Spring. The resurrection would seem to have a symbolical significance in

this Spring rite with a definitely unchristian overtone of human sacrifice and cannibalism. The Easter symbol of the egg is of Persian origin and the cross has phallic symbolism. The association of the rabbit with Easter is a recent development fostered undoubtedly by its fecundity. The original symbol was a hare which had etymological significance for the fertility cult. Even the ham, once eaten at Easter in many homes was a sign of defiance to the Jews. But why go on . . . every Christian ceremony is shot through with threads of pagan mythology, folklore, sensible custom and sheer delightful fantasies.

So one may accept these ceremonies as they come without subscribing to the Christian doctrines they are now used to illustrate.

One may know that there are no longer the dark gods to propitiate with human sacrifices but feel happy that Spring is on its way again and make little gestures to signify it. We know that Spring is a scientific fact but the emotions we feel are not wholly scientific and we must do something about it.

The value of a break in routine is attested by all physicians and psychologists. The holiday may not be 'holy' but to be 'whole' and integrated we need to develop all sides of our nature.

A little irrationality—an All Fools' Day every now and again is necessary to relieve the tensions piled up in the most rational and most free societies.

JACK SPRATT.



## Peace by Legislation or Direct Action?

Continued from p. 1

which will prevent war. It requires a different imagination, a different outlook and a different way of viewing all the affairs of men from any that has been in the world before. I believe that war began in Egypt somewhere about 4,000 B.C. and has gone on ever since, and we have got used to it. We have to get non-used to it, and that is not an easy effort. But we have to make the effort; and those of us who cannot make that effort are contributing their little bit towards the extinction of the species.

These were, to our mind, the most practical words uttered in that debate, for what Bertrand Russell was saying was that nothing in human society is absolute or pre-ordained. The fact that in the past 6,000 years men have resorted to war is no reason why they should continue to do so. After all in those 6,000 years there have also always been men who have defended peace and men who have defended freedom of thought.

We anarchists consider ourselves more realistic and in the long run more effective than Bertrand Russell and his friends, when we attack the systems, the thinking, and the values of which war is a by-product, rather than concentrate our arguments and appeals on the finality, so far as the human species is concerned, of nuclear war. We recognise the possibility that we may be snuffed out in the middle of a sentence of sweet reason and brotherly love by the fall-out of an H-bomb (of any nationality) released, on the written instruction, of say, even a healthy, British politician—agreed. But we are convinced that the threat of extermination by nuclear war will not be removed by Act of Parliament! The H-bomb is a weapon in war in 1959 just as the tank was in the 1914-18 war and the V.1s and V.2s (not to mention the flame-throwers) were in World War II. The danger it represents exists because the danger of war exists. You eliminate extermination of the human race by H-bombs (and—incidentally!—germ warfare as well) not by agreements to ban nuclear weapons but only by abolishing the armed forces, that is, by removing all possibilities of waging war. This, Bertrand Russell, unlike many of his friends in the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, apparently now realises:

I should like to say a little about the larger context in which I see this Motion. I regard it as a first move, and I hope a practical move, in a long campaign. The long campaign is one to ensure the continued existence of the human race. That is the goal. And I have said over and over again, although I do not seem to be noticed when I say it, that it is not enough to ban nuclear weapons. If you ban nuclear weapons completely, and even destroy all the existing stocks, they will be manufactured again if war breaks out. The thing you have to do is to ban war, and the problem is, how are you to get the peoples of the world into a mood in which they can really ban war? I think that this is a first move which might do something towards making the nations a little less unwilling to take the steps that are necessary. (Our italics).

But even Bertrand Russell is not yet clear as to what he believes (which we attribute much less to the passing of the years than to "contamination" by politicians!) He regards the Motion as "a first move" in a long campaign. The Motion proposed by Lord Simon was

"to persuade H.M. Government to take definite action, first, to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries by ourselves offering to forego, and abandon the use of, such weapons: and

secondly to persuade the United States of America and Russia to help the United Nations to control and enforce the necessary treaties.

It would seem, from the foregoing, that there are two problems: a short-term one, to persuade the government to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and the long-term problem of "how to get the peoples of the world into a mood in which they can really ban war". To take the second "problem" first. Where are in fact the people who are in the mood to wage war? Whatever the psycho-analysts may say about aggression and its relationship to war, which country in the world is able to wage war—or for that matter maintain an army at "required strength"—without conscription or the economic pressure of mass-unemployment? In that case, when Russell talks of the "mood" in which the people can "really ban war" he means the mood in which they can prevent the politicians from going to war in spite of their (the people's) wishes . . . which is quite another matter! And if that is what he means how can he, at the same time, expect the Government to take the first step of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons? He was asking something which no self-respecting politician would undertake to do. And even the Spokesman for the pensioned-off Labour politicians in the Lords, Viscount Alexander of Hillsborough (Mr. A. V. Alexander, in our youth) put it:

I think it would be far wiser for my Party at any rate, to wait and see whether or not we are bound to go on with the manufacture of the bomb. That is the real position of the Labour Party. We do not want to manufacture these weapons, but we should not be left in the situation of being the only one outside the club. We have to keep in mind the interests of our general peace, being, as the noble Earl the Leader of the House has described our country, the centre of a great Commonwealth. I wish I could be more favourable from the general point of view of the objectives of my noble friends with regard to the bomb. I very much welcome the way in which they have presented their case to the House, but I must inform them that, in all the circumstances, I could not possibly ask my colleagues to assent to the Motion.

Hopeless as it may be to pin one's hopes on the people that they may one day realise what it's all about and rise, it is worse than useless to expect the politicians, each one of whom is consumed by his own vanity and political and social ambitions, as well as devoid of any imagination or humanity, to take the initiative of a move which will weaken his position in the nuclear "club". Of the two choices, we still believe that the people are more likely to save themselves from disaster than are the politicians.

BUT we were saying earlier that war, of which nuclear war is but one disastrous aspect—is itself but an effect, whereas the causes lie deep in our social system. In the late 19th century both socialists and anarchists were unanimous about the causes of war. The 1914-18 war changed the views of the socialists (as well as a few "eminent" anarchists who, however, ended their days in the political wilderness) and the "responsibility" of office in subsequent years has made them almost self-conscious of the importance of force as the principle argument in international diplomacy and the basis of government! Now, for the new generation of "socialist" politicians government, not socialism, has become the ends. Their ambitions would matter little but for the fact that in playing their game they have poisoned the Labour movement, destroying its socialist content and substituting a vote-catching machine. Incidentally, an expensive machine which bows to the reactionary leadership of the Trades Unions in return for substantial cash contributions to its funds, and includes in its ranks a number of wealthy business men. What the Labour Party can

now afford in glossy "personal guides" it pays for by sacrificing the socialism of its pioneers!

ONLY last week the *New Statesman* published a very sympathetic profile of Mr. Sidney Bernstein, chairman of the Granada Group Ltd. (as well as a whole page paid advertisement from this gentleman's television company!). He is apparently a Socialist and "convinced supporter of the Labour Party"—as well as being a self-made millionaire (he denies being a millionaire\*—but what's a £100,000 more or less among millionaires?)

Is there any inconsistency in being a successful business man and a Socialist? Apparently not these days:

Must a rich Socialist have a kind of split personality, or at least a divided allegiance? Mr. Bernstein does not think so. He would certainly not feel happy as an armaments manufacturer, but he says: 'It's wrong for a Socialist to feel ashamed of making a success of our type of business'. And again, while the capitalist system lasts, 'I don't see why we

\*But the profile writer points out: Nevertheless, he is clearly very comfortably off, with a large and well-equipped farm in Kent, a flat in Mount Street, Mayfair, and a more modest house in Manchester (where he spends part of each week).

should let the big boys have it all'. There, must be, too, a certain gratification in doing the job better than 'the big boys' do: a Gallup poll recently reported that Granada was regarded by viewers throughout the country as doing the best job of all the ITV programme contractors. (Our italics).

Mr. Bernstein started life with three small cinemas left to him and his brother by his father. He now has 60 cinemas as well as the T.V. network. What moral difference is there between cinemas and factories, that Mr. Bernstein declares "It's wrong for a Socialist to feel ashamed of making a success of our type of business". But what above all struck us, was his remark—"And again while the capitalist system lasts I don't see why we should let the big boys have it all"—for it provokes the question, and while you, Mr. Bernstein, are doing your bit preventing the big boys having it all who do you think is dealing with the other business of getting rid of the capitalist system? Or do you think it will get rid of itself?

HOW are we to get the peoples of the world in the "mood" in which they can really ban war asks Bertrand Russell, and we think the answer is when more people become so conscious of the potentialities of

life and living that they will resent "selling their labour" to a boss—even to a "socialist" Mr. Bernstein!—will hate authority and the social system based on it. Then they will resist war not because they are afraid to die but because they believe in life and in a life-positive world there is no place for war, warmongers and politicians.

Propaganda we think, must be directed in these channels. We agree with much that the Direct Action Group is doing but they do not go far enough! When they now call on people to withhold their votes from election candidates who are not prepared to support their demand for nuclear disarmament they are simply hoping to blackmail the candidates. What they should be doing instead is persuading the electors not to vote for any politician. Only when as individuals we refuse to have someone act for us, will we begin to find the time and learn how to act for ourselves!

Socialism or anarchism will not be forwarded by politicians and socialist millionaires. It's not enough to believe in Socialism; we must also do something for its achievement, which means giving time and taking some of the risks which most people are prepared to take for much less worthy causes every day of their lives.

## Freedom: A Defence of Extremism

IN *The Observer* for Feb. 8th. Philip Toynbee contributed an article discussing some of the questions raised by the proposed publication of *Lolita* in England. Significantly, it bore the title *Two Kinds of Extremism*. By a small margin it drew the conclusion that publication should be permitted. Beside the original suggestion of setting in motion an inquiry as to whether the incidence of seduction of little girls by middle aged men had been increased in America by the publication of the book, the writer criticised both those who favoured prohibition on grounds of "obscenity"; and the extremists who wanted freedom of publication on either artistic or libertarian grounds without stopping to consider the wider social consequences.

The point of view advocated in the article referred to is permeated (as indeed is *The Observer*), by the rather stuffy and incapacitating idea that the intelligent, normal person invariably chooses the middle way, although this ideology is never stated explicitly. Nevertheless, Toynbee is arguing on firmer ground than most participants in that belief in that he has chosen a number of specific issues; the main one regarding publication of *Lolita* and incidental questions

### A COAT OF PAINT

After the Bomb, and the Germs, the "Paint".

This new horror is a coating of material with which the scientists can easily turn "clean" H-bombs into "dirty" ones, bringing back the radio-active contamination as "an acute danger".

It was revealed last night by Lord Adrian, one of Britain's most eminent physicists—Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, past president of the Royal Society, a Nobel Prize winner, and member of the Order of Merit.

This coating, he told the Lords, could double the force of the explosion at relatively small expense.

A deliberate policy of killing by radio-active contamination might be unlikely, because it would be difficult to limit its effect.

Lord Adrian was supporting the exclusion of nuclear weapons from all nations except Russia and the United States.

*News Chronicle*, 12/2/59.

### A WORRIED MAN

Michael Reilly, aged 52, of Suffolk Road, London Fields, Hackney, had "every reason" to be worried, said the coroner, Sir Bentley Purchase, at a St. Pancras inquest today.

Reilly threw himself in front of an Underground train at King's Cross station. A notice to quit was found in his pocket. Verdict: Suicide.

*Evening Standard*, 12/2/59.

of the bombardment of the monastery of Monte Casino, publication of anti-semitic and racially antagonising literature and the hypothetical destruction of St. Paul's Cathedral to save an air-raid victim trapped in it.

Regarding the broader attitude touched on, there is no obvious reason why a moderate point of view should be more correct than an extreme one. However, most people prefer to hold moderate views if possible. Professor Thouless listed the delusion of the correctness of middle of the road attitudes in his book "Straight and Crooked Thinking", as a common fallacy, quoting the most noticeable of the actual organisations based on it, the Liberal Party.

Within our own circles it differentiates between libertarian and anarchist. Libertarians generally agree with anarchist criticisms of authority in social relations, of government and the state; but feel that to advocate getting rid of them is a bit extreme.

It is more reasonable to distrust rules which admit of no exceptions, and extremist philosophies are in danger of elucidating such rules and clinging to them. Philip Toynbee did not state specifically who he was thinking of when he referred to a "lunatic fringe of libertarians who hold that the freedom to talk or print is, in all circumstances, sacrosanct", but he seems to suggest a die for the rights of anti-semites and pornographers as readily as for their political opponents.

### Extremists on Government

In matters of government, anarchists are openly extremist. The less of it the better, and none at all, best of all, expresses it shortly. The ideas of anarchism like those of other extreme points of view are based on a claim to a better appreciation of the causes, motives and methods involved in the social questions under discussion; while those of middle couriers tend to follow a more pragmatic approach dealing with each matter as it comes up in terms of the probable short-term consequences of various decisions. As far as anarchists are concerned, their considerations of the factors mentioned above lead to the conclusion that authoritarian ways always produce unhappy results.

To return to the specific points mentioned, we can ask what are the causes which lead to seduction of children, anti-semitism or racial violence, even in fact to air raids or bombardments. In none of the former cases would many people claim that they are due solely, primarily, or even to any great extent at all with the reading of books or leaflets inciting to them. It is safe to say that all are caused by a varying mixture of deprivation of material and emotional needs in specific individuals. This deprivation is hardly ever natural or unavoidable but is in each case imposed by authority from above, and it is usually the very same

authority that comes along and, full of rationalisations, tries to suppress the openly unpleasant results of its work. Why should we let it cover things up so easily? It is this objection to the immediate, pragmatic solution which may put anarchism in a strange position where it seems as if we want matters to run from bad to worse just to prove our points, but the plain fact is that piecemeal reforms, particularly those based on legal prohibitions have not achieved their declared long-term objects, and the radical alternative is worth trying.

The authoritarian method means giving more power to specific people to rule over us. No doubt much anarchist literature could be proscribed on legal grounds, except that not enough people read it for the police to worry. Nevertheless it would be the same law and the same police force as would be invoked to suppress *Lolita*, and it's no use arguing on specific cases after power has fallen into someone else's hands. As W.F. mentioned in his letter from Germany (FREEDOM, Feb. 14th), the bill passed to punish Jew-baiting with prison sentences can be used in other ways as well.

### A Necessary Condition

Fundamentally, Toynbee charges his "two kinds of extremists" with putting the part before the whole; of exalting literary art or freedom of speech to a position where it dominates and precludes a commonsense assessment of the more general aspects of human life and values. His point may be provable when the whole aspect is viewed from a position which accepts social authoritarianism as inevitable, and the corruptions which it induces in society and individuals as natural occurrences.

When however, one reaches the stage of a libertarian outlook, the boot is on the other foot. The sensible pragmatist is too concerned with banning a book here, and cutting a film there, to notice that the widespread resort to vicarious and unpleasant forms of sexual gratification can be alleviated and even got rid of by making it easier to find the real thing. Individuals can do it here and now and social attitudes and institutions can be pushed along. The legal reformers in Germany (could this apply to the Social Democrats as a party?) are busy drafting laws to prohibit anti-semitic literature, while they are supporting the growth of the German army and backing up the same old state institutions under which persecution thrived before.

An appreciation of the whole of the relationships of human beings in society must lead to the conclusion that freedom from authority is a necessary condition for the flourishing of those values and opportunities for life which most people really desire, under various depths of mental repression. The logical application of such a wholesome approach leads out of libertarianism to the honest extreme of anarchism. P.H.



# In Defence of Esperanto

COMRADES,

I am grateful for the notice of my "Esperanta Antologio" in your issue of 7th February. All the same, I cannot help wishing your reviewer had devoted more space to the work under review, and less to *ex cathedra* and *a priori* pronouncements concerning Esperanto, based on nothing but his own prejudices. Perhaps I may be allowed to indicate at least a few of the fallacies in his article.

Your reviewer thinks that "... everyone will have to speak Esperanto as they now speak their own language. This means, in effect, that it will have to displace the present linguistic habits of people everywhere..." It means nothing of the kind. It means no more than that Esperanto be the second language for all. At the present time millions of hours are wasted annually throughout the world in an abortive attempt to teach British children to speak French, Italian children to speak German, Czechoslovakian children to speak Russian, etc. (does all this represent an attempt to "displace the present linguistic habits of people everywhere", and if so, what about those millions who are bilingual from birth?) At any rate, all but a veritable handful of these hopeful pupils will never speak the second language "as they now speak their own language". But in Esperanto they can do so, and therefore all children must be taught Esperanto as their second language (whatever their third, fourth or fifth language might be). In this way they will at least be better off than they are at present, without altering their so-called "linguistic habits". There is nothing Utopian about this.

Your reviewer further states: "Esperanto clearly should remain incidental. It should fulfil some role akin to that of Latin in the Catholic liturgy; subservient, that is, to the purposes served by the already existing ethnic languages". The purposes served by the "already existing" ethnic languages are precisely—ethnic; i.e., they have been created to fulfil the linguistic needs of clearly-defined ethnic groups, and every ethnic language fails to fulfil satisfactorily the linguistic function of communication when applied outside its own territory. But the role of the already existing Esperanto is not just "some" role, but a clearly definable, socially necessary role for which it was consciously created—namely, to enable the members of different ethnic groups to communicate freely and naturally with one another. That is its role, and that role it, alone among the world's languages, fulfils perfectly. It is not, therefore, "subservient" but rather "transcendent" among the other languages.

It is astonishing to find your reviewer stating that a language must be geographically circumscribed in some way before it can be used as a vehicle of poetry. He speaks of it "taking root", e.g. in kibbutzim. The biological metaphor is inaccurate, as language is sociological and not biological in nature. The only place it can "take root", therefore, is in the minds of men, and when it does so, geographical distance cannot uproot or destroy it. Like all languages, Esperanto exists in the minds of men, as does, be it noted, poetry. Of course, your reviewer is of the opinion that poetry is not "socially useful", a curious attitude in one who uses verse to advertise FREEDOM. He states that the poets whose work appears in my book have passed the limit at which Esperanto "is still socially useful". In making it a literary language they have "turned their backs on the needs of humanity"—which do not, therefore, include literature! It is to be supposed that your reviewer does not really mean this, but it is what he says; and, really, he cannot be allowed to have it both ways. He is, of course, misled by his prejudices, as I said at the beginning. He says that "Esperanto has become a cult", although Esperanto is not, and never can be, anything but a language. In any other sense, if Esperanto is a cult (because loved, perhaps to excess, by its adepts), then so are English, French, German, and all the thousands of "mother-tongues", whose adepts (including your reviewer) incline to blind hero-worship, and are all too ready to proclaim the superiority of their own tongue over others, whether or not they know anything at all about them. In this respect, therefore, as in all others, Esperanto is no different from the other languages.

Your reviewer's error arises from the fact that, correctly associating language with the social group which uses it, he denies that the Esperantists are a social group. But they are. The Esperantists do not, by definition, form a nation; but neither (to use your reviewer's own ex-

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

ample) does the hierarchy of the Roman Church—it is nevertheless a "social group", and has its own language for religious purposes. In the same way, the Esperantists are a social group using its own language for international purposes.

Finally, it may be as well to point out that the ability to write poetry (or anything else) depends, not, as your reviewer on the capabilities of the writer. In the case of any given individual, cultural background, "transforming power" and so forth remain the same no matter what the language in which he chooses to express himself. Concretely, I am the same person, whether I write in Scots, English or Esperanto. The "genius" of a language depends entirely on the genius of its users. Your reviewer does not deny that at least some of the poetry in my anthology is "very good"; but he implies at the same time that it is impossible to write good poetry in Esperanto (which lacks "specific reference", etc.)—a curious dichotomy! The truth is, that the "Esperanta Antologio" presents a selection of the work of 90 poets from 35 (not, as your reviewer claims, 28) countries, who have chosen to express their finest sentiments and aspirations in one common tongue. Is it too much to claim that this fact in itself suffices to prove that your reviewer's scruples are baseless? I would go further. I would claim that the cultural level, the vitality and the aesthetic value of the "Esperanta Antologio", taken as a whole, are in no way inferior to those of any anthology of poems in any "ethnic" tongue covering the same period, i.e. the last 70 years. Those who believe this claim to be exaggerated are invited to read the book and judge for themselves. Discussion is not possible on any other basis.

Yours faithfully,

Renfrewshire, Feb. 13. WILLIAM AULD.

# The Press & Racialism

RECENTLY the big Swedish Liberal newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, published in Stockholm, printed an article by the Editor Herbert Tingsten, on "The Race Question in England".

It's difficult to know if many newspaper Editors really mean what they say, and are prepared to take the responsibility for what appears in their news columns. There are so many cynical hypocritical servants of the press and the glib-tongued Liberal group, that it becomes a feat to put their comments and bleatings into true perspective.

The paper in general is regarded by many as being on a high level. Its editorials are devoted to the "western democratic ideal", as opposed to those who have been sold the claptrap about the "people's democracies".

This is what the paper has to say about race prejudice concerning England's West Indian population: "Race prejudice has been stimulated by other objective factors. West Indians are relatively uneducated, they cannot keep their jobs as they say they can, they are unpunctual and untidy in their work; they indulge in sexual relations outside marriage, and there is greater frequency of crime among them; they are more primitively religious than the whites, and more sexually loose than the whites".

It goes on to say that this is because of their environment and upbringing, standard of living in the West Indies. Prejudice, they say, can be held back by strong "educated opinion".

Haven't all these reasons been rolled off the typewriters of British journalists? Why are we always being told that there are differences in outlook and conduct between people with different coloured skin? Not once does the article suggest that prejudice is practised and consciously encouraged by many of the so-called élite and those who possess this strong "educated opinion".

It is unfortunate that with the pretence of seeking to educate and guide public opinion to an understanding attitude,

many journalists are able to present facts in a way which read like an unconscious acceptance of race prejudice. This could be called clever "diplomacy".

The black and white representatives of "virtue" and "decency" have always been opposed to the principles of sexual freedom. They probably know that sexual relationships outside marriage present a challenge to their narrow thinking. When it becomes a question of sex and colour the standard of conventional morality and legality are rigidly adhered to.

The West Indians according to *Dagens Nyheter* seem to possess an abundance of all the faults developed in Europe and America for many hundreds of years. The miserable economic conditions which exist in the West Indies may have produced a higher percentage of crime among its peoples. But many of the evils of our "civilization" were brought to the so-called "primitive" peoples by the white man.

Are very high living standards (under the system we live) going to result in less crime? In a jungle of competition and acquisition, in cities in which we are crammed-full, will a white race emerge with any more "educated opinions" than a black or brown race?

And yet the pundits of the press tell us that it is wrong for whites to feel hostile to blacks. But when national antagonisms enter the picture, we are then told that it is right for whites to feel hostile to whites.

The exercise of tolerance and social responsibility is rarely to be found within the pages of the popular daily press, without there being some political axe to grind. Countries like the West Indies and other British colonies with their exploitation, oppression and appalling poverty, are a prolific breeding-ground for national and racial prejudices, and the coloured people become the victims of a race propaganda. The so-called "communists" find an African nationalism useful for their propaganda. And if political party propaganda had its way the coloured peoples would simply become pawns on a chess-board, to be moved here or there, however the situation or political circumstances demand it. It seems logical, then, that some sections of the coloured people will eventually come to distrust political parties and their motives.

This smug and tacit assent by the Swedish Liberal press with its curious brand of radical revisionism doesn't get to the causes of prejudice (which seem to have their source in the social system) in a way that helps both the black and white race to fight against economic rivalries and festering political jealousies.

A journalistic jungle doesn't give a reading public much chance. It is necessary to be analytical and objective to see behind the day-to-day silly articles, which come in a monotonous stream when the race problem is translated into acts of physical violence in England. Sweden, Feb. 2. H.

## Everybody Happy in Cyprus?

Continued from p. 1

Greeks have given up the idea of Enosis—integration of Cyprus with Greece. And the Turks have given up their claims for partition of the island with separate Greek- and Turkish- Cypriot administrations.

Last July 19th we wrote:

The anarchist solution for Cyprus is that it should not be governed by either Britain, Greece or Turkey or any amalgam of the three, but that it should become an independent island with the Cypriots, whatever their land of origin, running their affairs themselves.

The present solution, however, does revolve around the concept of an amalgam of the three states. For although it proposes an independent Cyprus Republic, all three are going to hold watching briefs, with checks and guarantees, to see that none of the others—nor anybody else—threatens the island's "independence". It is thus likely to be a very hedged-in independence. And Britain, in any case, is to have continued sovereignty over her military bases.

As far as Greco-Turkish relations on the island are concerned, proposals are as follows:

### THE ARMY DISCOVERS AN ANARCHIST MAXIM

The Army Council has decided that the self-service cafeteria system already operated in some units shall be adopted for other ranks throughout the Army. Unpalatable experiences are not the reason for the change.

A War Office spokesman told me that the cafeteria system is quicker and more economical. The food is hotter when eaten.

He said: "Under the old system the food was 'dolloped' on the plate regardless of the amount a man wanted. In future each individual will be able to help himself to what, and how much, he wants from containers or dishes on hot plates."

The cafeteria system, started as an experiment at Woolwich, was adopted in some other large units during last year. It has proved successful.

Daily Telegraph 3/2/59.

There will be a new Cyprus National Army, probably 2,000 strong, recruited on a ratio of 60 per cent. Greek and 40 per cent. Turkish Cypriots. It will have a Greek Cypriot commander and a Turkish second-in-command.

Apart from that there will be a joint Greek-Turkish command, comprising 950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops with control alternating, on a three-monthly basis, between a Greek and a Turkish officer.

The new constitution will create three assemblies—one for the Turks, one for the Greeks, and a joint assembly, on a 70-30 basis, as the highest authority. There will be a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish vice-president.

A built-in veto will be restricted to foreign affairs, defence—and to internal security as a safeguard for the Turkish minority.

There will be a new police force, 70 per cent. Greek and 30 per cent. Turkish Cypriots.

### A New State—and More Statesmanship

And from all this it looks as though everybody can be happy.

## Dollars Galore!

Thanks friends?

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 7

Deficit on Freedom	£140
Contributions received	£203
<b>SURPLUS</b>	<b>£63</b>
February 6 to February 12	

London: Anon. 1/9; Northcote: per B.F., Italian Comrades £12; London: J.S.* 3/-; Brooklyn: Resistance Group per C.B. £62/5/0; Croydon: P.Q. 10/8; Providence, R.I.: Il Circolo Libertario £7; Hartford: M.G.A. 19/-; Henley-on-Thames: I.L. 5/-; London: Anon.* 4/-; Reading: A.C. 1/-; Dagenham: F.S. 1/-.	Total ... 83 10 5
Previously acknowledged ...	119 16 11
1959 TOTAL TO DATE ...	£203 7 4

\*Indicates regular contributor.

Another little state will have been created and the Cypriots will be proud of their own army and police force. If these proposals go through, Cypriot wrong-dooers will be punished by Cypriot law-enforcers, instead of by beastly foreigners, and they can feel as proud as any other governed people.

Meanwhile, an amusing twist to the situation is taking place. As we write these words, Archbishop Makarios is in London, consulting with British Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd and the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers in secret conclave in Lancaster House. He is staying, with a considerable retinue, at the luxurious Dorchester Hotel in Park Lane.

The Archbishop has been welcomed by the Press and widely quoted in his 'Friendly...' speech at London Airport. Not one newspaper, to our knowledge, has denounced him as a murderer or advised Selwyn Lloyd to have nothing to do with him. Yet this was the advice freely given two years ago, when our Government announced that it would 'never' negotiate with a man who was as involved with terrorism as Makarios was alleged to be when those famous (but unpublished) documents were 'discovered'.

'Never' is a long time, and in the ensuing two years the governments of Greece, Turkey and Britain have awakened to the dangers which their division over Cyprus represents for them in the face of growing Russian infiltration into Middle East political and economic affairs.

It now pays them all to compromise. Now that hundreds of deaths, British, Greek and Turkish, have marked the course of pride and passion, now the governments—which could have seen sense five years ago—will find a 'solution' and will take the credit for the 'statesmanship'.

But it's still the same statesmanship that was responsible for the bloodshed in the first place.

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