

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.

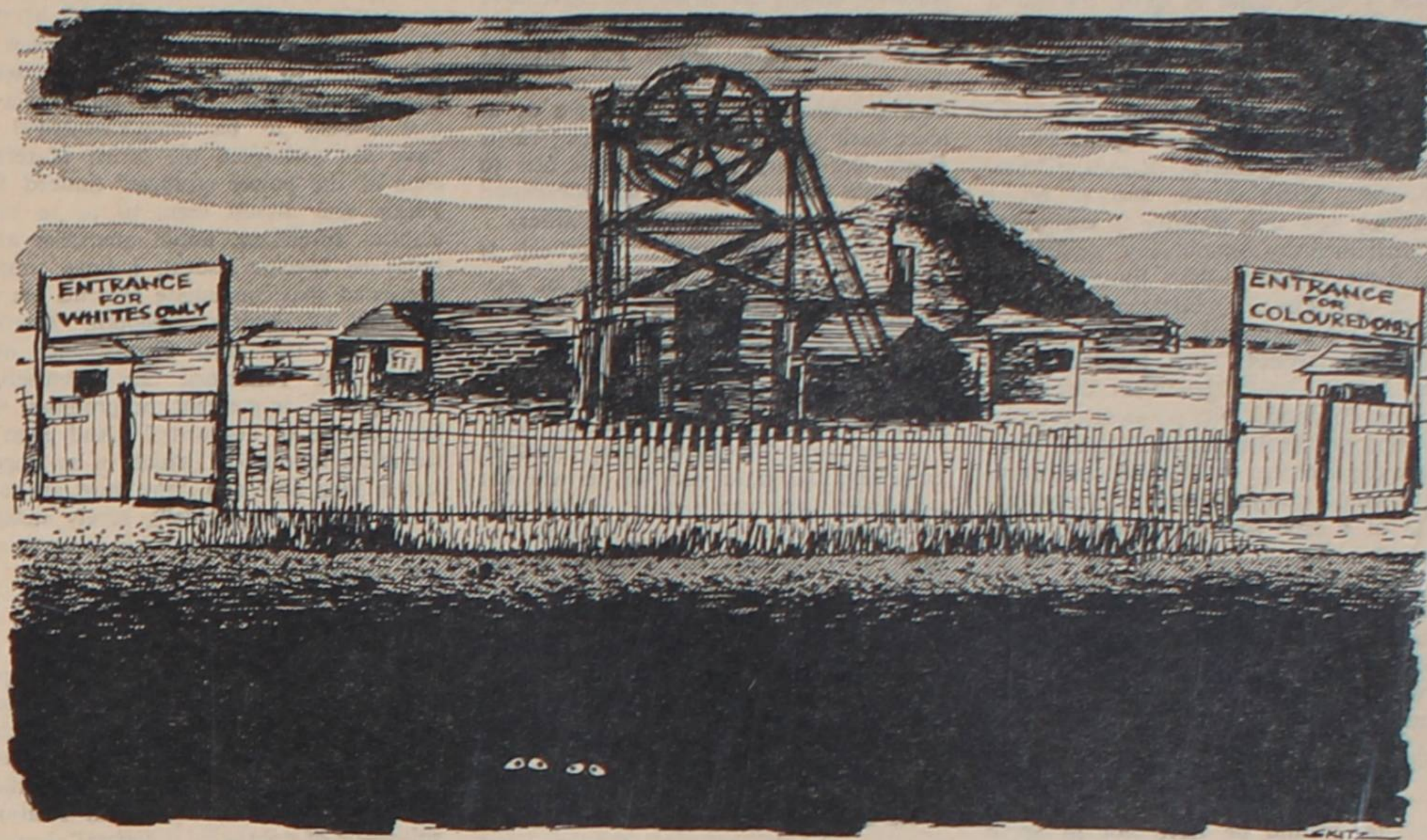
The small borehole is being sunk by a large diamond drill which was rushed to Coalbrook and the wider shaft is being worked by a team of 130 specialists who travelled overnight from 100 miles away with compressors, excavators and concrete mixers. It is however expected to take 'weeks' to sink this wide 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.

REVISIONIST ANARCHISM—A REPLY

I THINK it is interesting and perhaps revealing that Sid Parker's *Comment* should deal almost entirely with my brief remarks on anti-parliamentarism. What is it about Parliament that makes anarchists so angry? I don't know. Anyway, according to him I simply urged anarchists to try "to make the best of" Parliament; what I actually said was that "since government is going to be with us for quite some time, we might as well try to make the best of it even while we were working for its abolition", which I don't think is quite the same thing. I also said that "we should consider Parliament . . . without prejudice" and it seems to me that this is exactly what Sid Parker has not done.

In régimes like those of Spain, Portugal, France, Yugoslavia, Russia, China, Indonesia, South Africa and so on, I don't see how it is possible to deny that a parliamentary democracy something like those in North West Europe would be a considerable advance. I don't imagine for a moment that such a political change would "spell freedom", but then I never said Parliament does that even in England. No political or social constitution "spells freedom", and I don't think the atrophy or abolition of Parliament would *ipso facto* lead to the appearance of a free society—experience suggests it would in fact probably lead to either chaos or tyranny. By the way, I didn't say Parliament was "the best form of government". I hope I shall never be guilty of such a lapse; I said it was "perhaps the best form of government available to us", which surely isn't the same thing at all.

I know that Parliament in Italy has not done the work Dolci has begun, but how far would he have got in Spain or Portugal—or Italy 25 years ago? And how would Vinoba Bhave fare in China or Gandhi in South Africa today? The point is that direct action unless it is overwhelming implies a certain moderation on the part of the establishment; thus the Rhodesian African leaders have been jailed, but the Hungarian Freedom Fighters who didn't get away have been shot. The increasing technological resources at the disposal of the powers that be serve to accentuate this vital factor.

It would be silly to deny that during the last few centuries there has been a pretty steady improvement both in material conditions and in genuine freedom in North West Europe (Britain, Netherlands, Scandinavia). It is true that this process hasn't been extended to African and Asian colonies, but it is the existence of a voluble parliamentary opposition that has kept this disgraceful fact in the public eye here. It is also true that Labour Governments have behaved reprehensibly in respect of colonies, strikes and arms, but there have always been Labour M.P.s—who have protested strongly. When P.S. suggests that this is because they may see "their own potential corruption foretold or at least their own faults writ large", he is really not being fair (nor is it fair to state that National Health was motivated solely by the need for cannon-fodder).

I feel that this sort of approach is deeply infected by the disease of sectarianism I mentioned in my "revisionist" article. We really must stop imagining that we have a monopoly in freedom, and thinking along metaphysical lines within the framework of "either . . . or . . .". Parliament, freedom, authority, the state and so on are not absolutes; they are simply words used to describe classes of institutions and forms of behaviour, the members of the classes differing among themselves just as the classes differ from each other. The House of Commons, the Supreme Soviet and Congress share many characteristics but they are not the same thing; the "state" is different in every society; authoritarianism and libertarianism take an almost infinite variety of forms.

Sid Parker implies that I want everyone to decide between Capone and Diamond. If the last election had been between these two (or, say, Franco and Krushchev) his arguments would carry much weight, but in fact the Labour and Conservative Parties are not simply "alternative political organisations for the administration of capitalist Britain" (there's another dangerous word—capitalism; think how many things it can mean).

I am under no illusion that voting for "progressive" candidates is the ideal form of political activity (did I ever suggest it was?). I think it is better than total abstention because scant distinction is made between conscientious abstainers and television abstainers. In the same way, of course, scant distinction is made between conscientious voters and automatic voters; all right then, let's show them what the distinction is. Make a fuss at meetings, write angry letters, argue with canvassers, lobby M.P.s—it

isn't just a waste of time; and isn't there a case for concerted disturbances in polling booths or something of the sort? Joe Soap's excellent *Election Guyed* was something, but how many of its readers just laughed and then went and voted all the same? I wonder how many people suspect that the anti-parliamentarianism of Sid Parker and others is so total as to be an automatic reflex action; I certainly do, and I don't think my suspicion is quite fanciful.

To proceed, Sid Parker says that "even the best programmes championed by the most sincere of men will be poisoned if it is sought to implement it by the exercise of authority". Does he expect a free society to be "implemented"? I have not "accepted the terms of reference of the power struggle" (indeed Sid Parker and myself seem to be in substantial agreement about anarchist attitudes to specific issues); I have simply suggested that immediate reforms are as essential as eventual freedom. Doesn't he realise that civil disobedience and non-violent resistance are themselves attempts to implement programmes by the exercise of authority? And even if we reject revolution (which is, as Engels said a long time ago, "the most authoritarian thing imaginable"), surely strikes, boycotts and direct action in general are just as authoritarian from the point of view of their victims as laws made by Parliament.

An anarchist paradise will not be put into practice tomorrow by a violent revolt under the black flag of Anarchy, or by a social revolution based on concerted direct action, or by a revolution in men's minds or in human relationships—or of course by a general election. Even if it could, they would involve something more than "self-emancipation". If we are really going to wait until every single person in the world agrees with us, then we will wait *usque ad consummationem saeculi*—for ever.

I agree with Malatesta and Sid Parker that the important thing is to "walk towards anarchism" by trying to "achieve libertarian ends by libertarian means", but let us keep a sense of proportion. Our end is not simply a messianic vision of an eventual "withering away of the state", proceeding from a proletarian revolution or some other upheaval; nor is it simply to realise freedom "by acting freely". Our duty is as much to the contemporary world as to the generations to come. We have seen Communist countries go through hell to reach heaven; surely we should try to mitigate the tyranny, injustice, cruelty and hunger we see around us as much as to make

it impossible for them to exist in the future. I know that Sid Parker's argument here will be that the only legitimate means of action is direct action, but—to take examples from recent issues of FREEDOM—what does he propose to do about bad hospitals and bad hairdressing salons? It is no good just saying, "All that will be swept away when capitalism and state power are abolished" (I hope no one imagines that the destruction of the present set-up will in itself solve anything). The point is that in the meantime ill old men and bullied young girls are bloody miserable.

What sort of direct action can be organised in a hospital? If the staff strikes the patients suffer first; if it tries to take the place over the funds will stop and the police will move in. The only thing to do is to kick up a fuss and make it unpleasant for the authorities. It is regrettable that no change—except the fundamental one of "genuine loving-kindness and imagination"—will come except through bureaucratic or parliamentary action, but this should not prevent us supporting reform of the health service—and any other sphere of activity.

I do not see why this would be a betrayal of anarchist principles. Couldn't it be suggested at the same time that things would be a lot better if the staff had more equal conditions, if the patients' interests were put first, and if the two groups could run the hospitals themselves in some way? It isn't a question of either parliamentary or direct action. Why not both? Why not any action that will help to make the world a better place? The health service is run by the government and the

civil service; well, it's still better than nothing, isn't it?

In the same way, the obstacles in the way of direct action in, say, the hairdressing trade are enormous—the chief one being the natural timidity of young and experienced people who often don't realise they are being oppressed until someone points it out to them. If they tried anything without parliamentary or trade union backing they would just get the sack. Again, the only thing to do is to kick up a fuss and make it unpleasant for the authorities; and again, it could be suggested that some form of co-operation would make things happier all round (except for the profit-makers). In this connection the new Offices Bill is by no means ideal, but it is better than nothing.

In conclusion, I think that by making such a bogeyman of Parliament we close one of the paths along which we could "walk to anarchism". This is not to say that we should try to get into Parliament or simply become "yet one more 'pressure group' of 'progressives'." I just believe that we should, as our late Prime Minister used to put it with his accustomed originality, leave no avenue unexplored. A healthy distrust of Parliament is essential, but to reject the whole complicated institution out of hand is to play straight into the hands of the *laissez-faire* Tories who opposed the Offices Bill and who would, as was pointed out, probably like to repeal the Factory Acts too. It isn't just a matter of airily admitting "we would rather live in Britain than in Russia". Why would we rather live here? Because we are freer. Why are we freer? Because, to some extent at least, our freedom is guaranteed by the courts and Parliament. I know that isn't the whole story, but nor is Sid Parker's version.

N.W.

The Anti-Franco Protest

THE last of the signatures of writers, artists, scientists, etc., who gave their names to the protest, organised to draw attention to the ill treatment of political prisoners in Franco's jails, have now reached us from the committee.

These are:
Lynne Chadwick, Iris Murdoch, Benjamin Britten, Walter Allen, William Empson, Boyd Orr, Michael Ayton, W. B. Gallie, Christopher Fry, Kenneth G. Grub.

We pointed out in our issue of January 2nd that, with two exceptions, *The Guardian* & *The Sunday Express*, all newspapers had ignored the communication. It seems that *Reynolds News*, in a few lines, mentioned the protest a week after it appeared in the *Sunday Express*.

The above list of names brings the number up to 85 which seems to us a sizeable group, especially since they are nearly all "well known" people, of intellectuals most of them with no apparent political affiliations prepared to commit themselves publicly to a protest which clearly implies condemnation of the Franco régime.

It seems that a few who did not sign were in sympathy with the principle involved, but were not in complete agreement with the wording of the protest particularly the part which read:

... We insist that the Government of General Franco be obliged to honour the pledges which it gave on joining Unesco . . .

As one put it, "I am not really in a position to insist that General Franco does anything". It is also our view that the actual wording of the protest could have been improved on, but since declarations of this kind are usually organised as a gesture of solidarity and not as a programme of action, the important thing is that the gesture is made.

The hope is always there that such protests might help to influence events, but our experience tells us that Governments are rarely moved to change their policies by polite requests or even by indignant condemnation.

A powerful group of intellectuals with access to press or radio could certainly make themselves heard, but ultimately changes are made by Governments for political reasons or, because they are faced with a

mass movement determined to unseat it from power, when surrender or compromise are the only courses open.

The importance of the libertarian intellectuals can be perhaps gauged in terms of time. By a slow process of education, attitudes can be changed by ideas filtering through the various strata of society, but Franco's prisoners can only be freed here and now by a mass movement of workers and intellectuals determined on a course of action which will leave him no alternative.

A social revolution? Yes. But it can only succeed if it rests on the principles of freedom and justice. This is only possible if there is a humanitarian sense of anger felt by the majority of people over political (or racial) persecution. Most people, however, are not at this stage of development being content to narrowly "mind their own business" and leave the growth of society to their leaders.

A few bob to the Refugee Fund; a grunt of disapproval as a pictorial record of persecuted humanity flashes onto the "telly"; a few letters to the newspapers. Do these samples, however inadequate, of awareness provide fertile ground for the seed of absolute libertarianism? It is not very hopeful, but it is the only ground there is! Maybe the patient "slow process" of education, of careful tending, is the only possible one after all?

Immorality in High Places

JOHANNESBURG, DECEMBER 15.

Karel Boshoff, aged 42, whose brother is married to the daughter of the Prime Minister, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, was sentenced to five months' imprisonment under the Immorality Act by a Johannesburg magistrate to-day.

The case went unreported in South Africa's press after attorney James Kantor, defending, successfully applied to the magistrate for an order restraining publication of Boshoff's name. The magistrate, however, has not the power to do this.

Kantor also approached Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, who refused to take any action in the case but said it must go on. Dr. Verwoerd is the chief power behind the Immorality Act, which forbids white and non-white people to live together or to have sexual relations.

(Guardian)

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sat.)

New Books . . .

The Mothers Robert Briffault
(Abridged by C. R. Taylor) 36/-
Sexual Behaviour in the Human
Female Kinsey 56/-

Cheap Editions . . .

Earth	Emile Zola	3/6
Savage Paris	Emile Zola	3/6
A Love Affair	Emile Zola	3/6
Zest for Life	Emile Zola	3/6
Nana	Emile Zola	3/6
Drunkard	Emile Zola	3/6
Theresa	Emile Zola	2/6
The Bankrupt	Honoré de Balzac	3/6
A Journal of the Plague Year	Daniel Defoe	3/6
And So to Bed	Samuel Pepys	3/6
My Life and Adventures	Frank Harris	3/6
Droll Stories, Vol. 1	Honoré de Balzac	3/6
Droll Stories, Vol. 2	Honoré de Balzac	3/6
Sappho	Alphonse Daudet	3/6
The Art of Love	Ovid	3/6
The Decameron, Vol. 1	Boccaccio	3/6
The Decameron, Vol. 2	Boccaccio	3/6
A Pocketful of Ribaldry	(ed.) Alec Brown	3/6

Second-Hand . . .

A Village by the Jordan	Joseph Baratz	4/-
From the Danube to the Yalu	General Mark Clark	5/-
Essays in Rebellion	Henry W. Nevins	4/6
Late Have I Loved Thee	Ethel Mannin	3/6
History of Trade Unionism	Sidney & Beatrice Webb	12/6
Notes from the Gallows	Julius Fuchik	3/-
Childhood's Loves (Men of Good Will)	Jules Romains	5/-

Periodicals . . .

University Libertarian, No. 9	1/-
World Labour News (I.W.M.A.)	Jan.-Feb. 4d.

We can supply ANY book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found!

Potage free on all items

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1

The Disadvantages of being a Practising Christian

In the *Guardian* for December 16, Alistair Cook writes:

Five years ago, in a pleasant valley in New Hampshire, Dr. Willard Uphaus, a white-haired Methodist layman, indulged in what he admits is his "main joy in life": bringing people together "who have nothing in common" and so guaranteeing "a disputatious meeting." He was presiding over a summer camp run by his World Fellowship, Inc.

Yesterday in Concord, capital of New Hampshire, he was committed to the county gaol for one year or until such time as he decides to "purge himself of contempt" by telling the State's Attorney-General the names of those "disputatious" guests at the camp meetings in 1954 and 1955.

Dr. Uphaus prepared for a siege after his quaint fashion. He loaded up with several prayer books, a batch of poetry, a family Bible, and a volume of Thoreau—who made a philosophy out of a life lived in an area no bigger than a prison yard. As he went into gaol Dr. Uphaus bestowed a Pickwickian smile on disciples and accusers alike and vanished, perhaps for good. He sees no reason, in law or public sentiment, why he should not be there for life.

The Attorney-General, who was busy five years ago conducting an investigation of "subversion" in New Hampshire, still says he must know the names. The Supreme Court of the United States supported him by confirming Dr. Uphaus's citation for contempt of court. As such things go, it is a clean, neat case. On the one side is the state of New Hampshire, and looming behind the small figure of the State's Attorney-General is the formidable rearguard of the United

States Supreme Court. On the other side is a perpetually smiling pacifist, who brought no other defence to court than the New Testament.

Asked what he was doing in Warsaw in 1950, he replied that he was attending a World Peace Congress organised by the Communists. Then he admitted having openly consorted with sinners and Communists? He did indeed. He went to learn, he said, "what those people believe. How are we going to convert Communists to our beliefs if we don't talk to them and argue with them?" (This must be counted a rhetorical flourish, for it was his job to answer questions not to ask them.)

He could have avoided incriminating himself by claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment. This he refused to do, saying that the State investigation was "a direct invasion of Christian conscience and of an authority higher than that of the State." He meant the Attorney-General was shocked to realise, God. "This witness," protested the Attorney-General, "has put himself deliberately above the highest Courts of the United States and New Hampshire."

Yesterday the judge who first sentenced him asked him if he was now ready to "purge" himself. He was not. "Loyalty to God and to the Bible," he said, prevented his becoming "an informer." Confronted with the thought that he might be giving aid and comfort to "the enemy," he contends that "we should meet the enemy and love him." He takes quite literally the idea that "it is wrong to bear false witness against my neighbour." His case looks hopeless. There seems no way out of the bleak conclusion that the man is a practising Christian.

Serve No Master!

Continued from p. 1
columns put forward?). Mr. Hill argues, rightly to our minds, that no man can see, and advance, both the workers' point of view and serve (at a salary) the bosses' interests. It is true that an enlightened boss may see the wisdom of employing a man as his industrial relations officer who "understands" the workers' problems, but let no-one over-estimate the enlightenment of such a boss. His principle concern is to achieve maximum production not happy, or satisfied workers. If the latter can be used as a means to the former, which is the ends, why not appear in the guise of the unorthodox, the eccentric, the "progressive" boss? But, say the revisionists, is it not better from the workers' point of view to have such a boss than the old-fashioned, classic, boss who looks on psychology as a new-fangled idea and who thinks that workers should be kept in their place?

WE can only answer that question by the realist approach of putting ourselves in Mr. Robens' shoes. There are two kinds of power: the one based on experience, knowledge, the other based on authority. The former expresses itself through discussion, the later through authority. Whatever the origins of Mr. Robens' success story, his advancement first as M.P., then as Minister of Labour (incidentally his ministerial status was made possible by a reshuffle of the Labour Cabinet, caused by the resignations of Bevan and Wilson, on matters of "principle") indicate a career approving and relying on the principle of government and the power of an elite. Certainly no indication that the values, social and economic, on which the system was based should be opposed or even questioned. And before Mr. Hill condemns Mr. Robens he should ask himself whether the Trades Unions can, on their record, adopt a holier-than-thou attitude towards Labour politicians who seek to cash-in in a world which idolises the realist and despises the "idealist".

TO our minds there can be no *modus vivendi*, no understanding, between capital and labour. No employee, no human being, in his senses will ever accept, freely, a situation in which he depends on the whim of a fellow-being for his means of existence. This is the fundamental issue, for no employer, large or small, can create a feeling of security in the mind of his employee (quite apart from creating the feeling that the employer is aware of his worth in money terms).

Even the least socially-conscious
†Dear Reader, If you really want to convince yourself that politics—Labour as well as Tory—stinks, you really should invest in a set of Freedom Reprints (8 volumes, more than 2,000 pages for a mere 40 capitalist shillings, with a nationalised postal service included!), as we have done. The important, the crucial, events in our own lives are recorded in our hearts. The jingoism the opportunism, the hypocrisy and the *volte face* of politicians is easily forgotten, for the very good reason that almost instinctively one disbelieves or discounts the fine words and sentiments that professionals conjure up for the appropriate occasion. But even those of us trained to question every politician's sneeze, *bohème* or outward show of indignation, cannot mentally record and compare their utterances in the course of their sordid careers.
This footnote owes its origin to the fact that on the shelves beyond our typewriter are the *Selections From Freedom*, and in Volume 1, 1951, p. 42 is a short article, by and long forgotten, by the present writer: "Bevan out, Robens in".

CINEMA

STALIN THE TERRIBLE

Ivan the Terrible, Episode II. The Boyars Plot. Academy Cinema.

THE Encyclopedia Britannica with typical understatement says that Ivan IV (1530-1584) "had a neurotic strain in his character". This tsar of Muscovy threw his boyar enemies to the dogs, he had a metropolitan (bishop) strangled for refusing to bless him, he destroyed Great Novorogod for conspiracy against him and slaughtered the population; he killed his own son in a fit of rage and died as a monk, taking the name Jonah.
In 1940, Eisenstein, the Russian film director was taken away from his stage direction work of (of all things!) *Die Walküre* to produce *Ivan the Terrible* for Stalin.
In 1938 he had made a come-back with *Alexander Nevsky*, which was a reconstruction of Russian history to rouse, according to Paul Rotha, the

worker never looks upon his employer as a philanthropist. Why indeed, should he be? But equally, why should the worker be a philanthropist who sells his labour power to an employer whose only interest in him is to profit by his labour? Consciously or unconsciously these attitudes persist, in spite of so-called full-employment and record profits, and the "voice of reason" of such now respectable (sometimes unorthodox) organs of the press as the *Guardian* which suggested that the alternative to the Robens line is industrial strife and unemployment, strikes and lock-outs "and wages rather around 30s. a week" instead of "conciliation" and "full employment". (As we have written on other occasions, we take off our hats to the *Guardian* for its news service; its conformist, when not openly reactionary, editorial comments, we treat with the contempt they deserve!).

WE are not surprised when the organs of the Press, which see themselves if not as pillars, then, at any rate, as accepted fomenters of thoughtful public opinion, talk a lot of conformist nonsense. But when a minority paper such as the *Socialist Leader* devotes a whole editorial to exposing the duplicity of politicians such as Michael Foot ("Foot in both Camps"—*S.L.* 23/1/60) without drawing the conclusion that perhaps politics is *per se* the cause of the very moral dishonesty of which the *Socialist Leader* complains, one feels that after all the anarchist denunciation of politics is not a waste of breath, however much it may appear to some as a voice in the wilderness!

The concluding paragraph of the *Socialist Leader's* editorial rightly, we think, concludes
Foot [who dislikes intensely the idea of Mr. Gaitskell as leader of the Labour Party] may strike many people as being very sincere; he must also strike them as being very illogical. For, if he really believes all that he says in criticism of Gaitskell and the Labour Party, he couldn't in all honesty plead with people to vote Labour. And, so long as he does, we shall regard him as a man with a foot in both camps.
But whereas the *Socialist Leader* believes that the alternative for workers is between voting for the Labour Party and the Independent L.P., for George Stone and not Michael Foot, we anarchists draw the conclusion from all this evidence that the alternative is between voting and not voting, between abdicating the power which is in each of us to political parties, and using it individually and collectively for our emancipation.
Mr. Hill objects to Mr. Robens' acceptance of a job as an Industrial Relations Officer on the grounds that he cannot "serve two masters". We, on the other hand object to any man serving a master at all, which probably explains why we, though sympathetic to Mr. Hill's criticism of Mr. Robens' appointment, are nevertheless critical of the grounds for his objections!

"fatherland spirit", 'Eisenstein said of it "My subject is patriotism".
He had been in disgrace since, *Behzin Meadow* in 1935-7 which was uncompleted and never shown, it was condemned for formalism and social and political inadequacy. The story of its subsequent fate was that it was destroyed by water when a German incendiary bomb fell on the film vaults where it was stored.
Marie Seton in her pre-Krushevich life of Eisenstein (1952) says rashly enough "Ivan might be likened to Josef Stalin".
The first part of "Ivan the Terrible" was completed in 1944 and released December 31st, 1948. In 1946 Eisenstein had completed the cutting of the second part of "Ivan the Terrible" when he was seized with what Jan Leyda calls a stroke and Ivor Montague "a heart attack". Subsequent to this (or 'simultaneously' as the 'blurb' curiously says) he had been attacked by the General Committee of the Communist Party for being 'anti-historical'.
In 1928 Eisenstein had said "History is a sweet idealization of bourgeoisie historians . . . The concealed traps of official history must be exposed." But in 1938 he made *Alexander Nevsky* which rehabilitated him in the eyes of Stalin and the Central Committee.

There is a strange opening title in the first part of *Ivan the Terrible* which reads, "In that same century that saw in Europe Charles V and Philip II, Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Alba, Henry VIII and Bloody Mary, the fires of the Inquisition and the Night of St. Bartholomew to the throne of the Grand Princes of Muscovy came he who first became Tsar and Autocrat of all the Russias, TSAR IVAN THE TERRIBLE".
This sounds curiously like the Communist argument that concludes "but what about the Negroes in the Southern States of America?"
The brochure issued at the trade-show argues that 'Ivan' is not a mere historical reconstruction, it is 'a grand patriotic demonstration'.
In 1945 Eisenstein was awarded the Stalin Prize First Class, it was hinted that he was to screen a life of Stalin; but the second part of Ivan—"The Boyars Plot" was not allowed to be shown and he was not allowed (if that had been possible) to go on with the third part which was to show the repentance of Ivan for his wicked deeds, and his final extension of the borders of Russia and his death as an obscure monk. Stalin probably thought that Ivan's picked band of *Oprichniks* who defeated the treacherous Boyars bore too suspicious a resemblance to the Trotsky-Stalin struggle and Ivan was just too terrible for words as Stalin was trying to present himself as the patron of Peace Congresses.

The corruption of Ivan by power was too near the bone for any ruler to bear and the fact that it can now be shown is only because Krushchev wishes to show how terrible Joe was.
As to the film. It is superbly done in what seems to be a rather stagey Ufa-ish

style but which has affinities to painting. There is little of the old Eisenstein magic of cutting but there is a great deal of the vast indoor canvases like Flemish or Renaissance paintings. The experiments in colour are jerked into the film. The whole has an air of being assembled by somebody else. Leyda was working on it originally but he was replaced in this version by Ivor Montague (the honourable). But the whole film is vitiated by a lack of purpose and of psychological drive. The curiously ambiguous and ambivalent character has no explanation except in events outside the film.
Two rather curious sidelights throw a further reflection upon Eisenstein's personal and political dilemma.
As is fairly well-known (and admitted by Eisenstein), he was a homosexual. This fact shocked the bourgeois-minded Upton Sinclair who withdrew his sponsorship of the Mexican *Qui Viva Mexico!* on this, and other grounds. In *The Boyars Plot* Ivan has an effeminate pretender to the throne crowned as Czar and assassinated in error for Ivan. Ivan's associates in the *Oprichniks* (The Men Apart) are devoted comrades and one of them does an extraordinary dance in the guise of a woman. It would seem that Eisenstein was working out his own personal problems in this film.
Eisenstein was an easy mark for the OGPU. His position as one of the world's leading film directors was his only safeguard. But his homosexuality, his artistic integrity, the political inflexibility of his art-form, and his cosmopolitanism must have made him fear for his life in the purges of the 'thirties and frequent policy switches of the 'forties

and' fifties.
In his book "The Film Sense" (published 1943) Eisenstein in a casual 'throw-away' example of a film situation, writes: " . . . I shall take the first couple of situations that come to me from the multiplicity of imagined pictures. Without weighing them carefully I shall try to record them here as they occur to me. 'I am a criminal in the eyes of my former friends and acquaintances. People avoid me, I am ostracized by them' . . .
"The courtroom. My case is being tried. I am on the stand. The hall is crowded with people who know me—some casually, some very well. I catch the eye of my neighbour fixed upon me. For thirty years we lived next door to each other. He notices that I have caught him staring at me. His eyes slip past me with feigned abstraction. He stares out of the window, pretending boredom . . . Another spectator in court—the woman who lives in the apartment above mine. Meeting my look, she drops her gaze terrified, while watching me out of the corners of her eyes . . . With a clearly motivated half turn my usual billiards-partner presents his back to me . . . There are the fat owner of the billiards parlour and his wife—staring at me with set insolence . . . I try to shrink by gazing at my feet. I see nothing, but all around me I hear the whisper of censure and the murmur of voices. Like blow upon blow fall the words of the prosecuting attorney's summing-up . . ."
This in words is the nightmare of the artist confronted with the State. The story of *The Boyars Plot* is another chapter in the love of a fly for the fly-paper. He died in 1948 at the age of fifty.

Supporting *The Boyars Plot* at the Academy is an excellent colour 'short' by Basil Wright *Greek Sculptures*. J.R.

The Case of Laurids Larsen

IN Denmark, as in the other Scandinavian states, it is easy enough to refuse military service, provided one is prepared to accept the alternative service prescribed by the State. The objector is not faced with a dismal series of tribunals, claiming to judge his conscience. However, the only recognised alternative to military service is to spend a period six months longer than that required of soldiers, in a civil work camp, where the conditions are organised so as to be approximately the same as those endured by soldiers. Most objectors to military service accept this alternative.
One who didn't, Laurids Larsen, was recently condemned to 22 months imprisonment.
In an article "Why I chose prison" in *Pacifisten*, Jan. 1960, Larsen explained that he felt obliged to protest against the useless work which was demanded from civil conscripts in the camps, which he typified as "carrying faggots from one end of Grib Wood to the other". No doubt the government, in its realistic wisdom, is determined to make civil work camps just as boring and personality

destructive as military barracks. His decision was sealed in 1955 by the Danish government's support for the admission of Germany to N.A.T.O., despite several hundred thousands of protests, thus making it clear that the government was not interested in the views of the people.
In 1957 Larsen was condemned to 60 days imprisonment for refusing to report to a civil work camp. Between the conviction and the appeal he decided to go to Vienna and take part in the Quaker work for Hungarian refugees. He worked in Vienna for 20 months, and then returned to Denmark and served the sixty days. He was then "called-up" again, and on refusing to report was sentenced to 22 months by a local court. An appeal to a higher court was unsuccessful.

In his defence speech before this court Larsen drew attention to the paragraph of the law which requires all men to serve a period of training in the defence of their country. He pointed out that many people including military leaders, and the British commander Stephen King-Hall, were of the opinion that violent resistance was no longer an appropriate and reasonable form of defence; that the civil work done as an alternative has no relation whatsoever to defence; and that interpreting the idea of defence in a wider sense, it was far more valuable to devote money and service to alleviating hunger in needy parts of the world, as Denmark is already doing to a small extent in Mysore.

The higher court judge who confirmed the sentence described it as "unreasonably severe punishment" for such an offence, but said that only parliament could change the law.
What a revealing commentary this is on the modern welfare state. In a country which prides itself on social services, lack of poverty or riches, and in which everyone expresses thoughts and words of deepest sympathy with the Hungarian people and the refugees, a man who spends 20 months in *working* for them, instead of carrying timber round a work camp, is jailed for 22 months. The pacifist movement, and its journal *Pacifisten* from which the information in this article is taken, are fighting the case, and demanding that objectors to military service should be legally allowed to undertake humanitarian work as an alternative.
However, to anarchists, the fundamental evil lies in the power of the State to decide what a man should do. If people were to claim the right of sovereignty over their lives, then the State, with its armies, camps, and prisons could no longer exist.
SYNDICALIST.

Theatre

IT'S A JUNGLE

"THE Lily-White Boys" by Harry Cookson opened at Brighton Theatre Royal last week, prior to its presentation at the Royal Court Theatre, London. It got the same sort of puzzled reception from the audience as had "The World of Paul Slickey" last year. Quite clearly the old ladies could not see that the chains of modern man were being jangled under their noses in this play for our times. The theme is the story of three street cosh-boys who realise that there is more money in going 'legitimate'. It is a modern morality play in which they turn first to a woolly little Youth Club Leader in Boy Scout kit, who gives his advice in the "Song of Neutrality" with a chorus of "Draw your wages, keep the peace, buy British and be free". From him the boys go to Solicitor, Company Director and Mr. 25 Per Cent, learning all the splits, fiddles and fixes of the business world and the Law. There is a skit on trade union stupidity in a factory scene. A strike breaks out when an electrician bores a hole in wood.
Of the Boys, Razza, played by Monty Landis, becomes a Member of Parliament and Ted, having been psycho-analysed and had his conscience removed, becomes a big businessman. Muscle-bound the thug has his violence blessed by society and is made a policeman. The Girls, ably led by Georgia Brown,

become TV star, high-class whore (politely referred to as a Mayfair Hostess by the Upright Citizens) and wife of the businessman. Excellent incidents are the showing of a mock newsreel and the Committee Meetings of Upright Citizens, presided over by a vast Capitalist father-figure, whose aim is to put down delinquency.
The lyrics of the songs are by Christopher Logue, a political ballad-writer of considerable force, and the music by Tony Kinsey and Bill Le Sage is played by a jazz quartet at the back of the stage. The sets are simple and Lindsay Anderson's direction is brisk.
The idea that in Britain today "it's a jungle" (to quote one of the songs) is not new to readers of FREEDOM. This musical is a biting satire on the ethics of the nauseating "We've Never Had It So Good" school of thought. It concludes with a version of "Green Grow the Rushes O" bringing in all the pillars of the Establishment, including the Ten Commandments, Church of England, Labour Party and ending, "one is one and on the throne and ever more shall be so". Presumably the author of the play will be classified by our newspaper oracles as another Angry Young Man, which just means that he is kicking like hell at a system that sickens him. F.T.

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 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:

Anarchi-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. As very few newsagents and no newspaper wholesalers are willing to stock FREEDOM, and as we seldom advertise (lacking the money) we reach only a small proportion of the potential readership of the paper. This makes the circulation activities of our readers vital and it was gratifying to see that many readers pass on and discuss the paper, or leave it about in buses and so on. Some of the results of this can be seen from the answers to this question.

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*. Two saw it mentioned in *Jazz Monthly* and two were introduced by the editor of that magazine (thank you Mr. McCarthy). One got in touch with us as a result of J. B. Priestley's broadcast on *The Gentle Anarchists*, one heard it mentioned on television by Sir Compton Mackenzie, and two in Daniel Farson's television interviews at the Malatesta Club. Four readers mentioned the books of Herbert

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. Another was introduced to it by Emma Goldman when Tom Keell was editor, and another by Tom Keell and Lilian Wolfe (who is, of course, also mentioned by several much more recent readers).

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. Two mentioned the trial of the editors in 1945: one was introduced "by TG and HR during 1945 trial" and another "in *Peace News* when the police raided your office."

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". The paper is however not always a forger of family ties. "Not my family!" says a 77-year-old reader, asked who else reads his paper, while a young reader remarks "you should hear what my Mum says about it!"

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 ILP-flavoured function in 1943"
(two others got it from ILP members).
"By Jim Pinkerton, selling at SPGB meeting 1950".
(and two others got it from SPGB members).
"Talk by Mat Kavanagh".
"Mat Kavanagh sold me a copy outside UNA meeting".
"During strikes in 1948".
"Talk by Philip Sansom at the Cambridge Heretics 1947".

Sheer Accident

Three readers mentioned having had specimen copies by post, one had been given a six months free subscription, one 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 with *Peace News*".

Several readers say that they got it by "sheer accident" or by chance, "accidentally 10 years ago" or "picked one up" or "picked up *War Commentary* and have read it ever since" or "happened 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 man next to me was reading it. He left it behind".

And a final reply, from an Oxford undergraduate: "found pair of shoes 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, lectures to non-anarchist groups, persuading your local newsagent and your local library to stock the paper, gift subscriptions and specimen copies to friends, and above all, getting friends to take out subscriptions, and even leaving copies around in cafés, trains and buses, all these methods show results. Do you take two copies, in order to pass one on? When some special subject is discussed in the paper, do you make sure that people you know who are interested in it are sent copies? We could double the circulation in a year if you, and we, would make the effort.

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

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!

WEEK 3	
Deficit on Freedom	£60
Contributions received	£68
SURPLUS	£8

January 15 to January 21

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/-.	
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.

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

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

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.