

## DISASTER KNOWS NO DIVISION

LAST Friday a rockfall in the Clydesdale Colliery, near Coalbrook, Orange Free State, trapped 435 miners 500 feet underground. The rockfall was heavy and early attempts to dig through it along the tunnel were abandoned as hopeless.

Instead, drillings are now going ahead to bore down from the surface, first, a narrow, 13½ inch borehole through which food, water and medical supplies can be lowered to the entombed men and, second, a wide shaft through which they can be brought up.

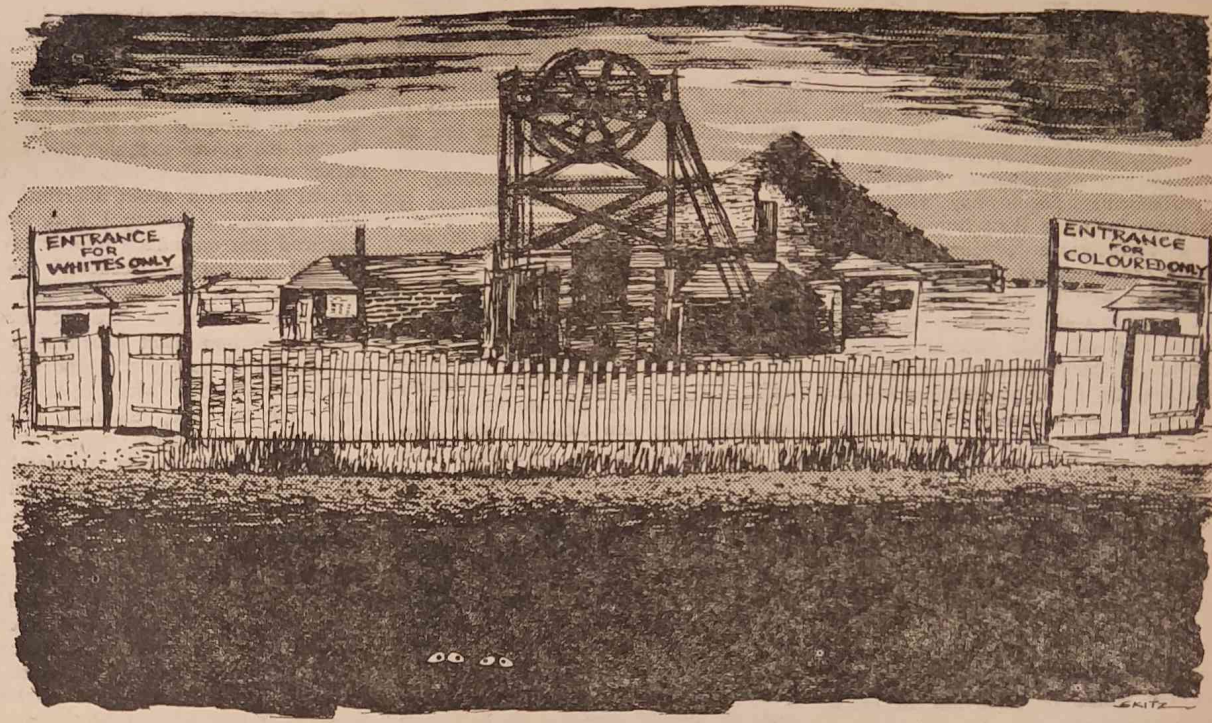
The small borehole is being sunk by a large diamond drill which was pushed to Coalbrook and the wider shaft is being worked by a team of 30 specialists who travelled overnight from 100 miles away with compressors, excavators and concrete mixers. It is however expected to take 'weeks' to sink this wide shaft, and the small borehole is running up against difficulties, though now three special large rock-cutting bits have been flown from America to help the work. The bits, each weighing two and a half hundredweight, are tipped with tungsten carbide, which is said to be even harder than diamonds for cutting purposes.

The immediate, urgent efforts which are made to cope with a mine disaster are always impressive and moving. In this case there is an added factor to the situation in which the trapped men find themselves for of the 435, six are Europeans and the rest are Africans.

How is apartheid working down there? How is white superiority being maintained? If the air is getting foul, can it be divided? If a white man or a black man is lying injured, does he get care from the others according to his colour?

In a disaster like this, the survival of the men depends upon their self-discipline and on their co-operation. It does all the time, of course, in Society in general, but down a mine stupidity at such a time can be fatal. For a brief span—and we hope it will be brief below but will have a lasting lesson—democracy is probably being practised 500 feet beneath the South African soil as it could not be on the surface. At least we certainly hope it is, for anything less would add further tragedy to disaster.

And down the mine tragedy knows no colour bar, disaster knows no division.



### Reflections on the Robens - Ted Hill Controversy

## SERVE NO MASTER!

THE appointment of Mr. Alfred Robens, M.P.—a former Minister of Labour in the Attlee government—as industrial relations officer to Atomic Power Construction Ltd. has been roundly condemned by Mr. Ted Hill, the boilermakers' leader in a report to his members. With Mr. Robens' views, expressed last year, in mind, that strikes in the second half of the twentieth century were an anachronism, Mr. Hill declared

I do not think strikes are an anachronism in a capitalist society but I do believe that the appointment of Socialist M.P.s as labour advisers to hard-boiled capitalists is an anachronism and therefore the Labour Party Executive should look into this matter, as Labour M.P.s cannot serve two masters.

When asked to comment on the appointment of Mr. Robens, the Minister of Power in the Tory government leapt to his defence with the following observations

"When Mr. Robens was Minister of Labour one of his jobs in that capacity was to make industrial relations in this country run as smoothly as possible. That I understand is the purpose of his new job. Therefore I cannot see there would be any more controversy about this job than there was when he was Minister of Labour."

which were logical enough but could hardly be expected to satisfy Mr. Hill unless of course one believes that two wrongs make a right. As

Mr. Hill pointed out in reply: "the issue was one of serving the trade union and Labour movements, and if this service was incompatible to the individual because he desired to serve an employer he should leave the movement." But in his turn, Mr. Hill has not dealt with the argument of the Minister of Power as unequivocally as he has dealt with Mr. Robens' present action.

IN his original comment Mr. Hill said that "Labour M.P.s cannot serve two masters". It is quite clear who one of the masters he had in mind was: "the hard-boiled capitalist". What is not clear to us is the identity of the other "master". The Labour M.P. is sent to Parliament by the votes of a majority of his constituents and is expected to represent the interests and to express the point of view of his constituents, though in reality he votes according to a policy determined by the Party Executive and enforced by the Party Whip. That same party at each general election aims at winning sufficient support at the polling booths to entitle it to form its own government. And behind that party, dominating it financially and numerically are the trades unions.

A Labour government, as we know from the experience of 1945-50 when the Labour Party enjoyed a Parliamentary majority more absolute than has any Tory government since, though professing to further the cause, the interests, of the "working classes", of the "under-privileged", is much more concerned with operating the machine of State successfully—which means maintaining its authority and balancing budgets—than with seeking to achieve the ends of socialism. During its years in office the Labour government took no steps to introduce a more human and common-sense approach to production and distribution, did nothing to curb the ambitions of industrialists, or the power of money values and the cult of materialism.

Nationalisation was a damp squib the moment it was clear that the workers in those industries had only changed masters, and that profit (the Labour government stressed that all

nationalised industries and services had to "pay their way") was the criterion they were judged by. Even if we accept that the money system could not be abolished overnight, a government which seeks to scrape up a few million pounds from a public levy on doctors' prescriptions, which tries to make public transport "pay its way" by insisting that those who use it should not only pay running costs but generously compensate former shareholders, and at the same time glibly squanders more than a thousand million pounds sterling a year on power politics, euphemistically described as "defence", such a government can hardly be described as safeguarding, and by no stretch of the imagination as *forwarding*, the interests of the working section of the population!

THE question we would put to Mr. Hill is: "Who is the other master?" If we have understood him correctly, it is "the trade union and Labour movements", in which case we insist that from the point of view of the workers nothing has changed, no principle is involved, when a Labour Member of Parliament, who was a Minister of Labour in a former Labour government, is appointed as the industrial relations officer to a capitalist enterprise. Neither the Labour Party nor the Trades Unions has any intention of abolishing the capitalists or the system. Perhaps we should remind Mr. Hill of the statement issued by the T.U.C. when the Tories won the elections of 1951:

It is our long-standing practice to work amicably with whatever government is in power . . . There need be no doubt, therefore, of the attitude towards the new government\*.

And if the T.U.C. aims at working amicably with all governments what grounds has Mr. Hill to complain when the Labour movement manages to place a fifth-column in the very stronghold of the enemy (indeed, what arguments would the vocal "revisionists" in FREEDOM'S

Continued on p. 3

\*T.U.C. and the Tories (FREEDOM 10/11/51) and reprinted in *Freedom Selections* Vol 1, 1951 (obtainable from Freedom Bookshop at 5/- post free).

### Readership Survey

## MORE REPLIES WANTED

AS you will see from the second interim report on page 4, we received 298 replies to our questionnaire by Jan. 23rd. None of the American, Australian, etc. replies had reached us by that date. We are grateful to those 298 readers, but we want to hear from a great many more than this small proportion of our readership.

Look behind the clock on the mantelpiece, or in the pile of old papers, find the questionnaire, fill it in and send it to us. If you have lost it or thrown it away, send us a postcard for another one. We are up against the usual problem of postal questionnaires. The results give us much valuable information about the first 298 respondents, but tell us nothing at all about the majority of readers. Are the 298 the most enthusiastic, the most literate, or simply the most obliging? Are the rest of you more critical, more discerning, more hostile, or more anarchistic, or is it just that you can't afford a stamp. We just don't know. But we want to.

If you are fed up with FREEDOM, if you think it a waste of time, or if you think it couldn't be better, please let us know. The readers who have replied are *not* a sample from which the opinions of the majority can be deduced: they may not be typical in any respect. Consequently the more people reply, the more we will know. You can see from the report on page four how valuable the answers to a single question can be.

In future issues we shall be publishing accounts of the criticisms, the suggestions, the occupations, and the religious and political histories of respondents, and their preferences among the topics discussed in FREEDOM, and we want to include yours.

We are just as anxious to hear from readers overseas. Every day

we open the American mail eagerly to see if there are any trans-Atlantic replies yet. Perhaps the Americans have developed a resistance to market research that there won't be any. One English reader writes, "This is the first and last quiz I shall fill in!" Another says, "If you ask any more questions I shall just ignore them." while another remarks "I wish you hadn't been so meek and humble about this appeal," and a fourth says "Hope this is of some use, but can't see how." But still they all answered it.

Other readers however say, "Idea of questionnaire good, but questions too rigidly framed", "I think this is a good idea and shall be interested in the results", "Good idea this questionnaire. Eager to know the results," "I think your questionnaire is an excellent idea and hope it gives you plenty of information for future developments."

"Impatient to hear what you find out", says another reader. So are we!  
THE EDITORS.

## THE SAHARA PROTEST

IT is reported from Accra that the Reverend Michael Scott and his protest team arrived back there after having been expelled for the third time in two months from the French Upper Volta while attempting to reach the Sahara site of the proposed French H-bomb test.

The *Observer* writes that:

On previous occasions, travelling by Land Rovers, the team had been stopped a few miles within the French border and surrounded by armed police who would neither arrest the demonstrators nor permit them to proceed.

On the second occasion, after a "siege" of nearly three weeks, the team was detained for one night by French police and then deposited on the Ghana border. The French retained its vehicles.

Undaunted the team made its third attempt last week on foot and this time succeeded in penetrating the French border by more than 100 miles. The members of the team continue to look fit, despite their recent hardships, and all are determined to continue with their protest.

These courageous men cannot hope to persuade the French Government of its folly, but they cannot fail to impress and influence a few people everywhere.

The pity is that their mission is unheralded by all but the slimmest newspaper recognition, most of which are usually eager to give publicity to small "heroic missions", providing they have no important social significance.





Readership Survey - Second Interim Report

HOW WE MET

THE total number of replies received to our questionnaire by Saturday, 23rd Jan. was 298.

Of these 167 arrived in the first week, 95 in the second week, and 34 in the third.

Only 27 were from women, as against 271 from men.

113 were posted in the London postal district, 175 from the rest of the United Kingdom, and 9 from other countries (2 from Irish Republic, 2 from France, 3 from Italy, 1 from Germany and 1 from Switzerland).

No replies had yet been received by Jan. 23rd from America, Africa, Australia, etc.

Of these 298 readers 7 are in their teens, 73 in their twenties, 104 in their thirties, 54 in their forties, 28 in their fifties, 17 in their sixties, and 9 in their seventies.

Are You Anarchists?

Question 4 asked: If you would describe yourself as an anarchist indicate which of the following would describe you most adequately: anarcho-syndicalist, individualist, anarcho-communist, philosophic anarchist, pacifist anarchist.

Many readers ticked two or more of these categories. On or two wrote "just anarchist" or "something of each". The total who were willing to accept the designation of anarchist in one form or another was 251. The numbers for each of the given categories were:

Table with 2 columns: Category and Count. Anarcho-syndicalist: 41, Individualist: 98, Anarcho-communist: 48.

Philosophic anarchist 83, Pacifist anarchist 62

How Did We Meet?

Almost every respondent gave some answer to question 15, 'Precisely how were you first introduced to FREEDOM?', even if it was only to say that they didn't remember. This is a very important question for us, and for those readers who are anxious to enlarge the circulation and influence of the paper.

Twelve readers answered that they saw an advert in the New Statesman, 7 saw one in the Freethinker (and 2 more saw it referred to in that paper), 7 saw it advertised in Peace News, 2 saw it advertised in the University Libertarian, 2 saw it advertised in Now (which one of them saw in a shop-window in Keswick in 1943). One mentioned an advert on the back of Woodcock's Anarchy or Chaos, and one an advert on the back of Read's Education of Free Men.

Read, one those of A. S. Neill, and one a book by John Hewetson. One came to anarchism through reading Kropotkin's Mutual Aid, and one says, "(a) to anarchism through reading Tolstoy (b) to FREEDOM from an ad, in Peace News, which I no longer read."

Old Faithfuls

A 79-year-old reader (the doyen of a three-generation anarchist family) was introduced to the paper by Peter Kropotkin long before the first world war. Another recalls Tucker's Liberty at a socialist club in 1905, and remembers Edward Carpenter. One used to sell FREEDOM 40 years ago and was reintroduced to it by a colleague.

Three readers mentioned buying Spain and the World during the Spanish War and another says "I remember getting Revolt just before the war. The old ILP bookshop in St. Bride Street introduced me to anarchism." Seventeen readers mentioned by name War Commentary, which was the title of the paper from 1939 to 1945.

Others "heard of it in the army", "heard of it as an anti-war paper". Two got it "in the NCC in wartime" and others at wartime meetings.

Some readers recall the great days of the Glasgow anarchists: "From the Glasgow anarchist group" says one, and "Glasgow meeting, 1943", another. "Hearing Eddie Shaw in the old Glasgow Anarchist Group", "at Eddie Shaw's meeting in Glasgow", "at a meeting addressed by the late Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw, and Jimmy Raeside—dynamic personalities."

Several readers remember the days when there was a Freedom Bookshop in Bristol. One says "by chance from Chris Lewis's bookshop, Bristol. Another architect says "from a fellow-student in Bristol in 1947".

Relations And Friends

Some respondents came across the paper through their families. "I am of an anarchist family" says one. One got it from his father, another from her mother, only one mentions her husband (though many readers mention their wives under the heading "how many people beside you regularly read your copy"). Two readers mention their sons. "A present from a relative" says another, while a 63-year old Yorkshireman first had it from "a younger member of the family who brought it from Hyde Park".

About 70 readers say that they first got the paper from friends or from personal contacts, others had it from anarchist acquaintances and contributors to the paper, or the editors. Some of the friends, now dead, are remembered with gratitude, and were also friends of ours: Mat Kavanagh, Mrs. Clara Cole, Frank Leech, Alex Wakefield, Dr. S. Vere Pearson.

Some typical answers are "saw it at a friend's house", "saw a pile of back numbers at a friend's house", "found a copy at a party in somebody's flat in 1947."

Four readers came into contact with the paper at progressive schools, two readers got it from their doctor, another from a Central Board for Conscientious Objectors adviser, a bricklayer and an art student got it from an architect, a university student got it from his lecturer in philosophy. Other readers first heard of it from Spanish, French and Yiddish anarchist papers, another from a friend in Paris and another from a Milanese worker for International Voluntary Services. Two readers got it from members of Mensa.

The Bookshop

The importance of the Freedom Bookshop in getting new readers is shown by the fact that 23 respondents came into contact with the paper through it, several of them by accident. "I passed by your window" writes one reader poetically, while another was living above Red Lion Street and saw the paper in the shop. One reader saw the bookshop address in the National Union of Students' Guide to London, and another says, "The boss

at my last job told me about a 'queer little bookshop' in Red Lion Street."

Although so few other shops sell FREEDOM, 6 respondents first got it from a paper shop in Charing Cross Road, another says "bookshop in Holborn (not yours)" and others say: "saw it outside a shop", "outside a shop in Soho", "bookshop, I believe, in Shaftesbury Avenue", "picked up a copy of Spain and the World at Collet's", "newsagent's, out of curiosity", "railway bookstall", "FP pamphlet from railway bookstall", "paper shop in Brighton", "paper shop in Newcastle", "backstreet bookshop in Nottingham". Two readers first bought it at the Partisan Coffee Bar, and two readers first saw the paper in Battersea Public Library.

Streets & Meetings

People sometimes suggest that the crowds who assemble at Speakers' Corner at Hyde Park only go there for entertainment, but 17 of the respondents say they first came into contact with the paper through the speakers at Hyde Park or through the sellers at the Marble Arch. Three others say they got it from street sellers. Another says "bought in Trafalgar Square", another replies "a young girl sold me a copy in Trafalgar Square after Aldermaston", while a third says: "A bearded gentleman with his naked infant sold me a copy in Trafalgar Square when I was 18. It seemed intriguing".

Others who first got the paper at meetings include 5 who first bought it at pacifist or PPU meetings, 6 who bought it at anarchist meetings. More typical replies are:

"Bought at door of meeting", "Saw it at meeting at Conway Hall", "At Teeside Humanist Group", "Meeting an old anarchist at an flavoured function in 1943", "(two others got it from ILP members)", "By Jim Pinkerton, selling at SF meeting 1950", "(and two others got it from SF members)", "Talk by Mat Kavanagh", "Mat Kavanagh sold me a copy of side UNA meeting", "During strikes in 1948", "Talk by Philip Sansom at the Cambridge Heretics 1947".

Sheer Accident

Three readers mentioned having specimen copies by post, one had been given a six months free subscription, says "it was, and is, paid for by some unknown person", another says "through letter box" and another: "while doing land work suddenly had it delivered by Peace News".

Several readers say that they got it by "sheer accident" or by chance, "suddenly 10 years ago" or "picked one up or 'picked up War Commentary' have read it ever since" or "happy to see an amusing article".

Others say "found FP pamphlet 'picked up copy in tube'. In another reply, you can see the process happening: "Sitting in Lyons teashop, the next to me was reading it. He was behind".

And a final reply, from an Oxford undergraduate: "found pair of papers wrapped in a copy."

Editorial Comment

Our first impression from these answers is that very many readers have read the paper for many years. It would almost (were it not for the fact that every now and then, we have, through not hearing from them, to take readers off our lists, lead us to say, "once a reader, always a reader". But perhaps it is simply that long-standing readers feel most attached to the paper, and therefore are most likely to fill in the questionnaire. The assumption is anyway partly belied by the age structure of the respondents, though we would be happier if the 'twenties' were the largest and not the second largest group of readers.

The second impression is this: every paper, especially every minority paper, has an optimum circulation. It is obvious from the number of readers who got the paper in the first instance by sheer accident or chance, and have then continued to subscribe, year after year, that we are nowhere near the optimum circulation. Several of the channels through which many of the respondents first came across the paper are no longer open to us. There is no longer a Freedom Bookshop in Bristol. And more serious, we are certain to be turned out of the Red Lion Street bookshop within the next year or two, and at present it looks virtually impossible to get another shop in central London. The big Glasgow anarchist group of the wartime and early post-war years has been sadly depleted by death and emigration. Many of the provincial groups which were active at the same time—in Liverpool, Birmingham, and Chorley—no longer exist, largely through their stalwarts moving to London.

But it is obvious from these replies, whether or not they are typical of the larger number of readers who did not return the questionnaire, that every method of anarchist propaganda has brought the paper new readers, who remained readers. Hyde Park meetings, selling at Marble Arch, selling in the

street, and outside other meetings, to non-anarchist groups, persuade your local newsagent and your library to stock the paper, gift subscriptions and specimen copies to friends above all, getting friends to take subscriptions, and even leaving copies around in cafés, trains and buses. These methods show results. Do take two copies, in order to pass on? When some special subject is discussed in the paper, do you make that people you know who are interested in it are sent copies? We could double the circulation in a year if you, all, would make the effort.

[The first interim report on the questionnaire, discussing the first 144 replies, the question of what effect the ideas expressed in FREEDOM had had on real lives, appeared in our issue for January 16th].

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

World Party, Marx, Poverty & Prosperity

I should like to thank Bert Bevis for his kind remarks. The programme of the World Party (new to me too) looks very fine, but I should like to know a great deal more about its origins and set-up. All too many impressive organisations have turned out to be fronts, whether for the Kremlin, the State Department, or the cranks. Anyway, isn't it a bit steep to aim at world government "first"?

As for Karl Marx, I am sorry to hear that he is stirring uneasily (so that's what the rumbling noises over in Highgate are), but really it's his own fault. I refer Mr. E. Groves to what is said about the rich becoming richer (and fewer) and the poor poorer (and more numerous) in Das Kapital (Vol. I, chapter 23), and I challenge him to repeat that this is stated "in relative terms" or that "it is as true today as it was then". Surely everyone agrees that there is less poverty and economic inequality in the West than there was a century ago. Engels, as I remarked, had already admitted this in 1895, and anyone who reads his Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844 or Disraeli's Sybil; or the Two Nations (both published in 1845), or Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton (1848) and North and South (1855), can hardly doubt it. The levelling-up tendency has continued in the West since 1895, and it seems to have begun in the Communist world as well.

I too am surprised that rich nations are getting richer and poor ones poorer, but it does seem to be the case (and not "in relative terms" either). I am not familiar with the documentary evidence, but I gather that in "underdeveloped" (i.e. poor) countries the fall in the death-rate without a corresponding fall in the birth-rate or rise in food production means that the average Asian or African is today actually poorer in an absolute

sense than he used to be. In the meantime we Europeans and Americans have never had it so good, and for some abstruse economic reason the more aid we send East the worse the discrepancy becomes. I don't understand it either, but apparently this appalling picture is correct. Hampstead, Jan 23. N.W.

Towards a Non-Violent Society

DEAR COMRADES, Laurens Otter is entitled to his opinion regarding my review of "Towards a Non-Violent Society". Since my own opinions are on record I do not think it necessary to add anything more to them at the moment. There are, however, two comments I would like to make on his letter.

Firstly, his view that the pamphlet is an expression of the "Common Mind" of the pacifist movement is not borne out by Allen Skinner's "Preface". In this, Skinner writes that the pamphlet is "the fruits of discussions" of the four people who composed the working party and adds that "neither the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee nor the organisations it represents are in any way committed to the views herein expressed". Since the concept of a 'common mind' is a piece of mysticism I cannot accept, I think this more modest statement nearer to the source of the ideas outlined in the pamphlet and one which justifies my calling it a product of a particular type of "radical-pacifist thinking".

Secondly, in reviewing the works of those with whom one shares certain aspirations, one is inclined to be stringent in criticising those things where one feels they fall short. As a cynic once put it: "Lord, save me from my friends—I can take care of mine enemies myself!" One of the most pressing needs of today are clear ideas about the situation we are in and what can be done about it. If the 'half-way house' attitude represents a step towards anarchism that is good and one's strictures may be of help in clarifying the direction in which those 'in transition' are going. If, as is all too often the case, such an attitude is simply an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable, then it needs stripping of any illusions it may create in the minds of the more credulous—of whom the pacifist movement seems to possess a disproportionate share. Yours fraternally, London, Jan. 1. S. E. PARKER.

How WE met should give you ideas how to introduce new readers to Freedom!

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

IT MUST BE THE GYPSY IN US! THE LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP HAVE MOVED AGAIN!

MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS "The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2. (corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue) at 7.30 p.m. ALL WELCOME

Jan. 31—Charles Humana on PERSONALLY SPEAKING Feb. 7—Philip Sansom on ANARCHY OR LAW?

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

Table with 2 columns: Category and Amount. Deficit on Freedom: £60, Contributions received: £68, SURPLUS: £8.

January 15 to January 21

Table with 2 columns: Location and Amount. Cleveland: A.P. £1/15/0; Colwyn Bay: W.D.R. £1/0/0; Enfield: M. & J.S.\* 10/-; London: J.S.\* 3/-; London: Anon.\* 4/-; Sydney: H.M. 10/-; Los Angeles: Group, part proceeds Social, Jan. 9, per T.D. £17/10/0; Newport Pagnall: W.S. £2/1/0; Ilford: C.S. 9/6; Hong Kong: M.S. 9/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 4/-; Preston: R.S.M. 5/-; Bolton: R.T.S. £1/0/0; London: Anon.\* 1/9; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-.

Summary table: Total: 26 7 3, Previously acknowledged: 41 16 10, 1960 TOTAL TO DATE: £68 4 1.

GIFTS OF BOOKS: Alfriston: A.W.U. London; N.W. Sydney: H.M. \*Indicates regular contributor.

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