

HOW much of the Cyprus crisis is real and how much of the crisis is invented and created by the outside powers? How much of the real crisis can be laid at the door of religious prejudice and economic poverty? To what extent is Cyprus being used by the politicians of the larger and lesser powers to engage in the power game? Are we perhaps witnessing the beginning of a manoeuvre to wind-up NATO—with a corresponding winding up of the Warsaw Treaty organisation, both of which are so riddled with internal strife, that America and Russia might well be looking for the formula to justify their dissolution? These and other questions come to mind as one ploughs through the reams of newsprint discussing the Cyprus crisis and the comings and goings of politicians. At the moment they are all wrangling about the composition of an international force which should go to Cyprus to keep the peace and the island's needs come second to considerations procedural and political. If Nato provides the force, then there are complications with Turkey who, as a member of Nato, will wish to participate in it. If the United Nations deal with the matter then Britain and the US are worried lest Russia might want to interfere. And

Political Jackals now Descend on Cyprus

presumably it is these considerations which have produced a change of attitude in the American government, which at first was prepared to let Britain stew in its little crisis, but has now been prompted to send a high officer of the State Department to have urgent talks with the British government.

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WHAT has all this to do with solving the problems that beset the unhappy island and its mere half million inhabitants? But surely if an international force on the island can prevent the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots from killing each other that is something? One cannot deny the practical force of such an argument, if in fact it could be implemented without the cure ending up by being worse than the disease. If one takes the alleged main problem that is

the cause of bloodshed—that is the antagonisms between the Greek majority (80 per cent of the population) and the Turkish minority (20 per cent)—it would be a simple matter to keep one faction from attacking the other if they each occupied well defined parts of the island. But the fact is that Turkish villages exist alongside Greek ones; there are "terrorist" mobile groups on both sides, and one cannot believe that either the Greeks or the Turks are ideologically united—we know for instance that the Greek communist faction probably hate the Grivas right wing faction more than they hate most of the Turkish minority. What size international force would therefore be needed, and what measures would it have to take to ensure a forced peaceful co-existence among the islanders? It

seems quite obvious to us that a token force would be helpless as well as being accused of creating incidents; while an overwhelming force would have to act as a repressive occupation army, and as in the Congo, in the end would become itself a major international problem, apart from sharpening the antagonisms, real and artificially created, within the country itself.

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ONE has to face up to the fact that at the moment deep divisions, and hostility divide the Greek and Turkish communities, and since the lives of many innocent people are at stake it is inconceivable that outsiders should shrug their shoulders and say it's none of their business and leave it at that. There are many unofficial bodies in the world today, who do valuable work to relieve the suffering caused by the ravages of nature and by Man's own folly, and because they limit their function to patching up the damage and not to preventing it, they are recognised by most governments. But what all governments invariably resist are attempts by unofficial bodies of citizens to act as mediators where differences between small or large communities are threatening to deteriorate into blind hatred and violence. This is understandable since government came in where communities could not or would not resolve their differences among themselves, and its future is guaranteed so long as mankind is divided by real and/or imaginary differences. Indeed, governments foment differences where

previously they had not existed in order to hold on to office and power.

The discussions that have been taking place in London over the Cyprus crisis are essentially concerned with the power struggle at top level inside Cyprus as well as outside, and therefore it follows that peace or strife among the communities there, is for them not a matter of life and death for innocent people, but a tactical weapon in that struggle. Compare the international "crisis" developing over the incidents in Cyprus with the complete indifference to the daily massacre in Rwanda-Urundi—where it seems that the Bahutu people are intent on wiping out the Watutsi, and have so far, according to reports, accounted for 15,000—in order to appreciate the hypocrisy of all governments.

As with all countries, Cyprus is divided into the haves and the have nots. The majority of the population whether Greeks or Turks, Christians or Muslims, should be united by their age-long poverty, and ignorance which 300 years of Turkish rule and sixty of British have done nothing to relieve, and, judging by conditions in Greece, there is no reason to believe that enosis (union with Greece) would change matters. Cyprus is plagued with priests, politicians and parasites. What the Cypriots need is to be helped to help themselves, and such solidarity can only come from unofficial sources. What Cyprus needs is not another army of occupation but an "invasion" of people of goodwill to speak to, and work with, the ordinary people of the island, Turks and Greeks, and sustained by other people of goodwill throughout the world, in an attempt to break down the artificial barriers

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POWER CORRUPTS

GHANA was to be the show piece of African independence. Nkrumah came to power the traditional way, struggling against British colonialism, a spell in jail, elections and so to 'top man'. There was no European problem to complicate the path towards Ghana's independence, the Gold Coast was the 'white man's grave', therefore, the majority of 'pukka sahibs' left it severely alone.

Nkrumah has had a turbulent career since independence; the 'opposition', especially from the Ashanti and its Chiefs, has been virile to say the least. At a delegate conference in October, 1957, the Opposition Parties united to call themselves the United Party, setting the stage for future battles.

The first smell of dictatorship came in May, 1957, when Nkrumah spoke of freedom of worship being embodied in the Constitution, but he would not tolerate the activities of certain religious bodies, i.e. Jehovah's Witnesses, because they ignored activities pertaining to the STATE and didn't want to know anything about voting. I carry no torch for any religious body, but his action against the J.W.'s was the thin edge of the wedge.

In August 1957, a couple of foreign newspaper men were deported from

Ghana. The official hand-out by the Minister of Information, Mr. Kofi Baako stated that the freedom of the Press in Ghana was not in danger and that his Government welcomed constructive criticisms. In Accra on August 29, in a speech to Parliament, Dr. Nkrumah said, "I don't resent criticism appearing in liberal European newspapers in regards to the deportation; I think critics are not fully informed, but think we all should be glad so much interest should be taken in what we are doing here. It is a tribute to the importance of Ghana as a symbol in the world."

Critics were not fully informed because according to James Morris, *Manchester Guardian* (Sept. 2, 1958): "One of the difficulties of reporting recent affairs in Ghana has been Dr. Nkrumah's resolute refusal to see correspondents or give Press conferences."

The Ghana Trades Union Congress is Government controlled. It consists of a single centralised body with departments to cater for various occupations. One union for each industry. It is reported that when Nkrumah visited Russia and Communist China two years ago, he was so impressed by their system that he said he intended adopting it in Ghana.

The recent referendum therefore should not have come as a surprise. The type of voting figures and results are true to form of the 'People's Democracies'. In Ashanti the stronghold of the opposition, the Convention People's Party really excelled themselves. According to the *Guardian* (3/2/64), they sealed the "NO" boxes. One must forgive Nkrumah's party for being so crude at this stage; with experience they will learn the art of subtlety in such matters.

On February 18, the Ghanaian National Assembly resumes its sitting. The seven sitting members of the Opposition United Party, will either have to join the Convention People's Party or get out. There is no room for opposition in a one-party State. Nkrumah already has power to quash decisions of the special criminal courts which try treason cases if he thinks the courts decisions are not in the interests of State security. One does not expect 'justice' from the Law Courts but, in Ghana you don't even get 'the Law'.

The time is now ripe for the future dictatorial clique to be brain-washed. Ghana students holding Government scholarships must "conform to the new era". According to the *Ghanaian Times* the elite must be reorientated; "Criticism must be orientated and LIMITED comrade."

How long will the Convention People's Party be able to maintain the 'I love Nkrumah' slogan? Britain's deliberate policy in the Gold Coast was a one-crop economy: Cocoa. And the situation is still the same. Is history going to repeat itself? Industrialization on the backs of the workers at the expense of their freedom. Must we stand by and watch the seemingly inevitable happen?

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Postmen should take action for themselves!

The Post Office's plans for the introduction of an unaddressed household delivery service are meeting with strong opposition. Even some Tory Members of Parliament, although voting with their Party against the Labour motion to restrict the service, abstained in the vote on the Government amendment approving the plan. One of the Tories, Mr. Hirst, surprisingly enough based his opposition on the fact that it would overburden the postmen. Labour's motion was to exclude political and other contentious matter from the service.

It is expected that the new scheme will bring in an estimated profit of £300,000 per year, which will increase in future years. Certain organisations have already taken advantage of the service and this has led to many resolutions opposing it being sent in from branches of the postmen's unions, and even refusal by some postmen to deliver the leaflets. One organisation, the Aims of Industry, has been sending out anti-nationalisation propaganda, and postmen at Hampstead have refused to deliver these leaflets, saying that they would delay the ordinary letter delivery service.

Postmen in Central London have voted in opposition to this new scheme and from many union branches all over the country has come the call for strike action. Mr. Smith, the General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, is against any strike action, which could be one method of preventing Mr. Bevens, the Postmaster General, from putting his plans into operation. Postmen can expect nothing from Mr. Smith, but must take action themselves.

At the moment postmen are already overburdened with work and have to work many hours of overtime. They have no individual say in this as overtime is compulsory. Staff shortage makes it necessary for the postmen to carry bags weighing 40-50 lbs., when the maximum laid down in the rules is 35 lbs. Even though the amount of mail in the bags is increased, there is often quite a large amount left behind at the sorting office to await the next delivery. For this, postmen receive a pittance for a wage. In central London the wage is £12 17s, elsewhere only £11 15s, and the postman has to be 25 years old before he gets even this,

which is considered to be the "adult" wage. It is estimated that this is £3 3s. per week less than that earned by the average worker in industry. At the negotiations going on for a pay increase, the Post Office has offered the "guiding light" of 34%, but this has been rejected.

Postmen, for far too long now, have been hampered by outdated rules and regulations of the Civil Service. Relying on their union executive is going to get them nowhere. If the Post Office's scheme goes through, the postmen's lot will become even worse. Some form of action will have to be organised to stop the introduction of the unaddressed household delivery service and to gain substantial increases in wages. Work-to-rule for higher wages and a boycott of the leaflet delivery service.

There seems to be, at the present time, no rank and file organisation of postmen. This must be built up now, for it is the only way to defeat this scheme and at the same time, win a well deserved pay increase.

HULL DOCKERS BAN OVERTIME

When cargoes of timber from Canada arrived this week at Hull docks, it was found that new methods of packaging were being used in an effort to speed-up unloading. This was a direct threat to the wages of the dockers, as they are paid piecework rates.

The dockers who were scheduled to unload these cargoes, withdrew their

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ANARCHY 36: IS ON THE POLICE

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Max Stirner

MAX STIRNER was born in Bayreuth, Bavaria, on October 25, 1806. He was not a prolific writer, much of his time being absorbed by the problems of daily existence. Of his writings, only one has reached us. In it is reflected his personality; in it he tried to express his thought and to show a way of liberation to the men of his time.

THERE IS STIRNER and his work; there is "The Ego and His Own" and "Stirnerism". Max Stirner speaks to the men of all times without assuming the theatrical manner of a prophet thundering from the depths of his cavern as does Nietzsche. He is not a teacher teaching his pupils. He speaks to all who want to listen to him, as a lecturer who can gather around him an audience of all types—workers as well as intellectuals.

To understand the significance of "Stirnerism" it is necessary to eliminate from "The Ego and His Own" all that is merely relative to the epoch when the book was written. Without this preliminary work the reader may be tempted to think that he is in the presence of a confession or a philosophical testament. Once this has been done, he will find himself in front of a sturdy and well-planted tree, a perfectly coherent doctrine, and he will not be surprised to find that this doctrine has given birth to a movement.

For Stirner, the individual is the basis and explanation of humanity. Without human beings there is no humanity; the whole cannot be understood except by means of the part. Unless one accepts these premises one may as well stop here. This sociological entity is neither a being in becoming, nor a superman, but a man like you or me whose determinism impels him to be what he has the power to be. But is man, as we know him, what his determinism makes him? In other words, is he what he ought to be or could be? The man we meet in the place of attainment or of work, is he a natural product of an artificial compound? Does

(The new edition of Stirner's "The Ego and His Own" recently published by the Libertarian Book Club of New York will bring this classic of individualist anarchism before the eyes of a new generation of anarchists. The following article by E. Armand, a leading French interpreter of Stirner, presents an outline of some of Stirner's main ideas. It is an abridgement of a translation by J.G. of "le stirnerisme"—S.E.P.)

he voluntarily carry out the social contract, or does he conform because education, prejudice and conventions of all kinds cram his skull? This is the problem that Stirner tries to solve. For the first time!

In order to put the individual back into his natural determinism Stirner attacks the pillars on which modern man has built Society: God, State, Church, the "Cause", Morality, Liberty, Justice, the Public Good, Abnegation, Law, people's Rights Honour, Patriotism, Truth—in brief, ideals of all kinds. These ideals, whether of the past or of the present, are spooks lying hidden in all the "corners" of his mentality, which take possession of his mind, establish themselves there and prevent him from following his egotistic will.

After these spooks have beaten a retreat, the pillars of his faith and beliefs collapse, and the individual finds himself alone. At last he is he. His "I" is disengaged from all the matrixes that have restrained and prevented him from showing himself as he is. The table has been swept clean; the clouds that obscured his horizon have disappeared; the sun is shining with all its brightness—and the way is free. The individual knows no more than one cause: his own, and this cause he does not base on external things, or the phantom values with which his mind was stuffed before. He is an egoist in the absolute sense of the word: his only resource from now on is his own power. All external regulations are buried. He is freed from inner constraints which are worse than external imperatives and now he looks to himself for his own regulation and law. He is unique and belongs entirely to himself. There is only one superior right for him: the right to his own well-being. "Pain has to disappear to give place to satisfaction."

Consider the point at which the Unique has arrived! There is no truth outside of himself. He does everything for the love of himself, not for the love of God or of men. His relationship with others is one of use or profit. Right and justice derive from him. What he wants is what is just. Away with all causes that are not his! He is his own cause and is neither "good" nor "evil". He is the

ANARCHISM TODAY A LAUGH FOR THE POSH SUNDAYS

ANARCHISM is a way of life, and when most people live the anarchist way of life we will be living in an anarchist society.

Which do you change first the Society or the people for Society is made up of people? Answer, the people. People's ideas and ideals are what makes for the kind of Society they live in.

Today most people are Tories, and it makes no difference whether they vote Communist, Labour, Liberal, Conservative or Fascist. They think largely in terms of money and power.

There are very few workers who feel that it's immoral to be a capitalist and exploit one's fellow men because they are either poor, stupid or ignorant.

When one talks about Society and its immorality the usual remark comes out: "if you can't beat 'em join 'em."

A man who is an anarchist cannot possibly make a success in the terms that this society thinks in because he is an anarchist. He cannot because he has other values. So society thinks of him as a nut.

If he is an authority on something like Alex Comfort for example. The fact that he is an anarchist is only mentioned quickly in passing if at all. For we are all supposed to be balm by those respectable people who surround us.

Which finally leads me to my point. At the meeting last week, Friday the 31st January, that was held to set up

mortal enemy of the State and the irreverent adversary of legal property.

ON WHAT SHORE will the egoist land who is impelled by his determinism and has made a clean sweep of his prejudices? This is the second phase of "Stirnerism".

To the shore of union, of association . . . But a union based on voluntary contract, a union of egoists, which is not haunted by the spooks of unselfishness, sacrifice, abnegation, etc. . . .

A union where our individual forces will be increased by those of our associates, where we will be both users and used. A union which will be used by you for your own purposes without being troubled by an obsession with "social duties". A union which you will consider as your property, your weapon, your tool, and which you will leave when it is no longer of use to you.

But one should not imagine that this union, which permits the individual to realize himself by it, does not demand anything in return.

It is true that the Stirnerian union does not present itself as a spiritual power superior to the spirit of its members—it exists for them, it is their creation. But for it to fulfil its end, for the individual to escape "from the constraint inseparable from life in the State or society," it must be understood that there will be some "restriction of liberty and limitation of the will."

"Give and take". As an egoist, my friend, you will use other egoists, but on condition that you will accept being used by them in return. In Stirner's union, one may sacrifice oneself for others, but without invoking the sacred character of the Union. You will do it simply because it is pleasing and natural for you to do so.

Stirner recognises that the State is based on the slavery of work; that if work were free the State would immediately be destroyed. That is why the workers should aim at the destruction of the State, or to do without it, which comes to the same thing.

THERE REMAINS the way in which the egoist, or union of egoists, will react against the craftiness and cunning of those who use the spooks which possess men's minds for the ends of domination and exploitation. After the destruction of the State, "Stirnerism" does not intend to play the same role in order to force those who have neither the need nor the capacity to form unions of egoists. Stirner does not advocate revolution. His philosophy is not a synonym for messianism. Against those who possess and exploit to the extent that they do not leave to the exploited bread to eat or a place to lay their heads, nor pay them the full value of their labour, insurrection or rebellion is the thing. There is unproductive land, there are strong-boxes full of overflowing—what the hell! There is no place for sentimentalism when it is a question of affirming the right of the individual or the united to well-being. The self-conscious ego will not be embarrassed by the scruples that haunt those whose

heads are inhabited by spooks.

"The revolution commands one to make arrangements, the insurrection demands that he rises or exalts himself.

"If a rock bars my way I will go round it until I have powder to blow it up. I will go round the laws of my country until I have enough force to destroy them.

"Therefore, turn to yourselves rather than your gods or idols. Bring out from yourselves what is in you, bring it to the light, bring yourselves to revelation."

Such is the essence of the message that Max Stirner, in delivering it to the men of his time, addressed to the men of all times.

One of the most remarkable passages in "The Ego and His Own" is that in which Stirner defines the bourgeoisie in relation to the *déclassé*. This quotation is the best answer to those who see in Stirner and his successors only bourgeois individualists:

"The bourgeoisie professes a morality which is most closely connected with its essence. The first demand of this morality is to the effect that one should carry on a solid business, an honourable trade, lead a moral life. Immoral, to it, is the sharper, the demirep, the thief, the robber, and murderer, the gambler, the penniless man without a situation, the frivolous man. The doughty bourgeois designates the feeling against these 'immoral' people as his 'deepest indignation.' All these lack settlement, the solid quality of business, a solid, seemly life, a fixed income, etc., in short, they belong, because their existence does not rest on a secure basis, to the dangerous proletariat; they are 'individual bawlers' who offer no 'guarantee' and have 'nothing to lose' and so nothing to risk . . . every vagabondish way of living displeases him. For there are intellectual vagabonds too, to whom the hereditary dwelling-place of their fathers seems too cramped and oppressive for them to be willing to satisfy themselves with the limited space any more; instead of keeping within the limits of a tem-

perate style of thinking, and taking as inviolable truth what furnishes comfort and tranquillity to thousands, they overleap all bounds of tradition and run wild with their impudent criticisms and untamed mania for doubt, these extravagant vagabonds. They form the class of the unstable, restless, changeable, i.e., of the proletariat, and, if they give voice to their unsettled nature, are called 'unruly fellows'."

Stirner did not 'go to the people' as did Bakunin, Kropotkin, or Tolstoy, for example. He was not a prolific producer with both mean and generous bourgeois prejudices as was Proudhon; nor a savant with the spirit of evangelical kindness as was Réclus. Nor an aristocrat like Nietzsche. He was one of us. He never found himself in a sure and profitable position. He had to follow many different trades in order to exist. The glory that surrounded the celebrated exiles, revolutionary militants or leaders of schools, was unknown to him. He had to get out of his difficulties as he could. Instead of the marks of respect which the bourgeoisie, in spite of everything, bestow on certain famous revolutionaries, Stirner received the rebuffs which are the lot of individuals without occupation or guarantee.

It was his own experiences which educated him. Therefore he was able to draw a more striking portrait of the bourgeois than that drawn much later by Flaubert from a purely aesthetic viewpoint.

The characteristic of the bourgeois world, according to Stirner, is to have a serious occupation, an honourable moral profession. In short, a right to settlement in life. The bourgeoisie may be a worker or a *rentier*; he can call himself a republican, a radical, a socialist, a syndicalist, a communist, even an anarchist; he can belong to a Lodge, to a league for human rights, to a socialist electoral committee, or to a communist cell; he may even pay his subscription to a revolutionary party. As long as his life rests on a sure basis, as long as he offers moral guarantees, bourgeois he is and bourgeois he remains.

E. ARMAND.

Fascist System —Communist Trade

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

RETURNING from South Africa there is time for reflection, and there is time for consideration of events in East and Central Africa.

Perhaps the most appropriate comment on South Africa came from the British fascist O. Mosley, who was visiting South Africa at the same time as this writer. Asked whether there was an affiliated or allied group to his party in S. Africa, Mosley replied, "We do not wish to set up an opposition to the National Party because there is little difference between our party and that of the Government of South Africa." This would seem to indicate the position in South Africa, that bastion of the free world against the international Communist conspiracy.

Yet, one wonders. A glance at the January 1964 "Barclays Trade Review" might cause some uncertainty. Here we read: "South Africa's exports (excluding gold bullion and specie) to Soviet bloc countries during the first half of 1963 amounted to R7.0 million (£3½ million). The main importing countries were China (R4.2 million), Poland (R1.3 million), Albania (R649,000), Czechoslovakia (R309,766) and East Germany (R406,291). Other countries importing from S. Africa on a smaller scale were Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, U.S.S.R. and Lithuania.

"During the same period S Africa imported goods from Soviet bloc countries valued at R4.2 million. The main exporters to South Africa were China (R1.3 million), Czechoslovakia (R1.2 million), East Germany (R875,000), Hungary (R488,748) and Poland (R267,690). The remainder of the im-

ports came from the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Rumania, N. Korea and Latvia."

Some Cold War! Some Boycott!

Again, from this same source the extent of the Boycott can be measured; "in the agricultural sphere", the most hopeful sphere of the economy from the point of view of a boycott, "during the past year . . . the country's farmers continue to export their produce, overseas on a large scale in spite of boycotts and threats of boycotts from several quarters. The flow of South African goods to all the country's important traditional markets was not affected at all during the year (1963).

"In a sense the loss (and threatened loss) of some markets overseas has operated to S. Africa's benefit because not only has this prompted exporters to investigate actively the possibilities offered by alternative markets but it has also resulted in farmers making greater efforts to produce quality products at competitive prices."

There is evidence here that the S. African boycott has been effective, if not successful. I was assured in S. Africa that secondary products had been adversely affected by the boycott but primary products had not been affected at all. The line of attack on South Africa that can be assembled should be based on these facts quoted above; it is thus necessary to suggest once more that a S. African boycott must be the business of the rank and file workers. Primary products may be hit internally by sabotage which has, as yet, only had a trial run. When investments are endangered in S. Africa, the position there might change to the benefit of the African majority.

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ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM AND MONEY ARE REQUIRED FOR THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

JACK STEVENSON.

The Jackals Descend on Cyprus

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of nationalism and the prejudices of religion while at the same time doing something to help them raise their standard of living.

If we were talking of India, and China with their hundreds of millions of problems, we could be accused of idealism. Cyprus, the whole of Cyprus is inhabited by hundreds of thousands. Partition would involve no more than 50,000 Greek- and 40,000 Turkish-Cypriots. (The military solution of the Algerian problem resulted first in the exodus of more than a million Muslim-Algerians, and in the end in nearly that number of French-Algerians going to France, not to mention the hundreds of thousands killed by the French military forces in Algeria).

Obviously as anarchists we are opposed to partition because it tends to perpetuate ethnic, and other differences, and this is particularly the case where partition is decided upon at top level, by outside governments or bodies purporting to be armed with supra-national powers, such as the United Nations Organisation. The federalism to which many anarchists subscribe is also partition but on a political, or ideological, basis and where each individual is free to make his choice. The partition that might be imposed on Cyprus would oblige all Greek and Turkish members of the island to live in their respective territories whether they wanted to or not—quite another kettle of fish.

Such a solution therefore should be resisted until the real feelings of the people of Cyprus have been ascertained. And this cannot be done by government- or U.N.-sponsored referendums, which are not intended to find out what the people really want, but are crude psychological gimmicks, the results of which can be predicted, and serve only to consolidate the power of the government in office (*vide* the referendums of de Gaulle in France and Nkrumah in Ghana). The clear implication in the statement "what I really believe" is "what I believe when I am not influenced by the brain-washers nor the prejudices with which I have been brought up". Cyprus throughout recorded history has been a shuttlecock tossed from one nation to the next. (It is ironical to note that apart from a short period in the 4th century it has never belonged to Greece, and that when in the First World War Britain wanted to offer it to Greece in return for her support in Serbia, the offer was rejected!) If the Powers have their way now, it is unlikely that Cyprus will be allowed to forge its own destiny. On the other hand, abandoned to their own resources the half million inhabitants of Cyprus have neither the know-how nor the material resources to prevent large-scale hunger or mass-scale immigration.

Unless we are misinformed, the existing population of Cyprus could, by the rational exploitation of the natural resources of the island, support themselves. What they need, as we have already pointed out, is the technical know-how, the economic means, as well as liberation from religious and nationalist brain-washing which, for obvious reasons, they cannot be expected to get from their leaders. (After all, Makarios, as leader of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus, as well as President of Cyprus, is brain-washer-in-chief of the Cypriot people whatever the *Daily Worker* and the C.P. may say

to the contrary just now!). And until they get the necessities of a civilised life they will be at the mercy of every political upstart (promising what he has not the power to give) and religious charlatan (pie in the sky when you die) on the look-out for suckers.

CAN we from this distance do anything to further the process of real self-determination? We can because the Cypriot colony in our midst is large, industrious, warm-hearted (as well as money-grabbing). And because they have their roots, their contacts, in Cyprus it is through them that we should seek to put over our ideas and plans, as well as looking to them to raise the means to finance a scheme of self-help such as we have outlined above.

We are not suggesting that our task is an easy one. After all while it is true that immigrants are very often the rebellious elements of the community their rebelliousness can also be motivated by a desire to "get on" at all costs and their determination find expression in a willingness to hire their labour at cut rates. But this is what we must expect in the circumstances, though it should not deter us from our task. A fortnight ago, according to the *Daily Worker*, a thousand "Cypriots and British supporters" marched through London carrying posters which as well as declaring "Cyprus—UNO not NATO" also called for "Equal rights for all Cypriots... Let Greeks and Turks live in peace". Many of these people and others, less vocal, besides, have the goodwill which the anarchists could crystallise but which, in the meantime, the British Communist Party are busy exploiting for base political motives and which in the end they will succeed in souring for this very reason, as well as confusing the issues more than they already are.

The demonstration, organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, supported by Fenner Brockway, M.P., and addressed by, among others, Mr. William Warbey, M.P., sent a letter to the Government signed by these two notables in which it was urged, if we can trust the *Daily Worker* report that any policing necessary should be established under the authority of the United Nations and the Cyprus Government. Any forces used should be drawn from neutralist nations so that Cyprus would not become involved in any dispute between the two power blocs.

Why this blind faith in the United Nations which, to quote Mr. Warbey, should, besides, enjoy the loyalty of the British Labour movement? And both the *Daily Worker* editorially and their boss, Mr. Krushchev in a message to the governments of Britain, France and America, refer to the Security Council of the United Nations as the proper quarters to discuss the Cyprus issue. Mr. K. in the self-righteous tones all politicians adopt when they charge their political adversaries with the crimes they have so often committed themselves, accused "certain powers [of] flouting the principles of the United Nations Charter and the generally accepted norms of international law", and the *Daily Worker* bleats in harmony. The Cypriot people need support which is less ephemeral, less opportunist than that offered by Mr. K. and his London sycophants. For all the reasons we have given, we think that anarchists have something positive to give which the political parties cannot give.

PRINCESS IRENE of the Netherlands gave up her succession to the Netherlands' throne. Mr. Harold Macmillan gave up his parliamentary candidacy for Bromley, P.C. Sweet of "Z Cars" is about to die, and 'Captain' the cat in "Mrs. Dale's Diary" has disappeared.

A DUTCH spokesman at the Hague, referring to the Princess Irene affair said, "I have said so much which has not been true today that I do not believe my own words." Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge speaking of the British monarchy said, "The story goes on and on. There is a happy family, there was a problem sister, and now all the girls are going to have babies. Here are all the ingredients of a soap opera. The English were getting bored with their monarchy, I think it is coming to an end." The *Evening Standard*, commenting on the Queen-Mum's operation for appendicitis says, "She should be feeling at home at the King Edward VII Hospital (for Officers). She is there in her own right as a woman officer—she is Colonel-in-Chief of several regiments." A firm of bookmakers in Portsmouth are taking bets on 'The Royal Stork Stakes'. You can either choose the sex of one of the four royal babies expected or their actual names. "I think it's very tasteful," says Monty Galman, the bookmaker. "We've done a notice-board—and treated the whole thing with respect."

MR. R. E. SEATON, sentencing an American student to three years' imprisonment for unlawfully possessing 21,667 grains of Indian hemp, said, "This miserable trade could undermine a whole nation." The Comptroller and Auditor-General found that nine-tenths of the drug bill of £95 million was spent on proprietary (name-brand) drugs. Twenty animals which died at Smarden, Kent, were poisoned by a compound fluoroacetamide which is used as an insecticide, the waste was dumped at the back of a factory and there would now be restrictions on its sale for rodent control. Various means were suggested for getting rid of the contaminated earth such as taking it out to sea and dumping it or building a concrete block round it. The pep drug drinamyl received some publicity. The *Evening Standard* printed instructions how to get supplies of the "purple heart" tablets and it was stated by a pharmacist on the B.B.C. that banning sale of the tablets would only serve to put up the price and make a living for



racketeers. A detective at East London gave evidence how he promised to pay a good price for a consignment of stolen drugs and informed the police when the thieves delivered the drugs at a pre-arranged spot.

A SOUTH DORSET coroner said that a three-day break in tranquiliser treatment could not have made such a difference to a prisoner that he would take his own life. The prisoner had just begun a 15-month sentence for house-breaking, store-breaking and larceny. He had been disturbed by a broken romance and had financial worries, so he was given the pills. A verdict of "suicide while the balance of his mind was disturbed" was returned. A homosexual under treatment with aversion-drugs died suddenly, it was found that he was allergic to the drug used.

EWALD PETERS, former detective-inspector in charge of the security squad in Bonn was found hanged from a hook with strips of torn bed-linen. He was charged with complicity in wartime mass shootings of Jews in Russia. According to Mary Charles in the *Sunday Citizen* Germans are showing a lack of interest in the war-crimes trials, a psychiatrist explained, "People just cannot imagine that such things happened and the average person cannot live with a feeling of eternal guilt." A 23-year old man said "I didn't watch the trial on TV because I wanted to see the Olympics from Innsbruck". A 32-year-old journalist said "Frankly people are getting a bit bored with these trials".

AFTER TWELVE hours the jury trying Byron de la Beckwith a segregationist,

for the murder of Medgar Evers failed to agree in their verdict and a retrial was ordered. Leaders of New York's one-day school boycott to protest against "slow" de-segregation claimed that 464,000 and 3,700 teachers had stayed away. New York has one million schoolchildren.

Sanity WRITES that CND have had difficulty in preliminary negotiations with the police about the Easter Monday London march. They say, which all seems curiously familiar "So far the campaign has been obstructed in its declared purpose of... bringing it [the march] down Whitehall across the full width of the road." The police maintain that it is not possible to close Whitehall. The campaign's negotiators have argued (surely we've seen this before somewhere?) a march occupying the full width of the road will speed the flow and will make the final stages of the march more manageable than would be the case with a long, thin line. Norman Frith, the chief marshal has presented the police with a detailed plan for re-routing traffic and adds "Much more radical action in closing streets has been taken during state visits of foreign royalty". Let's not beat about the bush, these views were expressed in FREEDOM after last year's Aldermaston march for which the anarchist ideas were heavily criticised in CND quarters.

"SANE MAN" of *Sanity* visited West-End Central police station and asked them what they thought of 'non-violent training courses for policemen'. The duty officer thought they would be "a waste of our precious time." He might, however attend if they were run by the Government. Britain's Special Branch has added nineteen more officers. Police with steel helmets, batons and shields carried out anti-riot training in Valletta, Malta. Army units have been issued, according to the *Daily Telegraph* with banners reading, "Halt or we fire". This is in preparation for Malta's independence day, May 31st.

JUDGE WINGATE-SAUL granting a decree nisi to a Merchant Navy officer commented on the officer's admission that he had committed adultery with forty women said "That is as many as I have seen in a discretion statement".

JON QUIXOTE.

MADNESS AND TREASON

(From our Correspondent)

SALISBURY, FEB. 7.

THE announcement yesterday by the Prime Minister of S. Rhodesia, Mr. Winston Field, that his Government will continue to negotiate with the British Government for the granting of independence "until the point has been reached when no further fruitful discussions can take place" has ended, for the time being, the growing speculation here as to whether the ruling Rhodesian Front Government is likely to make a unilateral declaration of independence.

However, the issue is obviously only subdued for the time being and it still remains open to Field or to his Party with another leader—probably Mr. Ian Smith—to make such a declaration.

This whole question of declaring independence has been brought to the fore recently by a speech made by a Government Cabinet Minister, Mr. John Gaunt, who practically announced his support for a unilateral declaration of independence—this supplemented an earlier announcement by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, that an independence declaration would be "a three day wonder" implying that the African population and the World would have finished protesting in three days.

Then it appeared that a majority of both the Cabinet and the Rhodesian Front party were in favour of a unilateral declaration; the decision by Winston Field to return to this country by air at once rather than leisurely by sea as intended, increased fears among the African people that independence might be declared and S. Rhodesia might be set on the road to apartheid and Bantustanism with the British Government unwilling to step in.

There then appeared a series of warnings of an intelligent nature as to the

dangers to S. Rhodesia of declaring independence. It was pointed out that it would be rebellion against the British Crown, as a newspaper asked: "The Governor, Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, the judges, the police and members of the military forces have taken an oath of allegiance to the Queen. Would they be prepared to ignore that oath with all that that would mean?" Again it was pointed out that any drastic action by the police or the army to support the rebel Government could result in charges of murder.

A few other considerations were mentioned: the non-recognition by the world of the rebel Government, the likelihood of African Governments-in-exile being established in N. Rhodesia, the possibility of U.N. intervention. Then on the economic front: "S. Rhodesia holds substantial sterling balances in London. These would almost certainly be frozen." Again "A Labour Government could ban the purchase of Rhodesian tobacco." S. Rhodesia could only turn to S. Africa—and the amount of help to be obtained would certainly be insufficient.

After this cup of cold water in the face the average Rhodesian settler was three-quarters sober. The emotional bombshell to come may have even turned one or two teetotal! Joshua Nkomo declared that independence with minority white rule would mean war, any unconstitutional and illegal action would be met immediately with unconstitutional and illegal action on the part of the people.

Dr. Ahrn Palley, Independent M.P. for Highfield spoke a few words: "A madness has seized some of our leaders—an insanity of treason and rebellion."

With this thoroughly entertaining series of events unfolding before us one could nearly feel the sharpening of pangas, the preparation of poison, the counting of bullets—by both sides, whilst

in a flurry of liberal tears the chime went forth: "My God, it means a revolution!"

It was not really surprising to hear the prime minister announce that negotiations were to continue for independence. However he did publicly admit that some of his party favoured a unilateral declaration of independence and he did say that statements made by himself and Mr. Gaunt were contradictory and he said he was going for a holiday in South Africa.

Mr. Field wanted it to be made clear that "the British Government cannot—not just will not, but cannot—suspend or interfere with our Constitution, and that we in our turn if they did would not recognise such interference."

It is this very point made by Mr. Field which our dear friend John Gaunt contradicts for he has stated that the British Government can intervene in S. Rhodesia's affairs and that a Labour Government might hand S. Rhodesia over to the United Nations.

So we relax once more in this grisly country aware that the last word has not been said and that anything might happen—quietly suspicious of the many lies that find a space to breathe here. It is, no doubt, of no importance to the bombastic cowboys who display such ineptitude in this land that hundreds of African children can find no places in school at all as they blabber away about ways and means to retain white minority privileges.

SIMPLE ARITHMETIC

If every reader of
FREEDOM found just
one more reader
our sales would
be doubled

