

IT is perhaps worth reminding oneself that the crisis in which the heads of the two dominating world powers as well as of a number of others have been busily pronouncing themselves during the past fortnight is over an island about 145 miles long by an average of 45 miles wide and with a population of not much more than 500,000 men, women and children.

No one can honestly suggest that Cyprus is any kind of threat to world peace in itself. It has been a troubled island for a very long time. For 300 years it was subjected to Turkish rule and though few of its inhabitants can remember what this was like, there seems to be no desire to return to Turkish rule, just as 80 years of British rule, which is fresh in the memories of most Cypriots, inspires them with no desire to repeat that experience. What appears strange to us, is that in the circumstances, anybody in Cyprus should ever want to get involved with Greece or any Big Brother nation again! Of course the "pudding stirrers" in Cyprus are not only the politicians from outside but the religious leaders within the island. But for them, and the consequences of their "spiritual" teachings the people of Cyprus would probably by now have solved both any real differences as well as have discarded the ones artificially provoked by the politicians and other outsiders.

It is, this month, four years since Cyprus achieved independence, the terms of which were determined for the people of this unhappy island at a conference table in Zurich, present the leaders of the interested parties: Greek, Turkish and British. The Constitution on paper safeguards the rights and interests of the Turkish minority (representing 20 per cent. of the population, or 100,000 people). In practice Makarios, archbishop by profession but under his holy robes as cunning a political operator as you could expect to find anywhere, with more than any "normal" politician's share of megalomania, has, during these four years of independence, sought to whittle away the rights of the Turkish minority, and only last December he put forward proposals for constitutional amendments which would have swept them away. According to a *Sunday Times* correspondent

though [Makarios] has not said so himself, those closest to him claim that it was British diplomacy both in Nicosia and in London which led him to believe he could take this step without driving the Turks to desperation.

This is probably true. It would not be the first time that British

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ON SALE NOW

DISCUSSES

INDIA

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The Cyprus Carve-up

"statesmen" have double-crossed enemies as well as their so-called friends. Contemporary history is littered with unfulfilled British promises, but we hasten to add that it is abundantly clear that the British are no exception to the rule which is that the essence of politics and "statesmanship" is that it is so elastic that what is white today can be shown to be jet black tomorrow. De Gaulle, after all, agreed to return to power by unconstitutional means, to declare that Algeria was "française", only to "sell out" the "colons" in Algeria by doing a deal with Ben Bella as well as locking-up the OAS when they protested, with plastic bombs and *attentats*, at being double-crossed by the man they had pushed (against all the rules of the dirty game of politics) into office. And the British in Cyprus have both exiled Makarios to the Seychelles (1956) as well as installed him as the political boss of Cyprus (1960) just as they have imprisoned at some time or other all the African leaders who at a later date they have wine and dined, recognised and addressed as "Excellency" or "Mr. Prime Minister".

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THE colonial powers have "granted" independence to the subject people because to do otherwise would have been less profitable in the long term. As well as granting independence on their terms, they have bequeathed to the new ruling class social and other problems

either created by them or which they had no interest in attempting to solve when they held the reins of power. Since "divide and rule" is the basis of government in all its manifestations it was always the role of the colonial power to feed the religious, tribal, social and other differences rather than seek to resolve them! It is not surprising therefore that as each colonial power quits, it leaves behind it a situation of disunity and chaos which as well as giving the former colonial power the possibility of establishing a political and financial foothold in the new country, without the expense of having to "police" it, is a potential "problem" requiring intervention by the bureaucratic-firemen of the United Nations.

That the United Nations bureaucracy or its armed forces have not succeeded wherever they have been summoned to put out the "political conflagration" is not meant as a derogatory reflection on them as firemen. Their failure must, in part, be attributed to the fact that the United Nations are disunited, and therefore unable to seek solutions to problems such as those confronting the people of Cyprus without introducing their own interests as principals or stooges in the power struggle.

Within the existing authoritarian, capitalist, set-up (East or West) can there be an equitable solution between majorities and minorities? In these columns, years ago, we

argued that the ultimate solution to the problems of Algeria and Kenya would be that the ruling white minorities (the "colons"), because of their intransigent attitude, would be obliged to quit. This has, and is happening. (Last week's *Sunday Telegraph* prints a dispatch from its special correspondent in Nairobi to the effect that about "2 million acres of European farms" will be "turned into state farms and co-operatives run on the Communist bloc pattern; and established and supervised with the help of East European experts" and is likely "to cost Britain as much as £20 million").

This trend, foreseeable though

it may be, is deplorable because it reveals an intransigence among the new forces which for practical and moral reasons they can neither afford nor should encourage. In the case of Cyprus the overwhelming Greek majority should, in its own interests, seek to give the Turkish minority every guarantee, if only to establish its independence from outside pressures. Cyprus will be the shuttlecock of Greece and Turkey as well as of the Big Powers so long as the people who live in its 6,500 square miles are divided among themselves over questions of nationality and religion though each seeks to earn a livelihood from the soil.

UNDER existing conditions are multi-racial communities possible? On the evidence they are not. Whether the minority is large, as in Algeria, or small as in Kenya it cannot be assimilated where it has hitherto existed as a privileged minority wielding power. Hence the understandable apprehension of Welensky in Southern Rhodesia and Verwoerd in South Africa in the event of the black majority seizing power. The case of Cyprus is a different one since it cannot be said that the large Turkish minority had been the privileged minority before independence. Its rights as a minority group are respected in the constitution; and it is entitled to its proportion of government posts and

other "important" jobs. Yet in practice it has not worked this way after four years of independence. And it obviously could not work when both sections of the community in Cyprus were being bombarded by nationalist propaganda from Greece and Turkey respectively. Is it too late to demand that the people of Cyprus should be left alone to sort out their problems? The alternatives are partition or the evacuation of the Turkish minority from the island. These may seem drastic measures to suggest but we cannot see anything worthwhile emerging from the policing of the island by the United Nations forces or the Geneva talks. Both are stop-gap methods. The very presence of United Nations forces in the island will emphasise the differences between the two sections of the community. It is more likely that common sense might prevail if all the "peacemakers" so-called were to get out and give this unhappy island a chance to sort out its problems. As we were saying earlier the whole population of Cyprus is less than that of a medium sized British provincial town, yet at the moment the island is an armed fortress and most of the people mere pawns of a crisis not of their making.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

DOCKERS CAN WIN CLAIMS

In order to avoid the risk of unofficial demonstrations and strikes, as occurred at the time of the previous meeting, negotiators for the dockers' unions and the employers, met last week in secret. On the day of the first joint meeting, widespread unofficial action had brought some docks almost to a halt and both the unions and the employers wished to avoid a similar occurrence, hence the secrecy. In fact they even decided to keep the new improved pay offer a secret until the delegate conference.

No wonder they decided to keep quiet, for at the conference on Friday, the improved offer turned out to be an insult, 2d. a day extra on the original 10/- a week. It took the conference only an hour to reject this, for many of the delegates thought an offer of around 16/- would be made and it appears that this would have been accepted by the unions.

The chief Docks Negotiator of the Transport & General Workers Union wouldn't commit himself over strike action and no withdrawal of labour was threatened. New talks are to be held during the last week of this month.

There is, at present, a mood of determination to gain a substantial increase of 25/-. After all, the last wage increase was in May, 1962, when the unions accepted the employers' offers and averted a national strike. Coupled with the claim for a general wage increase is the dissatisfaction with the working arrangements of the new 40-hour week agreements. In the Manchester docks, overtime bans have been in operation on the Friday night and Saturday morning shifts. Treble time is being claimed, instead of double, from Friday midnight until 6 a.m. on Satur-

day. Under the present agreement treble pay is paid if both week-end nights are worked.

Further evidence of the mood of the rank and file docker was seen at their meeting in Hull last week-end when they demanded that negotiations on the 40-hour week should be re-opened. Mr. Leonard Ludders, the chairman, said "Parts of the agreement which was reached between the T.G.W.U. and the port employers are unworkable." Dockers on the Merseyside are also dissatisfied with the agreement and have banned week-end working.

In London the employers have closed up the port because of the dispute with tally clerks and stevedores on week-end overtime payments. In Liverpool, meetings of the T.G.W.U. and their rival, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, are taking place this week-end to discuss the present situation.

From past experience, not only of portworkers, but of workers in other industries, the claim of 25/- will not be won by the officials of the unions. Some deal around 15/- seems likely and will probably be made at the next talks. Jack Dash, chairman of the liaison committee of the London's Royal Group, said at the lobby of delegates on Friday, "I am confident that the rank and file in the industry will stand solid behind the negotiating body in their endeavours to bring about a realisable living wage to meet the present ever-increasing cost of living." He thought that 25/- was acceptable "though not the ideal".

This has surely been the trouble in many industrial negotiations. Long before any settlement is reached, workers know they have not a chance of gaining their full claims through their

union leadership, yet they wait for the outcome, when everything is signed and sealed. Jack Dash's political affiliations are known well enough among portworkers, but his sort of statement, especially if acted upon, leads to defeat. The 40-hour agreement is an example. Action is being taken over it now, but welcome as this may be, surely the best tactics would have been to take action before the agreement came into force. Now the port employers should have it made clear to them that the rank and file want 25/- increase and nothing less. If refused, industrial action must then be taken to win this amount.

There is an unofficial National Liaison Committee, and through this rank and file organisation, together with the similar bodies which dockers elect in their own docks, action can take place to win claims. A docker once told me that numerous disputes take place, which never reach the newspapers, where prompt action has won demands at the different quays. In some cases it has needed the threat of sympathy action from other parts of the docks and the solidarity has been there to back this. This needs to be done on a national scale now, if it is not to be the usual case of compromise. It is the membership of the unions who should decide the claim, the action and just what to accept. It is up to them, they should run the show. P.T.

STUART CHRISTIE

STUART CHRISTIE (18) of Blantyre, Lanarkshire, is in a Spanish military prison in Madrid accused of being engaged in anti-Franco activities "to carry out acts of violence against official buildings and private houses to create a psychosis of terror". It was said he was arrested carrying a knapsack containing five packets of plastic explosives, five pressure detonators, two electrical detonators and chemicals for making explosives. His arrest led to the detention of Fernando Carballo Bianco (40), a Spaniard. Stuart who is a member of the Committee of 100 and a founder member of the reconstituted Glasgow Federation of Anarchists, is said to have hitch-hiked to Madrid. He is one of the team of anarchists in *Let Me Speak*, filmed for BBC2 and showing on Saturday, August 22nd.

Stuart Christie Defence Committee

SUPPORTERS' MEETING

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON. WC1
FRIDAY, 28th AUGUST 7 PM

FREEDOM

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REFLECTIONS ON COMMITTEE OF 100 STATEMENT

THE Committee of 100's Third Policy Statement was reprinted in FREEDOM (Aug. 8), without comment but in the expectation that some of our readers would consider it a document worthy of discussion in our columns. That nobody should have done so is either a reflection on our readers or on the importance they attach to documents issued by the Committee.

We think the Statement needs to be examined sympathetically by anarchists even if critically both for the ideas it expresses as well as in respect to the activities it proposes for itself as a Movement in the future.

"It is not enough to be merely anti-war" "We have broken with party politics . . . We have ceased to believe in dependence upon representatives and officials". As anarchists we welcome this growing awareness of the relationship of war to social and economic causes, which it has taken the pacifist movement a very long time to come round to, as well as a healthy scepticism regarding politicians and political parties. On the other hand it is clear from the statement that some of our friends are still somewhat muddled in their thinking when for instance they also suggest that the "neglected subjects in the twentieth century—problems of violence and its opposite, authoritarianism and its opposite—account very largely for the helplessness of politicians in face of two world wars and the threat of a third."

The Statement also declares that "we are proceeding beyond moral protest—in conflict situations—to take constructive action in their solution." This sounds all very fine on paper but by what means do they propose to put this action into effect? It seems to this writer that many people in the peace movement have raised the ideas of non-violence, of non-violent direct action, into a sort of religious faith, however much they may deny regarding them "as sectarian doctrines peculiar to ourselves". Now it seems to us that non-violence as a dogma is as stultifying to revolutionary thinking as is violence. As propagandists our principle function should be to seek to awaken a social conscience as well as a desire to act among as many people as possible. The fact is that no lasting radical changes will ever take place until there are a very large number of people wanting and working to affect such changes. As to how these changes will come about will depend on a whole number of circumstances which those concerned in the struggle at the time will have to deal with to the best of their abilities. To state now as a dogma that whatever is achieved must be achieved by non-violent (or, for that matter, violent) methods condemns a movement to sterility. What we need to examine, and to make people aware of, are the forces

ANARCHISM ON BBC TV

'Let Me Speak,' with Malcolm Muggeridge, BBC2. August 22nd 10.20 p.m. (BCC willing).

opposed to change; why they are opposed and how they protect themselves. Each individual must then decide for himself which of the means available to him he is prepared to use in the event of a "confrontation".

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ON the organisational level the Statement declares: "We look forward to better and closer relations with all other organisations and individuals of the independent peace movement. We propose joint discussions, projects and demonstrations in which people of different persuasions can participate in their different ways without prejudice to their own values or to our common objectives".

In the public mind the Committee of 100 is the highly successful, much publicised sit-down movement which broke away from the more respectable parent body the CND. As such it has done its job, has inspired a number of people and has taught us many lessons for which the anarchists are the first to express their gratitude. But we would suggest now that the Committee of 100 as such has exhausted its possibilities, and we get the impression that what is left are a number of well-meaning individuals in search of a *raison d'être*. This desire to keep it alive at all costs, in our opinion, does more harm than good to the image, the impact of the Committee in its heyday. That it failed to rouse the people of this country to take direct action against nuclear armaments is of no importance except possibly for the very few people who believed this could be achieved. That it failed to snowball after a brilliant start may or may not have been due to shortcomings in one or more aspects of organisation (the detailed lessons of the sit-down movement have still to be discussed and digested), or in the personalities directing the movement, or in the excessive sacrifices demanded from those willing to participate in the sit-downs. With all its shortcomings the Committee of 100 obviously inspired many people to come out of their shells and challenge authority, and its success was brief but brilliant.

However successful it might have been it could not have continued indefinitely, and in our opinion, those who now seek to revive the Committee are doomed to failure because such movements, by their very nature must have a limited existence, as well as limited scope.

We humbly suggest to those activists in the Committee of 100, who have learned from their experience that "to merely be anti-war" is not enough that, what is needed is "new thinking and action about education, housing, health, communications, transport and industrial relations"; that "party politics" and "dependence upon representatives and officials" is not for them and what is needed are "new experiments in regional, local and functional administration in which the importance of the individual counts more than the importance of 'the machine'"; that they should ask themselves whether they would not serve their ends and further their cause better by working with the anarchists who have been, after all, advocating and propagating these ideas for a very long time!

CHARLES FREDERICK WILSON serving thirty years for his part in the great train robbery decided not to. He was released from his cell by "some person or persons unknown" who "entered the prison from outside and hit a night patrol officer over the head, knocking him unconscious. They then scaled a wall at the rear of the prison, using a rope ladder." Arthur Burchinshaw, a British subject, who claims that he was planted by the Americans on the Russians in Germany to feed them with false information, decided not to. The British Consulate told him to burn some film he had to deliver to the Russians. "Burn it, make sure it is burnt, then flush it down the toilet," said the consular official. Burchinshaw says, "I did this, and I remember it stopped up the drains." Burchinshaw alleges that the Americans denounced him as a spy to the West Germans who arrested him but eventually released him on the grounds of 'insufficient evidence'. Iam Fleming, the creator of James Bond, who never had any trouble with toilets, died of a heart attack. This autumn sees the publication of Fleming's first book for children entitled *Chitty-Chitty-Bang-Bang*. Mr. Reginald Payne, editor of the *Sunday Mirror* during the Boothby mistake was replaced by the assistant editor of the *Daily Mirror*.

THE OTHER Mr. Wilson made a brief reappearance in London with abrasions and contusions which he claims he got on the rocks. His opponent, Sir Alec Douglas Home claims that his finger was damaged cutting roses. National Opinion polls gave Labour a lead of 0.6% as compared with 13.1% in April. This cheered up the Stock Exchange. On the other hand, Gallup Polls failed to confirm this prognostication. At Liverpool an unpopular verdict in a boxing match produced another fracas in the ring in which a spectator injured one of the contestants, and the spectator sustained a knock-out.

THE "SUNDAY CITIZEN" reported that a fire damaged a private hotel at St. Mary's in the Scilly Isles, where Mr. Harold Wilson and his wife were having dinner . . . A holidaymaker, Mr. Julian Benson of Tiverton, Devon, said, 'Mr. Wilson and his wife were completely unmoved by the situation'.

HAGGLING OVER Cyprus continued, America decided to intervene in the Congo, Alice Lenshina gave herself up after more of her followers slaughtered and were slaughtered, and there were more race riots in the United States.



IN THE LEBANON the *Bal des Petits Lits Blanc* was held in aid of French tubercular children and Lebanese orphans. The *bal* is said to have cost about £300,000 with a buffet of 30 lambs, 12 suckling pigs, 300 quail, 2 Kenya deer, 4 Swedish swans, and 6 New Zealand peacocks. It was attended by Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia, Princess Maria Pia, Vicomtesse de Ribes, Princess Ashraf and Miss Geraldine Chaplin among others. It lasted until dawn and the French tubercular children and Lebanese orphans benefited by £30,000. Mr. Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister faced with a chronic food shortage has ordered that no parties be held for two or three months and announced that his ministers would not accept lunch or dinner invitations. "We want," Mr. Shastri said, "to create a climate of thinking and behaviour in keeping with our present-day conditions. Previously three million workers went on strike in Maharashtra State in protest against acute food shortage and rising costs. Mr. Krushchev extolled the virtues of fried horse-meat and said that there was nothing better than sausage made from horse-meat and pork. For the benefit of Russia's twenty-five million Moslems, Mr. Krushchev added: "He who cannot eat pork, let him eat horse-meat. It is simply a question of taste." Horse-meat, however, did not appear on the menu of the breakfast given by Mr. Krushchev to Lord Thomson of Fleet, chairman of Thomson Newspapers. The menu included caviar (two kinds), omelettes, asparagus, cauliflowers, turkey, dumplings and fruit; Mr. Krushchev is apparently on a diet and only ate yoghurt and black bread followed by mineral water. The Society Union announced a reduction in the period of primary and secondary education from eleven years to ten. Earlier this year it was announced that the period of higher education would be reduced by one year.

GODFREY WINN wrote to pop-singer Cilla Black via the *Daily Sketch*: "Dear Cilla . . . Why Don't You Come Down to Earth?" and asks her to go by bus occasionally. He writes, "I deliberately take a bus every week of my working life. Not for economy but for the good of my soul. It cuts me down to size. It makes me feel I belong to the rest of the world." He goes on to recommend that Cilla gets about more. For example: take "a picnic to Kew Gardens, or visit Windsor Castle where the biggest star in Britain lives". He gets back to the common touch of the bus with "After all, Mr. Macmillan when he stepped down from being Prime Minister thought there was nothing incongruous about his going home from the office by bus. And you know, in this way, he was as famous as you are". In the *Express* a plea for "the biggest star in Britain". "Could not the Queen's work be eased if she ceased to bestow honours personally? Those who receive honours ought to be jolly well satisfied at getting them without expecting her to spend long hours in dishing them out."

FIELD MARSHAL SIR GERALD TEMPLAR, a former chief of the Imperial General Staff wrote that the higher command (in the First World War) were not criticized by soldiers in the trenches as they are in some quarters today. There was "the normal grousing which is the age-old prerogative of all soldiers in wartime." "We did not believe that they had led us into these circumstances through stupidity or callousness. I believe that we were convinced that our leaders were doing their duty to the best of their ability and with honour, just as we were attempting to do our best to carry out the orders given to us. It does no service to the dead or to the living to say, with the hindsight of fifty years later, that all the sufferings could be avoided." He was writing in the fifth volume of *Their Name Liveth*, a record by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in which 1,106,000 dead of the First World War and 580,000 of the Second will be, have been, or will be, recorded by name.

THREE MEMBERS of the Committee of 100 from Ilford appeared in court each facing two charges of receiving Civil Defence documents of a restricted nature, two charges of breaking and entering Civil Defence headquarters and one of being in possession of house-breaking implements by night. They were remanded on bail after an undertaking to refrain from nuclear disarmament activities until the conclusion of their case.

Why Permanent Protest?

I HAVE before me FREEDOM, Vol. 1, No. 1, dated October 1886* and the editorial states:—

"We are living on the eve of great events. Before the end of this century we will see great revolutionary movements breaking up our social conditions in Europe and probably also in America. Now that Europeans are so closely connected by steam and electricity; now that the same ideas inspire the Norwegian workman and the Italian peasant, the rapid spread of the revolution is yet more inevitable. Governments will be overthrown. Peasants will seize the land. Workers in towns will seize factories and mills. New forms of life will be submitted to a trial; new departures made in the industrial and political life of societies."

It is obvious that the revolutionary hopes of 1886 went unfulfilled because the masses simply were not interested. The millions who marched behind the elevating slogans of the then developing trade unions and radical parties must indeed have led our first editors to believe that revolution was imminent and the free society just around the corner. But although the masses marched behind the slogans of Peace, Freedom and Equality it turned out that what they really wanted was a higher material standard of living. At least that is what they have settled for. And the form of society which has provided this higher standard is capitalism. So as to convince themselves that the workers are with them most radical propagandists simply urge that people should get more and more out of capitalism. They simply cannot see that the practical effect of urging that everyone with over, say £15 a week, in this relatively prosperous corner of the globe, should get

more, is to make their propaganda serve as a remote outpost of the advertising industry.

In our own time the only large scale movement to have arisen has been CND. It is patently on the wane. The great majority of its supporters have been middle class; the workers just were not interested. The Committee of 100 rose in 1961 and hoped that each of its civil disobedience demonstrations would be larger than the one before. This did not happen and the Committee has dwindled to the present hard core. The masses failed to respond.

And so the workers will not improve this society let alone build an anarchist one. There are three other ways in which an anarchist society is supposed to come into being. The first is that the scientists will build it. The second that the psychologists will do all the work and the third idea is that society 'naturally' progresses towards freedom and inexorable historical laws will lead society to anarchy. Well, the scientists seem to be busy creating a hell on earth, the psychologists, although holding much useful truth, are hopelessly divided and can anyone produce any rational arguments backed up by concrete evidence that society 'naturally' progresses towards freedom? Rational arguments not pious pipe dreams.

The editors of 1886 believed that people wanted freedom. But obviously only a few do, the bulk of the population being quite happy with masters providing they are not too harsh. And their desires for more material wealth will never lead their thoughts in a libertarian direction. If affluence is a man's aim in life he joins the rat race, saves up, buys a little house in the suburbs, votes conservative (or labour) and endeavours to rise into the middle

class. He does not support anarchism on the off-chance of some glorious future society arising, which probably cannot produce as abundantly as capitalism anyway. But if self-motivation, enlightened self-interest and personal freedom are his aims he will look towards anarchism. And having become an anarchist the only realistic course to adopt is that of permanent protest.

A permanent protester is very dubious, to say the least, of a free society ever arising. He wants to live his anarchism here now so far as possible and not look to some theoretical future society. The way he lives his life will depend on taste, capability and opportunity. Possibilities for an individual vary between stoicism and withdrawal to desert islands. Group activities could vary between monthly discussion meetings and the establishing of rural self-supporting communities. Other possible activities are free education, child caring schemes, adventure playgrounds, communal work projects, experiments in the arts and shared living accommodation. Nor need permanent protest mean quietism and the withdrawal from social commitment. A propaganda newspaper could be produced from a rural community as well as from London if a press was installed. During the 1930's FREEDOM was produced from a community. And what better propaganda could there be than for people to be seen living their philosophy instead of just talking about it?

Permanent protest propaganda will take a different line from contemporary radical propaganda which is largely self-defeating. It will stress not the horrors of current society but the advantages of permanent protest. Propaganda about the horrors of society usually only aggravates them. Herbert Read writes in "Poetry and Anarchism" that he gave up writing pacifist tracts which gave realistic descriptions of trench warfare in World War I when he realised that

Continued on page 4

Chicago

COMRADES,

I would like to make a few comments about the political situation in this country *apropos* your lead article in the July 25 FREEDOM, 'Goldwater or Poverty?'

Firstly in this country one can quickly tell the age it seems of a radical by his prediction of the coming election's results. The older radicals very seriously believe that Goldwater can win; the younger, naive, largely believe that Johnson will win with resounding majorities in almost all of the large urban states, and consequently walk away with the election. Johnson, I believe, will carry the east, mid-western states like Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and maybe Ohio and Penn could go Goldwater. The west is a toss-up, but anyone who takes Calif. can negate all the other western states in terms of electoral votes.

The older radicals really fear the so-called white backlash. In my opinion the backlash does not exist; this vote is simply the white conservative vote which has always existed in especially the rural areas and in the suburbs of large cities. Those who give credence to the backlash base their view on the belief that the white working class will vote republican

★ LETTERS ★

this election because of a supposed threat he feels from the negro community. But as Chicago's Mayor Daley said recently, a voter does not change his party affiliation because of one issue, especially if this issue is not a bread and butter one. You may have heard of Mayor Daley, the last of the old-time machine-running mayors? I respect his political acumen—don't you?

It is hard to separate the problems of Goldwater and Poverty because of the control of communications by a wealthy élite which leaves the ordinary citizen living in a world of illusions. The recent "riots" in Harlem brought this concentration camp into the news, see *Time*, for the first time in all of its rottenness. Though the long shots as in *Time*, make the whole place unreal. Much better would be pictures of young children with rats and broken plaster walls. Yet the television coverage was good and some worthwhile programmes did touch the inhuman living conditions that exist in Harlem, but again Harlem can become a word for a damnable place that the ordinary citizen feels no responsibility for, and

totally alienated from.

Chicago has negro ghettos as bad as Harlem. The infamous "southside", 63rd and Cottage Grove, are jazz-famous and the heart of the southside Negro ghetto where humans are living in as bad a condition as in Harlem, but this is not brought to the attention of the television viewer. Nor the fact that downtown banks own much of this property. Negroes have to battle almost alone against their landlords, without the white community aware that a fight is taking place.

The possibility of a Harlem-like riot in Chicago exists, but the chances of its occurrence are slim because the negroes in Chicago do not live in as a highly dense urban community as Harlem in New York. In Chicago the southside formed at the turn of the century the negro community. It grew larger and larger until the second world war when negroes began to move into poor housing west of the downtown area. As urban renewal pushed negroes out of the southside after the war, they began to move into the west side, so that today negroes live in Chicago's westside and southside, are beginning to move into the near north-side.

I live about one mile from the fringes of the southside ghetto. What keeps me from living within it is the back-of-the-yards organization mentioned by Swann in ANARCHY No. 41. This organisation and the large catholic community centred around visitation parish have kept the negroes from entering. Mayor Daley lives on the northern fringe of the back-of-the-yards let's say on the other side of the stock yards. And the people who are supposed to make up the backlash are his neighbours who have successfully kept out the negroes, and of course to prevent them from becoming a backlash he will do all in his power to contain the negroes and keep his neighbours free from anxiety—nice man. So you have a situation wherein a democrat to keep his "people" loyal will go to racist extremes to prevent his con-

stituency from becoming fascist. That's politics.

If Goldwater is a political sore, then Chicago a recent survey revealed that one out of six Chicagoans lives in poverty, the national average is one in five. But the line taken for the survey was \$3,000 annual income for a family; the labour department has set as \$6,500 as the annual income of a family of four to live modestly but adequately in Chicago. It cost more to live in Chicago than in any other city in the U.S. Taking the \$3,000 figure the report found that 700,000 live in poverty in Cook County, which includes all of Chicago and a few suburbs. The report showed however that fewer than half of the poor families were receiving assistance from the governmental welfare agencies. Of the 145,000 families in the poverty group, more than half are headed by women, and 37% are non-white.

These are startling figures with those who have an imagination.

The only bright spot is the fact that a small segment of our population is beginning to face reality, and trying to change their situation.

BERNARD MARSZALEK.

Eroticism Wanted

DEAR FRIENDS,

We are soon to publish a booklet of contemporary eroticism. This is to be edited by Arthur Moyle and will, beside original contributions, feature time-honoured material, of local or international reputation, previously unpublished. As far as we know this will be the only serious publication of its kind and is, in our opinion, long overdue.

Original poems, and all other suitable material, should be sent *without* the customary S.A.E. to the address below. Publication will be the only reward and no manuscripts, used or unused, will be returned.

DAVE CUNLIFFE

Screeches Publications,
11, Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs

Why Permanent Protest?

Continued from page 3

people were reading them just to get sado-masochistic kicks. Inadvertently he had been making propaganda FOR war. It is no coincidence that the books describing Nazi war crimes find their best markets in the kinky book shops around Leicester Square. And kinky people commit war crimes. And what is the good of talking of the horrors of H-war to a population which has a subconscious death-wish. Talking of the colour problem usually only aggravates it. And

telling the blunt truth about people and society usually makes them angry—at the propagandist. It disturbs their smug mental worlds.

The permanent protester's argument against war is to live in peace—come what may. His argument against racialism is to practice miscegenation. He will tell people not what creeps they really are but how they could live better by adopting libertarian ideas.

As well as adopting a new approach to propaganda the permanent protester will endeavour to adopt rational attitudes to people and society. He will steer midway between the rocks of facilism and irresponsibility. Facilism is the belief that people are 'naturally good' and that if only governments could be got rid of everything would be all right. Its most extreme expression was a view I once heard that the workers are really ready for anarchism but are divided and confused by the policemen and capitalists who, disguised as workers, move among them committing anti-social acts. (Murdering children, scabbing on strikers, etc.). Irresponsibility at the other extreme holds that although current society may have made you a thug, a murderer or a maniac, you must still be free—tomorrow. Libertarianism thereby consists of doing what authoritarianism has made you want to do.

Between facilism and irresponsibility the permanent protester will take the happy medium—realising that some people are ready for anarchy tomorrow some never. He will endeavour to live anarchism today. Is anything else possible? To what extent is permanent protest possible in the modern world? It would be useful to have a debate.

R.J.

*Complete sets and individual copies of the back numbers of FREEDOM for most of the years between 1886 and 1927 will soon be on sale from Freedom Press.

FINGS

"Freedom" Sellers Wanted for Street-corners, Hyde Park and public meetings. Get in touch with Peter Turner, c/o Freedom Press.

Anti-Election
Anti-election campaign advancing for the last heave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, August 24th, 8 p.m.

Prisoners, Ex-Prisoners, Human Beings?
After being in prison for Committee of 100 activities it is hard enough to retain your sanity and start becoming a human being again—let alone worrying about your accumulated bills and where to get the next meal. Our "long-term" prisoners will be out soon. Pat Arrowsmith and Brian McGee are due out in October Terry Chandler—veteran of the 1963 Greek demonstration—was recently released. He needs aid now. Others already released, among them Lily Lee, also need assistance. Please help us to alleviate their financial problems.
Welfare Group (Committee of 100), Ground Floor, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

If you think that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know.

ELECTION ANTHOLOGY—VIII

In effecting a reform by legislative methods it is necessary to go through this procedure. In the first place it is necessary to agitate in order to convince the body of the people that a great public evil exists. Public opinion being aroused—it is now necessary to convince a body of men of the existence of this evil, and of the existence of a strong desire to remove it, and of the methods to do this. After some time some representatives, or—even a party of politicians, take the matter up, and the people who have agitated for years and years ere the question entered the realms of "practical politics" are now congratulating themselves upon the success of their long agitation. But their congratulations are rather early yet.

The political party which has taken up the matter may not be strong enough to introduce a Bill: they may be in opposition. Two or three years pass, and a General Election comes which

returns the party to power. But difficulties are not over, other things "block the way" and it is a few more years before the Bill is introduced. The original agitators now getting into the "sere and yellow leaf" imagine their time of triumph has come at last. Not yet, however. The other party—the party in opposition—has to be convinced of its necessity. When convinced of its necessity, they will however, disagree upon every possible method that can be adapted. Clause by clause, line by line, the Bill is fiercely contested, until after a lapse of a few more years it becomes law, but so mutilated and patched up as to become almost unrecognizable to its originators, who, now hoary with years far beyond that usually allotted to man, drop into their graves, from agony and shame at the sight of this miserable abortion which is presented them in their old age as the child of their youth.

BLAIR SMITH.

Keep it Up!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT AUGUST 15th 1964
Week 33.

EXPENSES: 33 weeks at £70 £2,310
INCOME:

	£	£
Sales & Sub. Renewals:		
Weeks 1—32	1,601	
Weeks 33	35	
		1,636
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1—32 (154)	172	
Week 33 (5)	7	
		179
		1,815
		DEFICIT £495

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