

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Reformers, is in favour of suppressing everything, but real politicians believe in suppressing nothing by the evidence."

—Mr. DOOLEY

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Threepence

## Breathing Space for British Oxygen

SOMETHING has persuaded the 1,700 strikers of the British Oxygen Company to go back to work. We do not know exactly what it is—unless the possible political repercussions have seemed serious enough to make the men think their action may be endangering Labour's chances of victory. However that may be, there are two factors within the strike which are of considerable interest. The first is that the strike was in itself as much a protest at the dilatoriness of the union's actions on the men's behalf as it was against the employers. The second is in the tremendous effect on industry of a strike of such a small number of men.

### The Gap

On the first factor, we don't have to underline the points all over again. You don't have to be an anarchist to see the gap between the leadership of the Transport & General Workers' Union and the rank and file. You just have to be an anarchist to see the answer to it. Time and time again workers have been driven to strike because their full-time, paid officials don't do their jobs of properly representing their members and letting those members know what is going on, what is being done in their name. In the case of the workers at British Oxygen, the resentment on the part of the men reached such a pitch that they simply refused to allow their union official into their meeting to address them. The causes of the dispute go back over a year when the men urged their leaders to put in a wage claim, but those leaders, in their wisdom,

held the claim back until July. The talks dragged on until September 21, when it was announced that a decision would be arrived at on October 21—another month of uninformed waiting on the part of the men.

When this further delay was announced, the men immediately began to prepare for a strike. Two days before this was due to start the union officials announced that the management had agreed with them that any wage increase decided upon when negotiations reopened would be back-dated to September 21.

### A Ruse?

But by then, as chairman of the strike committee, Mr. E. Green, said, 'arrangements for the strike had been made, not only in Wembley but at plants all over the country. And how were we to know that it was not just a ruse to get us to call off the strike? How were we to know whether the firm had made a proper, genuine offer?'

We see that the fact that this information had been given them by their own union officials was not enough to make them believe it. In fact it was probably that which made them *disbelieve* it!

So the strike began, and it is not difficult to see that the men have a genuine grievance. Not only are they getting no information and no satisfaction through their officials, but their wages are very low to start with, in relation to the industries served by British Oxygen.

The average weekly wage of the oxygen worker now is £9 18s. a week—4s. 6d. an hour for 44 hours. One of the strikers showed a *Guardian*

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THOUGH we go to Press before X-day, and FREEDOM will be in our readers' hands after the election results are known, we are certain that for the majority, life will proceed along the well defined, well established road that leads nowhere, traversed by generation after generation irrespective of the political complexion of the government in office.

Twenty years ago, to camouflage the horrors of war and build up the morale of a people, more interested in a square meal (remember, there were 3 million breadwinners out of work in those days) than in fighting for King and Country, the politicians promised the people a *Brave New . . . Road*. But all they did in fact was to patch an old bomb-pitted road and, thanks to the "prosperity" that was created (for the survivors) by the wholesale destruction of war, and the giant technological strides that were made in developing the art of destruction, succeeded in distracting attention from the road to the sidshows with which they lined it.

And the political showmen and buskers of the Left and Right kerbs have been vying with each other ever since, especially at election time, to induce the public to look their way. These scientific showmen have used every technique known to the psychologists and the purveyors of mass communications to this end and so dazzled are the public by the bread and tinsel offered by the two major parties that, according to the Gallup pollsters, only ten days before the elections, not only was the voting public equally divided, but the number who didn't know which way they would cast their vote had actually increased! Far from drawing encouragement from the growing number of "don't knows", honest socialists should have been alarmed that some 20 per cent. of the electorate found little to choose between the programmes of the "socialist" Labour Party and the "property owning" Tory Party.

The following was not written by an anarchist but by the editorial writer in last Sunday's *Observer*:

There are, of course, important differences between parties. But there is no domestic point of such importance that

we should feel bound to throw our weight on one side or the other. We do not think it would be a disaster for either party to govern Britain during the next five years. Indeed, if Britain existed in isolation from the rest of the world, we think the two would manage about equally well.

The "important differences" which the *Observer* has in mind refer to foreign policy. The Tories are the guilty men of Suez and Central Africa. They are the men who dream of Britain as a first-rate power, whereas the *Observer* (and L.P.) dream of Britain as "a leader among the secondary powers". And such issues will undoubtedly have won for the Labour Party the votes of some thousands of people who would otherwise have considered voting an insult to their intelligence. As one correspondent of ours put it:

I still call myself an anarchist, being opposed to all governments and to any conception of a centralized State. But we've got a State and we're going to have one government or another, and I don't think the Tories and the Labourites are absolutely identical. I just think

Gaitskell and Co. more likely to keep the peace with Russia than Macmillan and Co., and more likely to do something about colonial problems . . . in spite of their Black Record as regards India in 1929 and various other breaches of faith and deplorable goings-on. Agreed that all parties are in favour of the bomb, but the bomb isn't the only issue. There still remains Kenya . . . and one or two other little colonial items . . . I shall probably vote Labour—*malgré tout*, and without illusion. I doubt if an anarchist society will be realized in our own or anyone else's time, unfortunately.

★

WE will not (did not!) vote on October 8, and like our correspondent who probably did "without illusion", have no illusion that by not voting we changed the course of events. Nevertheless we believe that until the individual can free himself from the temptation of choosing between the lesser and greater evils no radical change can be effected either in *his* life, as an

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## The Politicians Always Win! ROAD TO NOWHERE

## The Machinery of 'Justice' 4 Months Awaiting Trial

WE speak often of prisoners in totalitarian countries who are committed to prison being held for long periods without a trial.

By comparison it could be argued that in this country there is a fairer judicial system, assuming one accepts the principle of punishment for someone who has broken the law. It may be true that a law breaker is given what is called a fair trial according to the generally accepted codes, but it may come as a shock to the upholders of the legal system that today in Britain it is 'not uncommon' to find men spending three or four months in prison awaiting trial.

This fact is quoted from a report of the Magistrates' Association as follows:

"In our view delay may be most unfair on defendants, obviously if they have to wait in custody, but also when they are on bail with a charge hanging over them. The time that must elapse before trial undoubtedly influences justices in their decision as to whether to grant bail or not".

"There are other evil effects of delay in administering the criminal law. There are many opportunities in magistrates' courts to compare cases brought promptly with cases where there has been a delay in starting the prosecution. There is a noticeable deterioration in the ability of witnesses to remember what has happened when the events are several weeks or months old instead of the much

shorter period that has elapsed in most cases".

"The worst conditions arise where the offence is one that was triable only at assizes. For the next court may well be two, three, four, and even five months after the committal."

The report also notes that the number of cases for trial between 1938-1957 rose in England and Wales from 7,248 to 15,582.

Society cares little for the feelings of the committed 'criminal' and it is often argued that if a man breaks the law he is not really entitled to the sympathy or consideration of the rest of society. Even reformers faced with an increase in criminal cases can think of nothing better than building pleasanter prisons in which to house the offender.

Within the limits of the law the Magistrates' Association, aware of the "evil effects of delay in administering the criminal law", are right to suggest that at least "no more than a month should elapse between the committal and the sitting of a court capable of trying the case". This would lessen the tension and uncertainty of some prisoners who might be held for many months, but the problem of crime prevention and final readjustment of men who have served a term of imprisonment cannot be solved merely by shortening the period between court sittings.

## Children and the 'Facts of Life'

THE Annual Conference of the Association of Children's Officers at Folkestone according to reports, seems to have dealt with some unusual views hardly in keeping with such a formidable title as "Children's Officers".

Miss M. W. Barnes, children's officer for Coventry, said that: "It was difficult to find foster-parents who were both Christian and happy people . . . people who regularly attend places of worship are so terribly dull".

Whatever reason Miss Barnes had for making such a devastating remark likely to antagonise orthodox Christians, her assessment coincides with our own experience generally of people who can be described as "regular worshippers".

Commenting on "the facts of life", Mr. Walter Raeburn put forward a suggestion which shows that at least there is recognition among some people who work with children that sex is a part of life which does not suddenly spring up only as a factor in education round about the "age of consent".

Mr. Raeburn suggests that: "Most children seem to accept enlightenment on sexual matters more calmly from any responsible adult friend than they do from their own parents."

"It is therefore a good plan, I think, for a young married couple to make a pact with married friends of their own generation to 'enlighten' each others' children when the proper time comes. This will necessarily involve each pair of spouses making friends with the others' children from an early age."

Our own view is that it would be simpler and desirable if parents discussed sex naturally in front of their children from an early age which from our own observations of children with reasonable parents seems to have the best results.

If sex was discussed in the home as a subject like diet or education without the moral and mysterious overtones which generally accompany it, then children would be more likely to accept sex as something natural, as part of their parents' experience and their own.

## A Pleasant Surprise from Pleasanton

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 40

Deficit on Freedom	£800
Contributions received	£709
DEFICIT	£91

### September 24 to October 1

Glasgow: A.J. 2/6; Warrington: J.H. 10/;	
Pleasanton: Part proceeds Picnic, Sept 20,	
per L.D. £52/10/0; Neath Abbey: I.T.	
£1/15/0; Fernham: D.M.B. 6/;	
Wolverhampton: J.G.L. 5/; Billingham: D.G. 5/;	
Woldingham: F.B. 5/; Oxford: Anon. 6/;	
Dorking: P.McG. 5/; Stroud: R.C. 1/0/0;	
Birkenhead: G.H.W. 3/; Newcastle-on-Tyne: H.B. 5/.	
Total	58 11 6
Previously acknowledged	650 10 8

1959 TOTAL TO DATE £709 2 2

GIFTS OF BOOKS: Croydon: B.M. Stroud: L.G.W.; London: C.W.

\*Indicates regular contributor.



'Frankly, I just don't see the connection.'

## Ideal Cities - 5

IN recent weeks we have described the three alternative 'paradigms' or ideal types of community plan offered by Paul and Percival Goodman in their stimulating book, *Communitas* where they attempt to find the social and architectural expression of three different attitudes towards the opportunities provided by an economy of surplus. These ideal types are bound to be nothing more than abstract models and the Goodmans defend their utopian attitude by pointing to the futility of those 'practical' plans which only aggravate the social or environmental problems they are designed to solve.

Another such model is provided in Dr. Gutkind's *Expanding Environment*, a Freedom Press publication which envisages the pattern of metropolitan and provincial cities, smaller towns and villages, and ubiquitous suburbs, replaced by a scattering of settlements rather like the New Commune of the Goodman brothers, which are not satellites of any dominant metropolis, for there is no centre. He links the ideal of the disappearance of the city with that of the disappearance of the state. This is abstract planning indeed, but it is justified for the same reason as the Goodmans' ideal types are justified, and by the fact that Gutkind's lifetime of study of the geography of towns (see his other books *Revolution of Environment and Our World From the Air*) enables him to look synoptically at the growth and decline of the city as a type, rather than at the actual problems of any particular urban complex.

"Life," declares the author of this book, "is not a shuttle-service between the sleeping berth in a suburban desert and the work-place in a factory or office. The resignation with which innumerable people tolerate that their life is reduced to this miserable dullness and drudgery is pathetic—but excusable. Our civilisation has not understood how to free the creative impulses and the imaginative spontaneity in the common run of men. It has let them become stunted."

What stunts a tree is an unsuitable environment, and Dr. Gutkind sets out to show why our own environment tends to stunt people and to ask what kind of environment will tend to set people free. It is a characteristic of many human

\*THE EXPANDING ENVIRONMENT  
by E. A. Gutkind (Freedom Press,  
8s. 6d.).

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Kenya) Intro. Peter Benenson 7/6

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## THE EXPANDING ENVIRONMENT

relatively narrow space? The reply can only be: there are none".

In order to demonstrate the obsolescence of the city of today, Gutkind conducts a brief survey of twenty centuries of city building. This section is illustrated by a series of brilliantly captioned pictures of cities from those of Greece and Rome, to those of today, which he declares to be "the product of a misguided and misunderstood direction of economic forces which exert a totalitarian dictatorship over our lives. The growth of cities is comparable to a self-propelling movement inspired by Ebenezer Howard, and the New Towns of today, which he describes as a slightly revised edition of the Garden City. If, he says,

"it is a more or less self-contained town with a sufficient diversity of industry so that at least a considerable portion of the local population can work there, it will inevitably develop the provincial narrowness and frustration which are the unavoidable by-products of small-town life, as long as physical decentralisation is not accompanied by cultural and social decentralisation. If a sufficient number of industries cannot be attracted, it will become one of the numerous dormitory towns entirely dependent on the city for which it was expected to act as a draining-off reservoir."

The Garden City—and the New Town are "an end, not a beginning. They are not communities but artificially created units of living within the old pattern of social and economic environment." So much for the external reform of the city. Its internal reform "consists in the loosening up of densely built-up areas and the erection of high buildings. This has been called 'the discovery of the third dimension' of height as an efficient means of introducing a maximum of air, light, sun and verdure to previously crowded districts. To every city its pruned Manhattan!" Gutkind points out that despite the merit of le Corbusier's work as architecture, if an opportunity were found for the application of his ideas on a scale greater than that of the individual buildings, "they could offer no remedy on a large scale for the irrevocable disintegration of our cities.

They are cut loose from the forces out of which a new social conscience and a new *elan vital* can grow. Open spaces must be regained by a dispersal of population and industry over wide areas but not by a perpetuation of an even greater concentration within a narrow space."

This attack on the city does not imply a defence of life and work in the country as we know it today. "About one half of the world's population are peasants or farmers. Their standard of living varies greatly all over the globe but they have in common an attitude that is antagonistic to the cities and a desire to take part in the advantages of a technical civilisation." People with romantic ideas about country life have "helped to spread the myth of the peasant as the true pillar of the State, as the prototype of the citizen who loves the State and is deeply attached to it. In reality the peasant loves his piece of land and hates the State which is for him, the great interloper. He is for the *status quo* and against any change if it is not in his immediate interest." The factors which keep people on the land are emotional attachment to a known environment, protection from complete unemployment and the ability to provide at least the bare minimum of existence (with the qualification that innumerable landless labourers are in this respect as insecure as the urban unemployed), and finally, the restricted absorptive capacity of industry. Remigration from the cities to the country is extremely rare, and in any case rural over-population is the crucial problem in the whole of South-East Asia and many other parts of the world.

Gutkind demands "an integration of rural and urban life on a higher level", and sees four principles as the basis of this revolution of environment. He terms them the *new scale*, the *new mobility*, the *new purpose*, and the *new oneness*. In his description of the new scale he gives his clearest picture of the type of physical environment he is recommending, and the one which separates him most sharply from other theorists of town-planning, whether those who advocate the idea of the linear town, or the satellite town, or the vertical city, or 'open development' (which he characterises as "conveyor-belt architecture for the suburban nobility").

The new scale is the composite result

of two heterogeneous processes, shrinking of cities and towns to the units of organic communities and expanding of their living spaces.

"In essence it is comparable to a galaxy of stars all more or less of the same order and dispersed over the country at intervals which are determined by the functional interrelationship between the community units but not by the distance from a central city. In the intervals between units of settlement increased in proportion to their distance from the urban centre; the greater the power of attraction of the centre, the more numerous and closer together are the smaller units of settlement. Instead of one galaxy for the whole country had quite a number, each so spaced with its own planet and each planet with all the minor stars revolving around it, the Capital. If this comparison with the heavenly bodies is not too like of the more earth-bound people, it would suggest that the new system is like confetti strewn over the country, a rather orderly and methodical variety. All the round pieces would be of the same size, their different colours indicating different functions and standing out clearly from the green carpet of the landscape which remains the main ubiquitous feature."

The 'new Scale' is a union between the infinitely great and the infinitely small. In terms of physical planning this means that the numerous small communities must be made organic entities within a wider framework of regional unity.

"In a 'stateless' world only functional 'states' can exist. The 'stateless' would correspond to the region with absorbing cities, and the functional units to the community units which are related to each other by their diverse functions. There can be nothing like a 'sub-region', i.e. the region, but only a flexible framework of indefinite extension filled and vitalised by the limited community units. We must avoid all rigidity and discard all notions of permanence. Growth and transformation are always accompanied by characteristic patterns and structures."

The 'new mobility' is the result of welding together of time and space in the fourth dimension, which in a utilitarian application, "is the result of the awakening of the immense possibilities which a life, without ideal and material boundaries and without the over-marching attraction of the big urban centre holds in store. It means the mobility

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## BOOK REVIEWS

## Married to a Rocket

ROCKET WIFE, by Irmgard  
Grottrup, Andre Deutsch, 16s.

THIS book is based on the diary of the wife of one of the German rocket experts who was deported to Russia to help the Russians develop their own missiles.

The story tells of muddle, brutality, bureaucracy run mad, cold, misery, dirt, homesickness and boredom. The importance of the scientists and technicians prevented them being too roughly handled, but they were bundled about as if they were hardly human beings in their own right. Their status never seems to have been clear, were they prisoners of war or guests?

However, to keep them happy they were allowed to have their families with them, and this leads up to the real tragedy of the story, which does not lie in the brutality of the deportation but in the failure of relationship between the authoress and her husband. She is extremely frank about this. They seem to have had no common interests. He was too preoccupied with rockets to have much time for her or the children. Exile and semi-imprisonment would have been far easier to bear if he had been more human.

Almost all the rocket workers seem to be similarly obsessed. They were almost devoid of pride. The conquest of space seemed so important to them that they were prepared to work with any kind of government, even the Russian one, because only governments possessed the financial resources necessary. It becomes clear that science has for some people taken on the nature of a cult.

In the end the men did kick, and they refused to go on working on rockets. The Russians then used them as walking encyclopedias, to provide information to their own technicians. This left the Germans' creative energies unused, and was for them a form of torture by boredom. Eventually, to their own surprise, they were sent back to Germany.

It is a story of the failure of men to fulfil themselves as men, rather than another tale of life in "1984". Obsessed by rockets and space travel the men

have no real interest in their women and children, no time for love and human relationships. If they had been prepared to shelve their rockets occasionally, it is probable, judging from this account, that some of the wives would have come to share their enthusiasm to some extent. Irma Grottrup describes rockets rising in the sunlight as "beautiful", so it can hardly be said that she is an anti-rocket or anti-science fanatic. But instead, the men would get together, particularly when they were no longer working on the missiles, and drink. They did not attempt to "get across" to their families, so the gulf remained unbridged.

They had little pride. They were prepared to work for a tyrannical state, and they defended their position with sophistries about "progress". The impulse to rebel seems to have come from some of the wives, who were sick of endless talk about technicalities, and were dubious of the uses to which these inventions were to be put.

The authoress writes sometimes in the "men are just big children" vein, which is normally regarded as humorous. It is not a joke in this book. One is made to realise that masculine "childishness" can in some cases be a very serious matter indeed.

One also wonders how far this monomania for space flight was not an escape, first from the Nazi régime and then from the Russian. It was a flight from reality to some extent. It also meant well-paid and comfortable jobs in a sort of enclave of freedom within the Nazi state. One would hardly guess from this book that before the Russians arrived there was a despotism in Germany that was just as bad as that of the Communists.

The emotional immaturity of these scientists and technicians seems to be a characteristic of our society. This irresponsible attitude is that of men who expect the state to look after them. Naturally the rulers encourage this attitude, but one must not make the mistake of putting all the blame on a Machiavellian group. To some degree leaders are led, since they can only lead in a direction that the majority are prepared to go.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## It is Happening Here

THERE are times when even the most anarchic anarchist wishes he had the power to make people do what he would like. I wish I could force everyone in this country to read this book.\* John Calder published an English translation of Henri Alleg's *La Question* last year, and *Gangrene* is in a way a sequel to that shocking book. It contains a translation of the original French book *La Gangrene*, in which seven Algerians alleged that they had been tortured by French police in Paris, and of the statement by the publisher after the Debré government banned it. More pertinent for us, perhaps, is the second part, in which Captain Ernest Law tells of his experiences in Kenya (including five months' detention without trial after he had protested against the brutalities he witnessed) and John Stonehouse tells the story of Hola. There is an excellent if somewhat muddled introduction by Peter Benenson.

When we read *The Question* eighteen months ago, it was tempting to mutter, "It can't happen here." No doubt many French readers thought the same. It has now happened in Paris as well as Algeria; all we need is a political crisis in England, and it will happen in London as well as Kenya or Cyprus. Most English people in Kenya and Cyprus— or Rhodesia or Nyasaland or anywhere else—are decent, kind, ordinary people. So are most French people. So are most German and Japanese and Russian people. Himmler was a vegetarian and couldn't bare to kill a fly. But it is decent, kind, ordinary people who are dangerous when roused. The sadists and racials and psychopaths are always in a minority; it is when normal people stop criticising them—or worse still, begin defending them—that the real trouble begins.

Twenty years ago England and France were at war with a nation rightly said to be perverted. Indeed England and France were the only two countries who joined the last war without attacking or being attacked by someone else. Now the tortures of the Gestapo are being

regularly practised against prisoners in Algeria and France by Frenchmen; and according to Duncan MacPherson, conditions in some Kenyan camps are worse than anything he experienced in his four-and-a-half years as a prisoner in the hands of the Japanese. These things are happening in the Free World; Americans may be sure that if they had a colonial empire they would be doing the same things too. The gangrene already affects our limbs; in France it has spread up to the body. How long before it does in England?—Until the next riots in Notting Hill? Until the next Suez war?

It is no good blaming other people, as Peter Benenson points out. So long as we defend an imperial system or even say nothing we are implicated in what happened at Hola. Alan Lennox-Boyd was directly responsible; so was Julian Amery, who said exactly a week before the Hola massacre: "The Government of Kenya and the Prison Service in Kenya is (*sic*) perfectly capable of keeping its own house in order and is doing so. Our contention is that the organisation of the Prison Service is right and is what it should be and that safeguards against abuse are effective." So was every member of the Government who did not resign; needless to say, no one resigned, though two scapegoats were found—two toes on the gangrenous foot. Everyone who votes Conservative is implicated in what happened at Hola—and in Nyasaland and Cyprus and at Suez. And can we be so sure that the same sort of things couldn't happen under a Labour Government—under any government?

Everyone who cares must do something about this. But first read this book and make all your friends read it. (Incidentally, 7/6d.—the same price as the Devlin Report—seems rather a lot for a paperback not too well printed in Germany; but you can always borrow it off someone). N.W.

\*GANGRENE, with an Introduction by Peter Benenson (John Calder, 7s. 6d.).

## ROAD TO NOWHERE

Continued from p. 1

individual, or collectively, in the life of the community. To refuse to vote, not because one is too indifferent to take sides, not because one "doesn't know", but because one is militant and *knows too much* about politics and politicians, for these reasons we believe that refusal to vote is a positive contribution to social responsibility: a shovelful of concrete for the new road that may lead somewhere!

Let us examine our correspondent's arguments. Does he honestly believe that the declaration of Indian independence from British rule would not have been made if Churchill and not Attlee had been the tenant of 10 Downing Street at the time. If he has any doubts on the subject, let us remind him that it was a Tory Government that "granted" independence to Ghana and will take the credit when, in the near future, Nigeria "achieves nationhood". We shall be most interested to see what the Labour Party, if returned to power this week, will do about Kenya. Will they make Kenyatta Governor-General or will he be sent to a more comfortable exile in London?

But more important than these considerations of Tory or Labour approach: Have the Indian people, and those of Ghana in fact acquired a new status now that they are ruled by Messrs. Nehru's and Nkrumah's governments? Has the lot of the working masses been so radically changed as a result of working for black- instead of white-faced masters? Does our correspondent deny that all that these miserable people have done is to *change* masters? (If there is not chronic starvation in India it is not because they now produce more food—indeed statistics show that India, though she may produce more steel than she did, is actually producing *less* food and cultivating *less* land in spite of the fact that her population is increasing—but because the Indian politicians are exploiting a situation in which their country is the West's "brightest jewel" in the cold war). And as for maintaining the peace, why, if it depends on personalities, as our correspondent seems to suggest, then so far as Krushchev's recent American visit is concerned we should support Eisenhower, who behaved "correctly" throughout, rather than the Trade Union leaders who went out of their way, by their calculated affronts, to provoke Mr. K. into boasting of Russia's armed might. In which case one should also support Mr. Macmillan who claims that he paved the way for the Russo-American summit meeting.

But do enlightened people still believe that *peace* hinges on Krushchev's liver, Eisenhower's heart or Macmillan's (or Gaitskell's) personality? If that is the case it only goes to show how not only the "masses", but the "intelligentsia", are conditioned by mass-communications and the cult of the personality!\*

\*Only a few weeks ago that ostensibly mildest of political rabbits, Lord Attlee, writing in the *Observer* was not only approving of Truman's step in sanctioning the use of the A-Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but armed with the knowledge of its tragic results, not only on the present but on generations to come, could still declare that in the circumstances it was the right decision to take.

IN fact peace hinges on our acquiescence to go to war when called upon by the government; in fact, capitalism hinges on our willingness to work for a boss (and/or our ambition to be in a position ourselves to employ another person's labour power). In other words it is the ruling class and their mouthpieces who propose but by their actions, the working class who dispose. Today the ruling class proposes and disposes only because the working class has been led to imagine that all its need do to "dispose" is to put a cross against somebody's name once every five years.

To pursue the line that from a practical point of view this is all we can do is both defeatist and anti-social—as well as suspect since it so often comes from "thinking" people who are *more than comfortable* in society as it is. Such people who tell us to vote Labour for the sake of the Nyasas, as if their future depended on a Labour Government and not on *struggle* (how do they explain the fact that under de Gaulle the Algerian "rebels" have been offered solutions more acceptable than under the Socialist Mallet?) so easily forget that sizeable majority, those forgotten people at home, who the political parties, Labour, Tory and Liberal sacrifice in their quest for majorities.

If one appears to attack the social democrats even more than one attacks the Tories the reason is simple. The Tories, as a result of the growth of mass production and with it the managerial revolution, as well as the introduction of mass suffrage and no cheating, have obviously been obliged to water their wine of a privileged minority of the employing or rentier class with absolute power, and introduce policies which might appeal to a majority of the voting public. The social democrats far from attacking the values which foster the class system—that is, economics or status—have attacked privilege based on ancestry only to put in its place a new privilege based on brains, or more accurately, value to the State.

The Labour Party, as Peter Townsend, one of its disillusioned propagandists pointed out in the *New Statesman* recently, has confused universalism with egalitarianism. But surely Mr. Townsend is no less confused when he believes that egalitarianism can be legislated for by government; government which is the symbol of *inequality*, the recognition that an elite is destined by reason of birth (Tories), or brains (Labour) to tell the majority how they should live.

There can be no egalitarianism in a capitalist society. Surely that's obvious to the most humble worker, let alone Mr. Townsend! Abolish capitalism, and we need not talk of egalitarianism; abolish ugliness and there would be no term for beauty.

AND so we come back to the road of our first paragraph. Why do we say that it doesn't matter all that much whether you look to the Right or to the Left. Firstly because which ever way you look you will see the same slogans, you will be offered the same inducements to be what *they* want you to be: the 42½-hour-week-dumb-wage-slave, the spectator . . . never the participant. Secondly, because it is neither to the Left nor the Right that you must look if you want to be yourself. To be yourself you must look at that patched road which leads *nowhere* and choose between it and the effort required to build the road that leads in the direction of your aspirations; a road with side turnings and forks left and right but along which everybody will find his true destination.

But how much more pleasant and rewarding than the political motorways which oblige you to proceed at top speed from nowhere to nowhere, as if speed were most important than knowing where it was that you wanted to go!

# THE CUBAN REVOLT

A special report prepared by the Libertarian Association of Cuba

THE Cuban Revolution is a political event which, in one way or another, has aroused the attention of the peoples of the American Continent. The most heated debates have raged on the subject of its ideological content, and its methods of procedure, and these have been influenced by their own projected ideas and by the political source which inspires them. The Libertarian movement of the continent and the world has no other source of information besides the Press Agencies and interested sections of the Press itself. We have therefore thought it necessary to submit the following report to it, which will carry on from, and amplify the circular which we issued several months ago.

As is to be expected, the Cuban revolution is now in a state of transition, and to a certain extent it is difficult to formulate concrete opinions on some of its most interesting aspects. However, concerning those elements of its achievements and plans which accord most nearly with our own vision, we will try to draw the truest possible picture of everything that might be of interest in the political and social field.

This revolution in its present phase, was sought after by several forces, very hostile among themselves, and our own was far from being the most influential.

The changes which took place at the time, and those which are being discussed and prepared, do not imply a complete transformation of the institutions in force, or even, if one wishes, a partial one.

Starting from these premises, and taking account of the contradictions existing between its ideas and our own, we are able to see and analyse the events more clearly. We are going to try.

### The Insurrection

It was certainly the armed bands led by Fidel Castro in the mountains of the "Sierra Maestra" which gave character to the movement more than anything else. Equally certainly however, before the first guerrillas appeared on the Eastern coasts, resistance to the régime was already active throughout the student and peoples' movements, in Habana and in almost all the cities of the interior. Castro himself had carried out an attack on the "Moncada" barracks in 1953, and had prepared invasions, all of which were repulsed, in different parts of the island.

All these movements however, possibly even including the invasions, were directed towards a great peoples' rising. Before Fidel Castro, no-one had considered the possibility of waging a civil war in the provinces and triumphing through it.

Once the front had been established in the eastern mountains, under the inspiration of the "26th July" movement, all the forces against the Batista dictatorship, within or outside of Cuba, worked to strengthen it and to foster the insurrection, accepting Castro's methods. It

was thus that other revolutionary organisations sent their men to establish new fronts in the mountain regions, in the Sierras such as Escambray and Cordillera de los Organos. Nevertheless, the campaign of terrorist sabotage, civil resistance and propaganda in the towns continued to grow stronger.

At the fall of the dictatorship, at least five movements had guerrillas and active workers circulating in the towns and villages: The 26th July movement; the Revolutionary Directorate; the Federation of University Students; the Organización Auténtica; and the National Democratic Front Triple A. Together with them a number of other working class type organisations were active, which collaborated with the official union leaders, but which contained syndicalist militants in their ranks.

Undoubtedly, of all these, the largest, and the one to which most credit must go, was the 26th July movement. Nevertheless, the rest of them together had greater numerical strength, and accounted for memorable revolutionary undertakings. Only the 26th July movement had a leader of the calibre of Fidel Castro. The campaign of defamation carried out by Batista and his servants, and by the Press in Cuba and abroad is of no account.

The police terror in the cities, and the rural guard in the country, which spread death and terror wholesale, affected the greater part of the population. This nourished the discontent more strongly each day, and strengthened the longing to break out of an insuperable position. The terror and crimes occurred in all the sea ports, even victimizing the children and families of those who sympathised with or fought for the resistance to the tyranny. It went to such lengths as to sap the supporters of the régime, and completely destroyed their fighting morale. During the last days of "Batistism" the fighting resistance had slackened to such an extent that it was clear that the black era had come to an end.

The demoralisation was so extreme that high officers of the army made a pact to end the civil war: This pact was not kept by the government military chiefs, either because of the precipitate collapse of the government's resistance, which made a quick getaway necessary for the tyrant, or because it was all really pretence designed to save the important heads in the government.

On January 1st, 1959, at dawn, the Cuban people received the news of the escape of Batista and many of his high officials. With this the formation of the Military Junta was announced, which

was done immediately. A general strike was declared which paralyzed all the activities of the nation, and the people, following in the spirit of the revolutionary organisations, took over the police stations, barracks, and other elements of the state's apparatus, without meeting any resistance from the representatives of the fallen régime.

In this ridiculous manner, perished the proudest and blackest tyranny that Cuba has suffered in all the years of its so-called independence. The blood of the people which they had shed during SEVEN YEARS of cruelty and savagery, washed them away without suffering and without glory.

### THE REVOLUTION IN POWER

When the revolution took over power, the fact became obvious that the 26th July movement was assuming complete control of it, without accepting any representation from the other revolutionary organisations which had taken part in the insurrectionary struggle, and which had joined together in the resignation, or conference as it was called, in Caracas, Venezuela, and signed the pact of unity of action in the struggle against the dictatorship.

As the rebel forces were arriving in the capital, a serious incident occurred, over questions of command, between the 26th July Movement and the Revolutionary Directorate. This incident was dealt with in a public declaration by Fidel Castro, from the "Libertad" camp, in which he used extremely threatening language against the Commandant Faure Chaumont, the General Secretary of the Student Revolutionary Directorate. He thus renounced the attitude he had assumed before the triumph of the revolution itself. Since this incident, which we would suppose would have caused a break between the two organisations and their high commands, we have noticed that Chaumont and the Directorate have not appeared disturbed by this attack. The Commandant and the Directorate have continued to co-operate with Fidel Castro's government despite the fact that they have no representatives, sitting as such in the government.

It is possible that the attitude of the Revolutionary Directorate, rather than being a compromise, is inspired by a high feeling of revolutionary responsibility at a time when strong unity is necessary to absolutely prevent any counter revolutionary tricks, which have various forms in different parts of the country.

(To be continued)

## The Expanding Environment

Continued on p. 2  
men and of immaterial and material goods."

The 'new purpose' in Gutkind's terminology cannot be summarised without distorting his meaning, but "like the new mobility it is an attitude, and identification on all levels of life with the environment and society. It is a human and not a material problem. It cannot be introduced to order. It must grow out of insight, vision, and a spirit of adventure."

The 'new oneness' is the result of the other three principles and under this title Gutkind elaborates his view of regionalism. His 'new oneness' is, we might say, the ecological balance or economy of the regional organism:

"Regionalism in the usual sense has been restricted to the structural unity of units. The new regionalism is free from all limitations. It is a centre-less and limit-less conception. It is the equivalent of an expanding environment, expanding materially and ideally. It is more than a mere decentralisation which proceeds always in relation to a centre. Hence its name. It is a dispersal, a scattering apart, and its final result will be the End of Cities and the Rise of Communities."

C.W.

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## Breathing Space for British Oxygen

Continued from p. 1  
reporter a wage packet for £25 and said he worked 116 hours in a week for it. If he had been at a car factory he would have got £45.

Asked how much would the strikers like to earn a week? they replied: 'We think £15 is a fair living wage, but we would have to work 68 hours to get it: more than eleven hours a day.'

By anybody's standards, then, the strikers clearly have justification for their action. They need a raise and their union representatives were falling down on their job of getting it for them—and treating the men with contempt into the bargain. The unions first took no notice of our demand, and then when they did they didn't tell us what was going on, one of the strikers said.

### A National Officer!!

When the strike began and was really blowing up into something big—then the unions sat up and took notice. The TGWU actually sent one of its national officers down to see the strikers. But this gentleman—Mr. Les Kealey—was not given a chance to speak to the men, for they voted unanimously not to let him in to the meeting, treatment which upset their leader considerably. But he doesn't seem to have approached the men with any courtesy or show of brotherliness, for Mr. Green maintained that he had been given no notice of Mr. Kealey's arrival and the first anyone knew of his visit was when he appeared at the foot of the platform before the meeting started. "He and the other officials did not even do us the courtesy of saying 'Good afternoon', he said."

The thing which really got the TGWU on the go was not in any case the grievances of the 1,700

strikers at British Oxygen—it was the repercussions of the strike throughout industry.

### The Few

And this is the second noticeable factor in this dispute: the tremendous importance of these few workers. Within a week of their strike commencing, nearly 60,000 workers in the motor industry were being laid off because of the reliance of their firms on supplies from British Oxygen Company—which appears to have a monopoly in its field.

As the strike held it looked as if a million other workers would be affected, as stocks of oxygen were used up in engineering and steel works throughout the country.

If such then is the importance of these workers in making and distributing oxygen—why are they paid so little? And why do they continue to support in any way the union leaders who are so useless?

The men have gone back—with no concessions whatsoever. But in doing so they have shown more responsibility than either their employers or their own leaders. For they need not have gone back—they had offers of financial support to keep going.

But the strikers' chairman said: 'We did not wish to damage the country's economy, or cause any more hardship to people in other industries.'

It surely is about time that workers like these began to claim their real responsibility in industry, which lies not in capitulating for the sake of the national economy, but working towards coming into full control of their sector of the economy and, in co-operation with workers everywhere, running the whole show themselves without the parasites on either the employers' or union sides.

## PARTY PIECE-2

THERE was no doubt that this was an important meeting. It was a marginal constituency in West London. There was a party spirit amongst the Party faithful. But this was no outing to Southend, or tombola, or jumble sale; this was the Real Thing, Over the Top, Zero Hour, Into Battle and all that.

The school hall had accommodation for three hundred which was filled. The Television film crew were there for CBS, and the posters of the party paper, *The Daily Y* were prominent. (Confession from a party stalwart, "Meself, I read the *Daily X*—for the sport, of course. Second stalwart, "So do I). Posters also conveyed the dreadful alternative: "Law not War".

The chairman was large and stout and cheery. There was a chorus of "Good Health" as he drank his water. He looked as if he was the archetypal image of the Other Party.

He announced that the constituency was no longer a marginal constituency since the Others had made so many blunders that his party could not fail to get in by a great majority. On Colonial affairs Their criminality was obvious, on foreign affairs Their incompetence at criminality was obvious, whilst at home Their efficiency at mean economies was undoubted.

The recent scandal (Jasper) had shown the Others as unfit to solve the housing problem since it had revealed the gambling going on in the housing of the class which the speaker did not represent.

The chairman was not going to stand in the way of the two speakers who were to speak before our future Prime Minister, who was, even now, addressing meetings in other London Constituencies.

There would be a collection about which the chairman ambiguously said "won't bother you anyway", and he gave way to the next speaker.

The next speaker, the candidate for the adjacent constituency, modestly said he was only a prelude to what was to come. Presumably the others were toccata and fugue.

'Prelude' spoke of the growing number of old-age pensioners and of teenagers. This was not only to emphasise the importance to the party of such problems but also the numerical importance of such voting groups. He spoke of juvenile delinquency and calmed some of the fears of those who envisaged 'teddy boys' being enfranchised. He grasped for the common touch and reminded us that we had all done something in our youth which might have led us to a juvenile court. This was vociferously denied by one member of the audience who said that in his fifty-five years he had never done anything to get himself into trouble. Members of the audience pointed out that he had had a wasted life.

The member denounced the Colonial policy in A, B, and C, (forgetting the record of his party in D, E and F.).

He rhapsodised over the glorious past when his party was in power and produced more (he didn't say what), and built more schools than had ever been done in the history of the country. (Prior to all this of course, the greatest destruction of schools in the history of the country had taken place).

He sat to give way to a figuratively battle-scarred warrior. The chairman spoke with a reverent hush of his three narrow victories which surprised everybody. There seemed to be some particular virtue in such a lucky gamble, a shower of rain, a flu epidemic, a faux pas, an uncovered scandal or some other act of God might have favoured those other gamblers. The Elect said in his lay-preacher's voice (which no doubt had reverberated round the valleys of his native Wales many a time), 'I stand by Grace with a majority of 125', so by virtue of this God was accepted as a Party supporter.

He tried to wring our withers with a tale of a £15 a week salesman who, being in hospital and falling behind with his instalments, lost his car, and his furniture at one swoop.

He paid an unsolicited tribute to the Government of 1945-50 as the best government this country ever had. (On the maxim that the best government is the government which governs the most, that could be true). He poured scorn upon hecklers who to this could only chant: "ground nuts". He was really hurt that they should have such long memories. There was more of this nostalgic harking back to the glories of the time when his party was in Power but this feebly died away when there was an uproar and the majority of the audience rose to its feet. It was He. Flushed from triumphs at Battersea (lights fused by TV men) and conquests at Wandsworth (heckled by

extremists of the Other Party). He entered, a rather decadent Caesar with the pussy-cat look of a pantomime dame. There were no laurels, only a carnation for his buttonhole and a clap from the audience.

The Candidate graciously gave way to the Leader as he had another suburb to lay to the sword of his tongue before he finished his triumphal progress. One hesitates to think what would have happened had he not given way.

At this point the cameramen, television men and hecklers got to work in real earnest. The omnipresent eye of the gogglebox made everybody put their best profile forward.

The leader was a scholarly type, the L.S.E. was his spiritual home and he had the amused tolerance towards hecklers of a comedy dame dealing with a rowdy Saturday night audience.

The hecklers were made worse by party supporters answering the questions, instead of leaving it to the Leader. In the ensuing babel only the chanting of mystic dates such as "1984" and "1947" could be heard.

The Leader had a knack of bringing in the Common Touch. He said that mortgage rates were too high for people to buy their own homes and capped this by saying that he himself owned his own home. One was tempted to ask him how much mortgage interest he paid, but desisted.

Later he apologized for his wife not being present as she was at home with their teenage daughter. (Everyone knows that teenagers will take readily to ball ways unless mother stays home with them.)

He not only had the common touch, he could rise to heights of national loyalty. He excused an imbalance of trade in one year of office because we were supporting UNO action and "nobody should be attacked for doing what he feels to be a patriotic duty". Further he called the Hola camp outrage "a stain upon the honour of our country".

He did not depart to "Land of Hope and Glory" but to "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" sung by all (with some exceptions) standing. He exited with his second carnation clutched in his hand.

Anything after that was an anti-climax. For one thing half the audience had departed, (they could now die happy), and the member had very little else to say.

There were questions on minor details about the H-bomb. For himself, the candidate was for unilateral disarmament but it was clear he did not intend to defy the party whip. For half a loaf (even if radio-active) is better than no bread—and politics is the art of the possible. Thank goodness for impossibilists. J.R.

## Land Notes

THIS has been a most incredible summer following an incredibly wet year, and if one can plough we may further benefit from the early harvest by putting in a larger area of winter corn which always yields better than spring-sown crops particularly on light land. Those that rely on pasture for stock are now having to feed fodder put by for winter feeding. The preparation for winter corn is held up in some areas because of the hard condition of the ground. It takes quite a number of plough shares to do a day's ploughing for as soon as the tip wears off the plough refuses to enter the ground. The shortage of grass is already effecting milk production. Moisture has always, except in very wet years, been a limiting factor in agricultural production based on grassland and I expect there will be a stimulus to grow lucerne which is very deep-rooting and is not affected by drought. People with the water and pumps to irrigate pasture land have found this an enormous benefit this year but where there is dependence on public supply this is of course out of the question as the cost and availability make it impossible to rely on this source. We are of course gradually acquiring the means to cope with the largest unponderable in agriculture, the weather, but sometimes this means falling back on the older machines tugging in the farmyard, and in this dry weather it has been the old trailer plough that has raised the dust as the hydraulic plough bounces on its cushion of oil. It does not always pay to reject the methods and tools of our predecessors out of hand, for sometimes they were wiser than they knew.

The art of grazing has not really advanced in a thousand years and the management of grassland so that an attractive and nourishing sward is maintained requires the utmost experience, knowledge and observation. The introduction of leys has not solved the problem of grassland management as many of the renowned permanent pastures fatten animals with great efficiency. The production of edible protein by processing grass has been hailed as a notable achievement, and the by-passing of the animal grass-processing plants, may be

of some advantage in a world where the pressure of population on primary production is high. There is this, however, to be considered, when animals graze land they leave dung and urine behind and the use of large areas of grassland for processing will not do this, so the adoption of this process could have some very bad effects in time if the question of adequately replacing humus was not considered. Even the deepest of alluvial soils show signs of exhaustion after years of cash cropping and while with grass the process would take longer as the soil would not be exposed by cultivations to the oxidising effect of the weather I should say that depletion would eventually take place.

There is a tendency to regard little woods and dells as a nuisance and unproductive, to be bulldozed and turned into cultivable land but the functional value of these areas are often overlooked. Often a little dell has been left as a centre of drainage to benefit the fields around instead of an extensive pipe drainage system as the water drains down to the dell and the trees act as pumps and transpire the moisture into the air. They often form useful shelter belts and provide timber for posts and fuel. Often areas unsuitable for cultivation are left as woodland and although we can now use a far wider range of soils more efficiently the stabilising effect of a certain area of wooded land on climate and soil, particularly on steep land is extremely important to the total ecological balance.

In many countries agriculture has suffered a decline and where the climate is hot the abandonment of methods that tend to conserve and introduce moisture, and where the natural cover has been destroyed for the purpose of agriculture, the decline into a desert state is rapid. The case of Spain is an interesting one as in the early 16th century grain was actually exported, but as the Spaniards neglected the agricultural works of the Moors the land gradually reverted to an arid condition and much poverty. They repeated the same process in Central America and reduced an effective civilisation to ineffective and poverty-stricken groups.

In these days when land drainage and the laying of water pipes is so easily achieved one wonders at the efficiency and the depth of some of the drainage work undertaken in the past on British farms which have worked effectively for a hundred years and still discharge a steady stream of surplus water into the ditch.

ALAN ALBON.

## A Whoremonger's Reply

"ARE we basically sexually suppressed," asks S.F., "and compensate by an ideology of sexual freedom, etc., often misrepresented? (Note *A Whoremonger's Complaint*)".

I will not dwell on the clumsy syntax, or Tony Gibson will be down my throat before I can say "Jack Robinson", but S.F. surely means "sexually repressed". Of course we are sexually suppressed—or most of us are. I have never yet met anyone who has all the sexual pleasure he or she would like to have, except for people who don't find sex pleasurable anyway. In every society there are barriers which limit sexual activity. They may be good barriers or bad barriers. I think they are bad barriers, because of all tastes sexual ones are least to be disputed about, and because I dislike barriers in general. I understand that this is something anarchists have in common.

So much for suppression. No doubt most of us are sexually repressed (too but then according to Freud pretty well everyone else is anyway, so why should we worry? As for compensation, of course the fact of being deprived of something one wants inclines one to find justification for having it all the same. Hence liberalism, socialism, anarchism, but S.F.'s Adlerian phraseology worries me, because to talk about compensation and to list the paradoxes of anarchist

ideas is a way of discrediting these ideas by casting doubts on the motives of people who hold them—just as "Goy" was discrediting S.F.'s original question by laughing, albeit good-naturedly, at S.F. It doesn't matter a damn why someone believes in sexual freedom (though it may be interesting); what does matter is whether sexual freedom is a good thing or not.

Now for misrepresentation. My Complaint was deliberately extreme, almost absurd, because only the extreme argument can reveal the truth (see *Candide*). The point is that sex is a personal matter: if a girl becomes a prostitute and I pay for her favours, it is our business and no one else's—it is certainly nothing to do with the government and the police (if anything is). Of course there are social and biological pressures influencing both of us, and of course our action may affect other people, but I still insist on my right to visit her and her right to be visited, just as I insist on the right to take my own life. This is an extreme example of sexual freedom, and was meant to illustrate the point that sexual freedom is essential to anarchism.

I wasn't trying to say that prostitution is a good thing—simply that it is a personal thing. And I therefore rejoice that the Soho whores are getting round the stupid Act by leaving their doors open and labelling their bell-pushes. Subtler than Butler, you might say. But since prostitution is ineradicable, at least in present circumstances, I would rather see it carried on in the open, so that the sexual hypocrisy of English society can be clearly seen. If this is a misrepresentation of the ideology of sexual freedom (whatever all that may mean), I should like to know why. A.F.

### ANARCHISM: Effective Propaganda and Movement Organisation

The third article in this series has been held over for this week. It will appear next week.

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