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'Gewaltfreie Aktion' (non-violent action) groups throughout FRG, associated WRI. For information write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19

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Revolutionära Anarkisters Organisation, Box 11075, S-100 61 STOCKHOLM.

NETHERLANDS

De Vrije Socialist, Postbus 411, Utrecht.

Meetings

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SCOTLAND

Solidarity Holiday in Scotland, 11-18 August 1979. After the success of last years event Solidarity is organising another weeks holiday for its members & friends at Laurieston Hall, near Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire. The Hall is a large communally run house with its own grounds, situated in beautiful countryside. Accommodation is in a variety of small & large shared bedrooms. Kitchen & cleaning chores will be shared and there will be a communal creche run on rota. Bring sleeping bags if possible. Cost £3.25p per day £22.75p per week & half price for kids but we will be operating a VOLUNTARY incomes sharing scheme with kids free. There will be a variety of workshop discussions and plenty of time for socialising, drinking, walking, swimming etc. There are only a limited number of places, so first come first served. Send a £5 deposit straight away to: Solidarity c/o 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford.

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FRANCE

Parc de Cadillac, France, 21/22 July

The Cadillac and Bordeaux groups of the French Anarchist Federation are organising a 'fete populaire' with the following programme: Chaispetel - Jacques aux lanternes - Banlieue flasque - Oberkampf - Huhues Danet 'Ceremonial' - J. Mouchaboeuf (rock and folk groups); Impasse (theatre); P. Manet, J.M. Teinturier (singers); S. Utge Royo (singer). Plus art and craft exhibitions, films and video, discussions (education, anti-militarism, women's struggles etc). Book-stalls, food, camping ground. Open from Friday. Cost, 25F.

Contact address: Groupe de Bordeaux, 7 rue du Muguet, Bordeaux, France.

ITALY

A meeting on Anarchism and Non-violence is being planned in Cesena (Forlì) Italy for autumn 1979 or spring 1980. Depending on the number of participants it is proposed to hold 'working commissions' on subjects such as anti-militarism, disarmament, self-management, teaching, feminism, power and violence (could non-violent power exist?) Material, papers, contribution of expenses, addresses and new contacts should be sent to: Lombardo Antonion, via Piacenza 66, 15100 Alessandria, Italy (tel: 0131-444238).

International conference on the study of Self-management, Venice,

Proposed dates: End Sept or Mid-Oct '79

Following successful international conferences in the past, the Giuseppe Pinelli Libertarian Studies Centre in Venice, Italy, is to hold an international conference on the above subject in conjunction with the anarchist magazine Interrogations. Anyone interested in taking part, collaborating or sending works or papers, please write to the organising secretary, Centro Studi Libertari, V. le Monza 255, Milano 20126, Italy.

Desires

EPILEPSY: As an independent filmmaker and epileptic trying to set up 'Fall Down and Be Counted', a radical documentary about being epileptic, I'd like to hear from any epileptics and others who might be interested in this project. Money/facilities to help with the work of looking for funding would also be appreciated. Allan Sutherland, c/o 65 Swinton Street, London WC1 (01)-733 2336.

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PRESS FUND

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Murder and the State

TO SAY "The State is the Executive Committee of the Ruling Class" is no more than a neat way of saying that the State consists of the organisations which carry out the will of the ruling class and defend it against any challengers.

One of the greatest fallacies of 'democracy' lies in the confusion of 'the People' with the State— of 'Society' with the State. Of all the betrayals that can be laid at the door of social democrats, from the methodist inspired Labour Party to the Communists, the greatest disservice has been the fostering of this confusion.

Within Marxist parties the fallacy and the contradiction have been total. In direct contrast to the concept that the emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves, the concept has been substituted that it is the work of a party, taking over the State— by fair means or foul— and establishing itself thus as the executive committee of the ruling class.

What ruling class, you may well ask, and answer comes there only one: the Party itself. And we all know (now) where that leads.

Within social democracy of the Labour Party brand, dedicated to constitutional action only, through parliamentary processes committed to gradualism, and thus subject to interruption through election, the maggot in the apple was more cunningly concealed.

The mailed fist of the State as executive committee was hidden in the velvet glove of the Welfare State— the paternalistic Big Daddy who is there only to educate your children, look after you when you are sick or old, and protect you from your enemies. But Big Daddy has, through

the inevitable corruption of power, turned into the Godfather. Considerations of the quality of life have yielded to the operation of the means of death.

From the first denial of internationalism in the support of World War One, through the Second World War and the embracing of the role of world power complete with nuclear weapons, to the occupation of Ireland (again!) with British troops, the Labour Party in and out of power has played a crucial part in the steady extension of the powers of the British State.

Gradualism, for the social democrats, has not been the gradual improvement in our quality of life which is implied (isn't it?) in socialism, for such improvement that has occurred has been only in terms of capitalist growth of material productivity. Labour's contribution has been the gradual growth of bureaucracy in a vain attempt to stabilise that capitalist growth.

Needless to say, this is a process for which the capitalists have been profoundly grateful, working happily in their closed shops with the unions, which they rightly see as stabilising influences over the workers.

And to protect all that? It goes without question that the security forces of the State have had to be built up as never before; no attempt is made to resolve 'The Irish Question' since it provides such splendid training ground for forces which, in our reduced imperial circumstances, have nowhere else to play, and the emergence of forces like the Special Patrol Group is inevitable. The State must have appropriate means of protecting itself.

With none of this do the Tories have any quarrel. Their only dispute with

State power is over interference with private profit-making; representing the ruling class as they do, the classic role of the State as executive committee of the ruling class is quite OK by them. Indeed, so grateful are they they will go even further to protect their protectors. The police can do no wrong.

Hence, murder by the police in the course of their duties is recognised as part of the game. It is to be regretted of course if over-enthusiastic members of the SPG go too far in putting down a riotous assembly; too bad if a 16-year-old youth is shot through by the SAS's high-velocity bullets in a graveyard 'by mistake'; it is rather naughty for prison officers actually to disfigure prisoners running their gauntlets.

But war is the health of the State— whether against external or internal enemies. The war against internal enemies is the one which goes on all the time. In every State, without exception. It is therefore appropriate for us to ask those who are asking questions about police murder today what they have in mind to make things different?

By all means let us ask 'who murdered Blair Peach.' But people who organise activity against the existing State leave themselves open to question. We know what they are fighting against. But what are they fighting for?

Are they fighting for a society without a State? Or are they seeking to take over from the Labour Party and do things better? Like ... run a socialist State? If the latter, how are they going to avoid the repression, the corruption by power and the murder that have characterised every State throughout history?

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

TWO curious events in the cultural life of the Establishment occurred last week. The first was the so-called 'Freedom Book Fair' - which had nothing to do with FREEDOM, and not all that much to do with freedom either. It was a commercial and political act of publicity staged at Caxton Hall in London by Aims, an organisation originally called Aims of Industry, to attack trade unions and defend free enterprise, taking the form of a book fair from 4 to 6 July.

The exhibitors joining Aims included such advocates of freedom as the Conservative Political Centre, the Freedom Association, the Institute of Directors, the Institute of Economic Affairs and the dotty Foreign Affairs Publishing Company. Some reputable and disreputable publishers showed some of their extreme right-wing books. Two other organisations which are genuinely devoted to freedom also took part - Amnesty International, and the Writers and Scholars International which publishes *Index Against Censorship*. A Marxist publisher, the Merlin Press, threatened to come but failed to do so.

The fair was opened by William Rees-Mogg, editor of *The Times*, whose devotion to freedom in general and to the freedom of the press in particular - which he emphasised in his speech - may be calculated from the fact that his organisation has closed down its publications and locked out most of its employees for more than seven months.

Nevertheless, when I was touring the stands on the Wednesday, I was rather taken aback to find among all the books by Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph, F.A. Hayek and Milton Friedman, Robert Nozick and Murray Rothbard, a little pile of anarchist publications - and I mean real-anarchist publications, not those by right wing libertarians - including some Freedom Press pamphlets. I discovered that they were on the stand of the Alternative Bookshop, a new enterprise at 40 Floral Street, Covent Garden, London WC2 (tel: 01-836-8371), which is run by Chris Tame, a leading member of the Libertarian Alliance, which is the nearest British equivalent to the libertarian parties in the United States.

In conversation with him, I was rather taken aback to find that he sees anarchism as part of the spectrum of free-market libertarianism which the bookshop is intended to serve, and in the brochure for the book fair he includes among many other unlikely pairs to be found among his shelves "Bakunin beside Sir Keith Joseph" (there should be a competition for the comments either might make about the other!) He also proposes to have a section of freethought publications alongside the Christian ones, and seems determined to put his principle of freedom into practice.

The second curious event which was oddly connected with the first, was a public 'Meeting of Times Readers' at Conway Hall in London on the evening of

5 July. This was organised by Peter Cadogan, general secretary of the South Place Ethical Society which owns Conway Hall, who has been circulating weird leaflets during the past few months describing the non-appearance of *The Times* since the end of November 1978, which most newspaper readers have welcomed with open minds, as a cultural disaster. What made his personal campaign significant was the remarkable collection of prominent people gathered at Conway Hall.

In front of an audience of under a hundred, Lord Young of Dartington (better known as Michael Young, author of *The Rise of the Meritocracy* and founder of *Which* and *Where* magazines) chaired a panel of speakers more distinguished than have graced Conway Hall for many years - Sir Alfred Ayer (better known as A. J. Ayer, the philosopher and humanist), Professor Frank Kermode (one of the leading literary critics in the country), Melvyn Bragg (who was a worthy if boring novelist long before he became a worthy and boring television performer), and Edward Mortimer (a *Times* reporter with left wing sympathies). Almost more remarkable, they finished their speeches in less than an hour, and they mostly talked quite good sense, making about as good a case as can be made for wanting *The Times* and the *Sunday Times* and the *Times Literary Supplement* to be published again.

At first the discussion was dominated by the printing unions and the *Times* staff, which wasn't the idea of the organisers at all. Nor was the freer discussion which then followed, since my opening argument that the *Times* newspapers and supplements are all in their various ways rather objectionable papers was supported by most of the contributors. Apart from intellectual snobbery, whether serious or frivolous (as expressed in affection for the *Times* crossword or letters), the real motives of the main speakers seemed to be the wish either to establish some kind of outside control of the papers or else some kind of replacement for them. Young hinted at a new *Times*, and Kermode at a literary magazine more like the *New York Review of Books* than the *TLS*.

The real puzzle was why such people held a public meeting - especially such a badly organised one - and why they think anyone cares much either way. Peter Cadogan argued in his own speech that the *Times* is the newspaper of the intellectual centre, the dissenting Establishment, which suggests that he knows as much about journalism as about most other things he talks about. But there were also members of the Royal Commission on the Press present in the hall, and many other intelligent and prominent people. After hearing the proceedings and talking with some of the participants, I left in a state of even greater puzzlement than I went.

N.W.



MAGGIE ANTOINETTE - WITH COMPLIMENTS FOR 14th JULY.

JONATHAN WILD, R.I.P

THE surprise story on newspaper front pages on 3 April was the sudden retirement for 'personal reasons' of Scotland Yard's Commander Don Neesham. How much of a surprise it was to Patrick Carpenter and John Twomey remains a mystery, but Neesham was in overall operational charge of the Flying and Robbery Squads when he had arrested them back in October 1977 for a West London bank robbery. They had maintained their innocence from the beginning. And when they eventually appeared for trial at the Old Bailey on the day after Neesham's surprise exit (the case having previously been adjourned for one month) it was counsel instructed by the DPP who had changed sides. The DPP's man put it to the judge that to continue with the prosecution in the light of information made available to him by the defence, would be totally unjust. Twomey and Carpenter protested that they had provided secret tape recordings showing that the cops in the case had gone in for 'massive fabrication', that they had both been in prison without trial for nearly 18 months. They are suing David McNee, the Met Commissioner, for wrongful imprisonment, malicious prosecution, and have issued writs against a number of officers.

The Yard had obviously hoped that things would have gone very differently. About six weeks before Neesham's exit the Crown had begun its committal proceedings against TV actor John Bindon, accused of having murdered Johnny Darke at a Putney drinking club. The cops had pulled together a sensational story to the effect that Darke was an informer who had in fact, according to DS John Ross of the Robbery Squad, informed to him for £300 in the bank raid case of Carpenter and Twomey, and further that it was in their interest that Bindon was to have received £10,000 to carry out a 'contract killing' on Darke. From all accounts the offence must rate as the messiest contract killing in the history of the underworld. So untoward was the prosecution case - although the supine magistrates have still committed Bindon for trial - that Bindon, an A category top security remand prisoner was then, and still is, being visited each day at Brixton by the very person whom the police allege was to have paid over to Bindon £5000 when the deed was done. The police tried to use the publicity around the Bindon committal to affect adversely the then imminent trial of Carpenter and Twomey. (Reporting restrictions had been lifted in the Bindon court case from the start). The police never knew at the Bindon committal stage of the existence of the secret tape recording showing the Carpenter/Twomey case to have been fabricated by the police. DS John Ross of Bindon committal fame, is one of the cops against whom Twomey and Carpenter swiftly issued writs, and he is now suspended. His brother DC Michael

Ross out of Brixton nick is also suspended, having been 'swooped' on at the Brixton nick itself by a police corruption probe team, who had parked well away so as not to forewarn those therein of what was afoot.

The police corruption team that carried out the Brixton swoop were part of a squad now numbering some 80 officers, headed by Assistant Chief Constable Leonard Burt of the Dorset constabulary. All the squad officers come from forces outside the Met. While some of the allegations they are looking into go back, more recently - apart from the Bindon and Carpenter/Twomey cases - they involve two Fleet Street payroll robberies at the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* (in the latter raid a security guard was shot dead at point blank range) and a City of London bank robbery. At a time when the Yard has just formulated an agreement with the top brass of the BBC to prevent the showing or production of programmes dealing with controversial or 'sensitive' CID/police practices - after an 18 month hassle following the screening of Gordon Newman's 'Law and Order' TV series - it is bizarre in the extreme that Leonard Burt's 'Operation Countryman' probe team should be looking into corruption allegations of the most serious nature to have ever surfaced at least in modern times, Jonathan Wild R.I.P.

The corruption allegations that concern one or other of the (later mentioned) payroll bank robberies are in fact in certain respects more serious than anything that was depicted in the 'Law and Order' series, as it seems that police crooks had plugged themselves in at the planning, execution and investigative stages. Allegations such as were made in the 'Law and Order' series that cops took bribes for fixing bail - even on the agreed understanding that an accused would then have a licence to commit further robberies - or that the CID were splitting the reward monies with their informers, seem fairly run of the mill so far as 'Operation Countryman' is concerned. Nonetheless the Yard feigned that it had been savagely outraged when the 'Law and Order' series was shown. Although in July of last year when the Yard/BBC controversy was at its height, Commissioner McNee was secretly ordering that all rewards over £500 to be paid to informers must be paid through the Yard Deputy Assistant Commissioner. It was hoped in this way to stem a corrupt practice that was rife. How swift an action this was on the part of the Yard top brass, is best tested against the fact that over 10 years previously the ex-head of the Flying Squad, Commander Kenneth Drury, split the reward money with the chief prosecution witness and has been widely reported to have done so.

It isn't possible to predict what the outcome of 'Operation Countryman' will be. Burt's team seem to be going about their

business pretty thoroughly, but a Tory Home Secretary and Attorney General would obviously oversee any decisions made by the DPP who may well splash the whitewash around quite liberally. Robert Mark's reputation as the great Ajax of the Yard should rightly take something of a knocking - his knighthood notwithstanding. And while bent cops have a vested interest at the moment in saying nothing, as do certain villains in the hope that they may somehow land a reasonable 'result' (even in the hope that certain cases will actually have to be completely dropped from the lists) the untidy and unpredictable world in which villains and cops move together is likely to expose itself further, as occasional excretions are made in the public gaze.

IC

ANTI-HANGING CAMPAIGN?

Dear Friends, Mr. Jim Jardine, President of the Police Federation, laid down the gauntlet when he demanded, in his speech to the annual conference of the Federation, the return of Capital Punishment for "terrorists" and for the murder of policemen. At the same conference, Mr Eldon Griffiths MP went even further and wanted the death penalty for several "offences". Now, we learn that the new Government is to allow time before the end of the year for a 'free' vote on the issue of hanging, and many Tory MPs want a referendum on the subject, believing, (probably rightly) that there would be a majority in favour of hanging.

These arguments do not stand up to examination. The police in Northern Ireland must expect to be targets of the IRA because they are part of the state machine but they are better equipped to defend themselves than the innocent civilian and IRA activists who believe in violence will not be deterred by the prospects of their own deaths by hanging. I am not condoning IRA violence; simply stating a fact. Nobody has yet produced any evidence that the death penalty is a deterrent; but even if it were it would not justify punishment by death.

Capital punishment is evil, barbaric, medieval and degrades all of us, not only those who use it.

With the political climate as it is, there is a need for the return of the vigorous campaign against the re-introduction of capital punishment. There may already be such a campaign: if not, I wonder how many of your readers would help start such a campaign. Love and peace, Douglas Keppel, Hatfield, Herts.

KILLING PEOPLE IS WRONG, TOO!

EVERYONE knows that the environmental movement is a hybrid animal but even so, the anti-whaling rally at Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 8 July was one of the most curious affairs I have ever attended. When was the last occasion that spokesmen of the Ministry of 'Defence' and anarchists went on the same demonstration?

But before readers turn mauve with apoplexy let me hasten to add that the more anarchic part of the rally was quick to disassociate from the organisers. The libertarian environmental group, Greenpeace (London), not to be confused with Greenpeace (Ltd) circulated a statement which expressed horror that "people claiming to believe in not killing whales should have someone speaking at the rally who doesn't mind killing people."

The man in question was John Gilbert MP, war minister under the last government. The irony of his PR job on behalf of the military (what a gentle army we really have, so attached to those big, beautiful cousins of ours that they've stopped using sperm oil on their killing-equipment!) was compounded by a fly-past of the Red Arrows while he spoke. The London Greenpeace group pointed out that as a 'defence' minister Gilbert was 'recently a willing part of a system that threatens all life on this planet - a system which maintains at the ready weapons of mass destruction, of genocide: the British Polaris submarines with their nuclear missiles.'

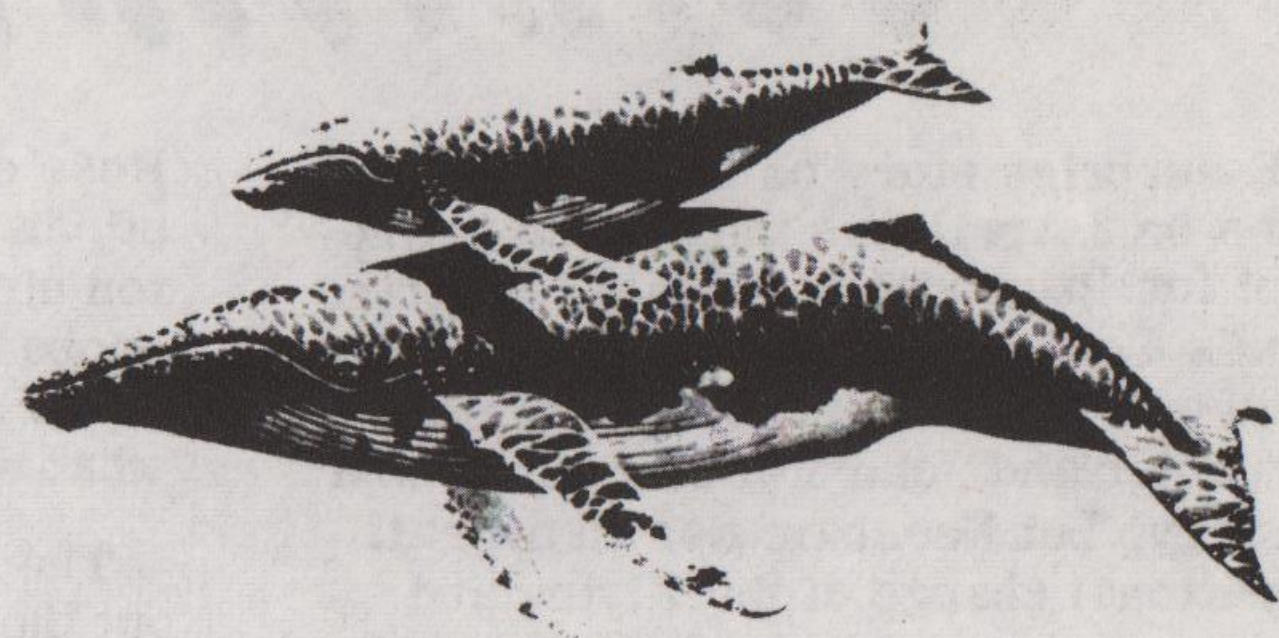
They went on to attack, in general, the hypocrisy of environmentalists who have closed their eyes to the equation between militarism and the killing of other species and, in particular, of Greenpeace (Ltd) for not dropping its formal support for the rally. "Some may say we're being divisive of the environmental movement, or at least of the Greenpeace movement. As to the first - the environmental movement has never been united, there are far too many different sorts of people involved. As to the second - we feel strongly that since it is we who are sticking to our original principles, it is those who choose to forget their anti-militarist roots who are being divisive. In any case, honest disagreements do no harm: after all, there's never been one overall 'Greenpeace' entity - in line with the decentralist ethos of most environmentalists, Greenpeace groups are quite autonomous of one another. There's no such thing as 'Greenpeace' - there are simply many Green-

peace groups, sharing a name because it is (or was) a symbol of common ideals." The leaflet concludes, "you might also consider the distinction between conservation of a species to maintain a sufficient population level for the 'use' of humans, and a position of opposition to the killing altogether".*

Another, if less striking, hypocrisy was noted by Hunt Saboteurs and members of the Animal Liberation Front who, observing that the naturalist, Sir Peter Scott, a member of the grouse-shooting Wild Fowls Association of Great Britain and Ireland, was also speaking for the whales, cried, "It's lucky they can't fly!" And, if some of the speakers weren't enough, there were the organisers constantly telling people to climb down from the fountains and thanking the police for their tolerance.....

Inevitably, it was left to the more militant of the anti-whalers to assemble outside the Cafe Royal from early next morning to heckle and hopefully, to intimidate the delegates to that supremely and iniquitously incompetent body, the International Whaling Commission. As usual the fuzz did what they could to obstruct picketing. They shoved the demonstrators to the opposite side of the street

DEMOS DONE...



where their banners and placards and whale models were obscured by buses: this on the grounds that otherwise we would do 'naughty things' to the delegates as one of the more humorous filth - no doubt correctly - told me. A man was allowed to set fire to a Japanese flag in the middle of the road, only because surrounded by press and TV cameras but, as soon as they had gone, he was arrested. So were five others.

Meanwhile, back inside the Cafe Royal it soon became clear that the much heralded UK ban on sperm oil imports had fallen flat and that, true to its usual self the British government is unprepared to take any immediate action alone. It therefore looks as though these imports, equivalent to 1000 sperm whales a year, will continue, at least for the time being. As for the US/Australian moratorium proposals and that of the Seychelles for a sanctuary, the outcome is unknown as we go to press.

But I can report that if there is no moratorium right now, the Animal Liberation Front will be taking direct action on an international level.

GAIA

* Try ALF, Box 190, Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham 3.

POLICE MOBILISE RACISTS; ANL MARSHALLS DISPERSE ANL.

RECENTLY the National Front announced a demonstration to South Dowling St Against the Boat People. Subsequently our group of South East London residents decided to attend the Anti Nazi League (ANL) rally in Leicester Square to express our contempt for racism.

However, on arriving we found prolific distribution of leftist papers was the primary manifestation of organisation. Otherwise people were either standing alone or in desperate huddles - waiting to be marshalled into ranks it seemed. After half an hour of this we left for South Dowling St ourselves, to at least take photographic evidence and make some semblance of protest. (It is said that the ANL demonstration ended in three identifiable segments, none of which actually approached the racist march).

When we arrived we observed squads of motorcycle cops cruising around, mounted police, innumerable uniformed police being used to manoeuvre the primarily touristic crowd around. With the arrival of the National Front armoured cars, a police helicopter overhead and a phalanx of police many deep preceded the march and, two or three deep on either side of it, they dwarfed the National Front, made prominent only by the girth of their leaders' abdomen, and the British flags they carried. In fact after the first three rows the police made up the bulk of the demonstration.

Mingling in the crowd of stunned spectators and sporadic demonstrators, police seized any person heard to make an utterance, arresting several for making their thoughts heard.

...AND TO COME:

The media (establishment and left wing) preferred to highlight the National Front's presence whilst not acknowledging the significant role of the police in the manoeuvre.

As one protester said before being dragged into the subway by a nearby policeman, "Who needs the National Front when they have the London police."

As a result of our observations we think that:-

(1) The police seized this opportunity to conduct an exercise in crowd surveillance. Also to indicate their capacity to mobilise on a massive scale - when they see fit.

(2) In supporting this racist demonstration the establishment evidences its traditional racism.

The fostering of hostility in the working class is a traditional ploy to undermine solidarity amongst those in depressed economic groups.

The Prime Minister has stopped aid to Vietnam's reconstruction until the 'boat people' question is resolved.

The stimulation of left wing antagonism and consequent massing of the left's numbers gives the security police a chance to check up on new faces and views.

The media bombardment of racist events must be very disconcerting to immigrant people in general, and result in the apartheid-like delineation based on skin colour that internally disturbs the ease of all people subject to this discrimination.

(3) The benefits to social democrats. Without actually doing anything they can enhance their liberal image by mere attendance at such rallies and distributing their counter media amongst the 'faithful'.

Capacity to promote, and familiarity with, the herding process of their minions is good training for aspiring leaders and their followers.

The condemnation of extreme right views has been used as a traditional tool to bond the subservient left together, whilst their factional leadership benefit from the inspiration rendered by this exercise. Such ruses quite often hide a number of leadership flaws in the attempt to present a solid front against - whatever it is.

We feel that real solidarity will ensue from supporting our community and working area needs - fending off the exploiters we already know, and offering hospitality to those who need, regardless of their colour.

COL POLLARD

SEND US
REPORTS OF
YOUR ACTIVITY!

TROOPS OUT!

ON 12 August there is going to be a demonstration in London. Big deal. There are demonstrations in London every weekend, to the point where they're just another tourist attraction, a meaningless ritual.

But the demonstration on 12 August is different, and it is important, and I'd like to encourage all comrades to attend and support it. It calls upon the British government to commit itself to withdrawal from Ireland - a reformist demand, but one which can unite a wide range of people, from the Young Liberals to Provisional Sinn Fein.

The point is that the war in Ireland is an area of state policy where a deliberate blanket of silence has been applied. When the war is discussed in the press, it is discussed in blatantly dishonest and misleading terms. A systematic doublethink has been applied to the situation, and the interests of the British state determine what we are allowed to hear and read.

Unfortunately, anarchists have allowed themselves to be caught up in this doublethink. We have often been so anxious not to be identified with those whom the media call 'terrorists' that we end up with nothing to say at all. We sit impotently on the fence, calling down a plague on both their houses.

This demonstration offers us a chance, a small opportunity, to make a relevant contribution. A war is being fought between the British state and the republican movement: surely there can be no doubt where our sympathies should lie? We don't support the entire programme of

the republican movement, but surely we are prepared to defend it against consistent harassment and prosecution by the state? We style ourselves 'libertarian' and say that we oppose the infringement of civil liberties and human rights: well, the British state is engaged in a systematic denial of such liberties and rights in Ireland.

Hundreds of republican political prisoners are behind bars, many of them living in appalling conditions in the H blocks of Long Kesh. SAS assassination squads are at work. Interrogations by police are accompanied by beatings and torture. Republican areas are subject to continual surveillance, harassment and searches. Special legislation means that the north of Ireland is a police state: basic human rights have simply been suspended.

Anarchists are very good at making abstract declarations of principle, but not so good at applying these principles to concrete reality. The Irish situation faces us with a choice. Either we can actively oppose the British state's role, or we can continue to ignore it, which amounts to tacit complicity.

This war is a war that we are not supposed to talk about or to recognise. That's why it's important to support the demonstration on 12 August. The North East Anarchist Federation has agreed to support it. I hope other comrades do so as well.

MARTIN SPENCE
Contact address: August 12th Demonstration Organising Cttee, c/o National Liberal Club

BACK TO TORNESS

A MEETING was held in London on 17 June to discuss the reoccupation of the Torness site later this summer.

Members of groups from Brighton, Plymouth, Stroud, Bristol, Reading, Norwich, London (three groups) and Falmouth were present.

Everyone present had been involved in the past year or so in the Torness Alliance, and felt that a new initiative was needed to continue effective opposition to the progress of the construction work. Everyone felt strongly that this occupation was part of a process, not an isolated event, and that activities and publicity should continue throughout the summer all over the country against Torness.

The main contribution of the reoccupation would be to DELAY ACTUAL CONSTRUCTION and give a focus to other activities occurring elsewhere at other times by groups and the anti-nuke movement as a whole.

It was resolved:-
- to reoccupy the construction site of Torness power station;

- that this would be for A WEEK or so in September, following the SCRAM day

of action (latest info is that this will be Saturday, 8 September);

- to establish a camp on the site, with a support base outside for information, communication, supplies, meeting place and general support;

- to involve all the anti-nuclear groups around the country wishing to participate in and publicise this occupation;

- that we intend to avoid injury to people.

There will be a September Reoccupation Workshop on Saturday, 14 July (today) at the Capenhurst demonstration (at the meeting hall in Chester). The next Alliance meeting at Newcastle at the end of July (date not fixed at the time of writing) will be discussing the reoccupation.

WE URGE EVERYONE TO ATTEND BOTH THESE IMPORTANT MEETINGS AND TO PREPARE FOR AND PUBLICISE THIS EVENT.

Contact address: Reading Anti-Nuclear Group, c/o Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading (tel: 0734-662285).

REACTION IN WALLA WALLA

Members of the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective in Washington State Penitentiary (Walla Walla), USA have written adding details of the action against conditions and treatment there, reported in FREEDOM vol. 40, no. 10. They write:

"The Penitentiary was held for 12 hours non-violently and gained national attention before a surrender occurred. The

PORTUGAL

SOLIDARITY FOR ANTI-FASCIST PRISONERS

An organisation called the Commission for Families and Friends of Anti-Fascist Political Prisoners has been set up in solidarity with dozens of anti-fascists populating the prisons of so-called democratic Portugal. It also supports victims of repression such as political and union militants, ordinary workers or 'common criminals', victims of the government's Macarthyst principles. The commission's manifesto documents aspects of repression like the execution of Luis Caracol and Jose Jorge by the PSP in the street; the systematic use of violence as a method of investigation and intimidation; the employment of ex-commandos and ex-cops as shock troops in factories and the sackings of workers; the fierce repression of soldiers in barracks; tortures during interrogation; use of agents provocateurs to maintain 'consistency' in Portuguese jurisdiction; prolonged periods incommunicado such as has not been practised since fascist days; prohibition of private consultation between lawyers and prisoners; subhuman conditions in which prisoners are kept (inedible food, lack of medical attention, overwork etc). The final word is, 'We support anti-fascists because what is at stake is freedom and workers' liberation'. Moral and material support should be sent to: Comissao de Familiares e Amigos do Presos Politicos Antifascistas, Rua Borges Carneiro 20-1, Lisbon (tel: 67 55 01).



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prison notes

majority of the prison population supported this take-over and a member of the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective, Carl Harp, was involved and many other members stood up in support of the takeover and his courageous involvement. Now Carl is buried in segregation (Behaviour Modification Unit) facing a major political trial this year where, if he loses, he faces 10 years plus Habitual Criminal charges consecutive to his four consecutive life terms.

"The Anarchist Black Dragon Collective is now underground avoiding a witch-hunt and some members are buried with Carl, such as John Bosch, in segregation for supporting the takeover. We did manage to get out issue no. 5 of the Dragon which, along with other issues, can be obtained from: Ron Reed, 3992 Coloniale, Montreal, Quebec, and Count Down, 901 1/2 Williamson St, 1 Madison, Wisconsin, USA. We want to thank everyone who has given us their support and we send our love to you. Without you we could never have done all that we did and will do again, once able. Right now the situation here is bad. On June 15th a guard was killed and the prison has been locked down since with a massive right wing reactionary attack against all prisoners here by the guards and we do not know when it will let up or what will happen from it. Carl Harp, Robert S. Green Jr, and Robert C. Washburn, all involved in the May 9th takeover, have been threatened with burial in the segregation unit and with death. We urge your support for these three by writing protest letters to every official possible in the world to keep them safe and allow them a fair trial. We urge you to send letters of solidarity to these three brave prisoners who faced and face death for Justice and Human Rights in prison. They need your support to give them strength and courage. Please help them with funds for stamps and with literature. Please don't let them die or be railroaded by the state. The state especially wants Carl Harp because he is an Anarchist, a revolutionary who has fought the state for six years to prove his innocence and for Human Rights and Justice in prison. In his case, around his innocence, there is a Defense Fund and Committee... please send any funds to: Hennie Muider/Hapotec International, PO Box 10638 Amsterdam, Holland or to Susan Waymire, 18924 S.E. 116 PL, Issaquah, Washington 98027 (Hapotec's no. 20-126397 and Waymire's, 206-226-9584. We and they are counting on even the smallest support from you, it is life and death. The address of our brothers is PO Box 520 Walla Walla, Washington 99362. We send you our love.

Neither God nor Master
Anarchist Black Dragon Collective
Wn. State Pen. June 29 1979

PS. ask all to print everywhere, please.

GROWTH INDUSTRY

One of the United States' five year plans (1977-82) is to spend 250million dollars in order to expand by 24 per cent the capacity of its prisons.

Not wanting to lag behind, the Canadian Government plans to spend 500million dollars to build 24 new prisons.

SECOND DD VICTORY OVER THE POLICE

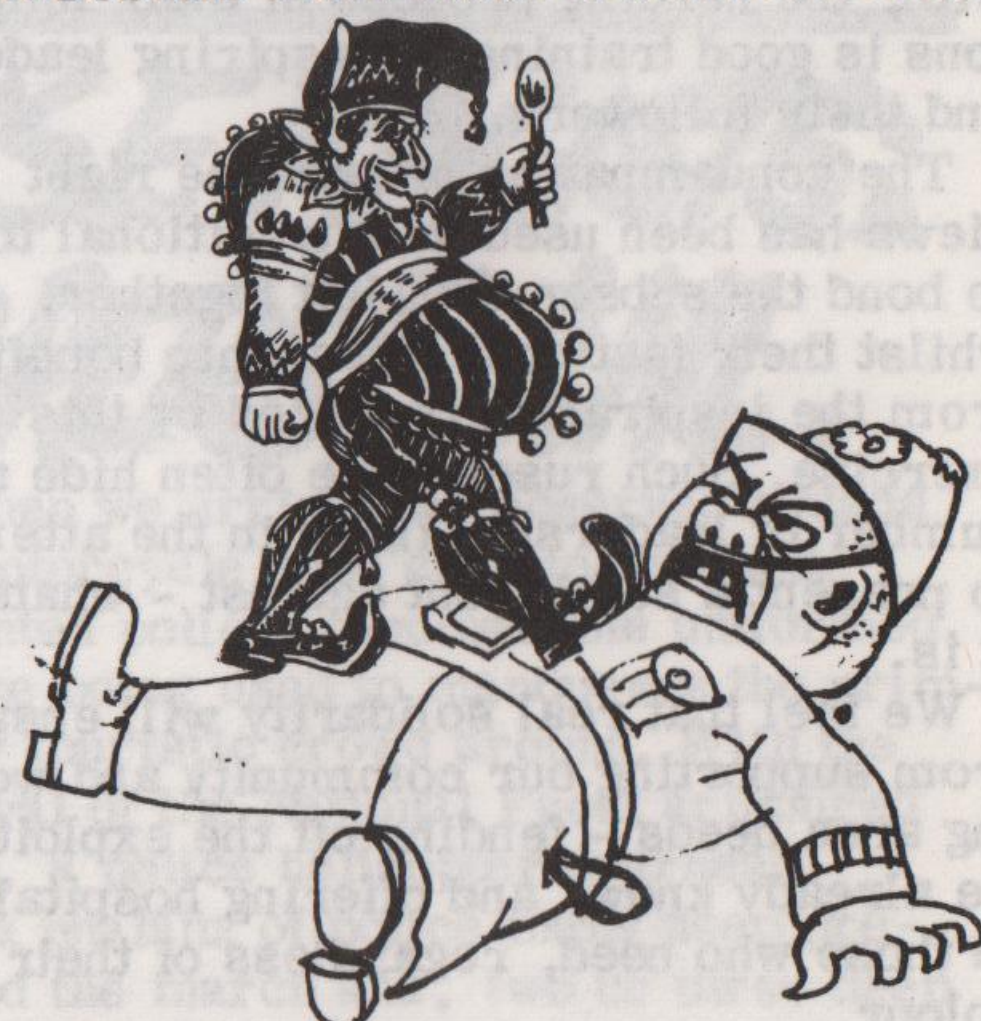
The fuzz keep losing obstruction cases (and sus cases too). They're blowing it every time.

After the discharge of the nine clowns, Demolition Decorators got three acquittals in Bow Street Magistrates Court last week--the T-Bone Three were arrested in March while giving out free food in support of the Garner's strike.

The Decorators gave out free grub to hungry and broke passers-by outside the court just before the hearing and were hassled all the time by half-a-dozen cops who were hovering around though not quite knowing what to do, but warning they might possibly be forming an obstruction.

One cop also suggested that one Decorator's baby, sitting happily in her pushchair under a tree and partaking of the fare, might have to be taken into the care of Westminster Council if left alone much longer. Her mother was about ten yards away!

At this rate the streets might just be free--for fun at least. Or maybe the magistrates can't take the lunacy in court that results from these absurd arrests.



COMING EVENTS

A FREEDOM
READERS' MEETING
WILL BE HELD -
PROBABLY IN SEPTEMBER.
DETAILS WILL FOLLOW,
LETTERS + DISCUSSION WELCOME

FREE SPEECH FOR THE NF?

Dear FREEDOM

Just a couple of points concerning the call by S.E. Parker (vol. 40 no. 10) to ignore the National Front:

Free speech? Curious term to use when referring to what gets said and what gets heard (i.e. 'reported') in a repressive system such as ours. Even more curious when applied to the NF election circus when their 'public' meetings are held not to allow any form of 'dialogue' but solely to provoke and intimidate. A meeting held in a particular area (just as the NF's Brick Lane Sunday gatherings) is used to terrorise that community - what sort of 'free speech' is this?

Those who demonstrate against the NF may give the NF a certain kind of publicity, but to suggest that they would

receive little or none if such opposition did not exist is, I think, rather naive. If there was not such vocal opposition to the NF the media would give them far more credibility. The media is after all racist in the way it treats colour as, for example, a problem. Colour is not essentially an Asian's, a Chinese, a West Indian's problem but is a problem for those who define and treat it as such. By continually promoting colour as a problem it becomes just that for many people.

The NF have an answer to this 'problem' and because all problems must somehow be resolved then their answer must be considered, and considered as a serious political solution (only tentatively, under the guise of 'objectivity', does the media do so at the moment).

What if there was no vocal opposition to the NF? The media would consider the NF and their answers far more seriously, in the way the media does so slickly by promoting it as a legitimate and a credible answer to a problem the media itself helped to create and perpetuates.

The NF should not be given the freedom of the streets to intimidate sections of the community - since when have anarchists sat back in the belief that fascism if ignored would go away? How long has terrorism such as this been labelled 'free speech'?

The NF may appear farcical, it perhaps is, but it has yet to have a major cosmetic job supplied by the media. This has happened to a degree, for with such street opposition the NF is rather too 'hot' for the media to treat too kindly.

BRIAN WHERRY

Hove, Sussex

From live brothers..

A friend has sent us a copy of FREEDOM containing a notice with certain quotations from a book by Dennis Hardy entitled 'Alternative Communities in 19th Century England' (in fact the book was summarised for us by the author - Eds.) Whilst the information contained in the article is roughly correct, it is certainly not true as stated in the last paragraph that "the community did not persist for very long, and... did not diversify its activities..."

The Commune, or as it was called more specifically, the Brotherhood Church, did persist and it is still alive and kicking in 1979. Briefly, it started in Leeds; in 1889 the live members moved to Blackburn. From there in 1902 it went to the site of the then defunct Purleigh Colony and returned to Leeds in 1921, when land here was bought. Part of the community remained in Leeds until 1926 when everyone came here.

Before the first war many leaflets were published, and during the war we had eleven police raids. Among the leaflets then published were A Sanctimonious Crime, Liars and Fools, The Will of God

Editors' Note We don't wish to answer for SEP, who is capable of answering for himself, but the fact remains that the tactics used by the 'anti-nazis' have always ended with the opposition fighting the police, getting their heads broken, and leaving the NF untouched and looking like good boys on the side of Law and Order.

The tactics are so bad and have played so strongly into the hands of the NF that we can only assume that their real motivation is not to stop the NF but to use it for recruiting purposes - for the 'Left'. We have after all seen all this before, when the Communist Party in the thirties was putting itself forward as the only anti-fascist party - yet we do know, don't we, that the Communists in power behave just like the fascists!

We are not - nor we are sure is SEP - against vocal opposition to the NF. But it's the kind of vocal opposition that matters. Constructive argument or action intelligently mounted for racial harmony should be positive; shouting 'down with the NF' is purely negative.

The huge 'Rock Against Racism' rally in Victoria Park last year did far more good than Red Lion Square, Lewisham or Southall put together, and we would much rather see anarchists organising positive festivals of that kind than limping along in the rear or even in the van of Trotskyist front organisations, practising their 'me-tooism' for someone else's benefit.

Anarchists should be practising free speech themselves much more, not calling for curbs upon others. Who is to apply the curbs anyway? Remember that the state which takes steps to stop 'extremists' of the Right will use the same law enforcement to stop the 'extremists' of the Left/anarchists too!

in Hell, A Cuthroat's Peace, Now or Never and An Open Letter to His Insensate Majesty, King George V. These, particularly the last, earned Tom Ferris and Sidney Overbury six months under D.O. R.A. and Ferris' wife served three months. We did not register either as COs or for ration cards. Nor did we have identity cards or ration cards in World War 2.

During the Second War FREEDOM was lost in admiration at an Irish anarchist who refused to register in any way. And, if you look up your records, you will find that I chided you at the time for your mealy mouthed acquiescence in accepting Government demands.

From 1921 here we have continued our fight against Authority in births, education, insurance, census and building, in spite of all the penalties the Authorities have sought to inflict upon us. And we are still here and carry on with our propaganda nationally.

No, my friends, you may be moribund, but we are alive.

Yours fraternally,
A.G. HIGGINS

The Brotherhood Church,
Stapleton, Nr. Pontefract.

London NW6

News From Angel Alley

EVEN OUR CRITICS concede that Freedom Press publications have always been well produced and very reasonably priced. This has been made possible because we of course do not have to pay authors or directors or staff; because we are also the main distributors of our own publications and, last but not least, because since 1941 we have been doing our own printing, purchasing paper direct from the manufacturers, typesetting direct from a local typesetter, and the binding of our books being done by trade binders direct. And with a paid machine-minder and a part-time compositor, this has been the production set-up all these years. Of course, it took more time to produce a book than if the whole job had been done by one printing firm but the saving in costs was considerable and was reflected in the selling price of the book or pamphlet.

All that has now come to an end, for the time being at least. As explained in an earlier "News", the new technology has made our printing machine obsolete and our printing staff have retired. The typesetting machines which produce the "hot metal" for printing on our machine are no longer being made, so that in a few years' time even those still in use will have come to a standstill as there will be no replacement parts. There is no point, there-

fore, in F.P. seeking to re-sume printing operations as before. But before we even contemplate the task of re-equipping the Press, we must find the people who will operate it. What we are seeking is experienced printers who have abandoned the rat race and would like to join with us in setting up a viable printing unit to produce anarchist and possibly other worthwhile literature.

This is a serious and urgent appeal!

BOOKSHOP NOTES

BOOKSHOP

Journals and Magazines available from Freedom Bookshop.

(In Angel Alley), 84B Whitechapel High St. London E1 7QX

The following are available currently. Subscription rates via us are included (Postage on single copies is indicated in brackets.)

FREEDOM, 20p. Fortnightly. £6 per annum (25 issues) * INTERROGATIONS. Now appears only in Italian, £1 (15p). Twice yearly, £2.30 p.a. * WIN, 20p (7p), Weekly. Published by libertarian pacifists in USA £14 p.a., £7 for 26 issues. * OPEN ROAD, 40p (10p), Now quarterly. A fine new anarchist journal from Canada, £3 for six issues. * THE NEW ECOLOGIST, 60p (12p), Quarterly, £4.30 for 6 issues. * LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION, 30p (10p), Quarterly, a magazine for the liberation of learning. £2.40 for 6 issues * SOLIDARITY (U.K.) FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 15p (10p), Bi-monthly. £1.50 for 6 issues. ANARCHY, 20p (10p), Quarterly, £1.80 for six issues * PRACTICAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY, 60p (15p). Bi-monthly. £4.50 for 6 issues * THE LEVELLER, 40p (10p). Bi-monthly. £4.30 for 6 issues * RESURGENCE, 60p (12p). Bi-monthly. £4.30 for 6 issues * LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST, 15p (10p). Bi-monthly £1.50 for 6 issues * BLACK FLAG, 20p (10p). Monthly. £3.60 for 12 issues * INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 15p (7p). Monthly The journal of the IWW. £2.60 for 12 issues * PULP PRESS, One Penny (7p), guerilla-literature mag. from Canada £1 for 12 issues.

Jim Huggon will be on holiday for the week ending July 14 and therefore the bookshop will not be open on Tuesday and Wednesday July 10/11.

Bookshop orders received between July 5th and 11th will be dealt with the following week.

THE IMPOSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

is the anarchist contribution to the Labour Party's post mortem. Socialists will find all the answers to their soul-searching. Make sure your socialist friends get a copy before 1984!

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When ordering by mail please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked * are published in North America.

You can't blow up a social relationship: The Anarchist Case against terrorism, 24pp., 40p (10p). Produced by an alliance of libertarian and anarchist groups in Australia, this is a long overdue critique of "revolutionary violence" from an anarchist standpoint. Keith Motheren: Wider We/Towards an Anarchist Politics, and Monica Sjo: Women are the real Left!, a 'double-decker' pamphlet, 64pp., culled from the pages of Peace News and other alternative journals, by two important writers in the contemporary libertarian movement, 75p (15p). * Carlota O'Neill: Trapped in Spain, 166pp, £2. (26p), translated by Leandro Garza. An eyewitness account of the Spanish Revolution. * David Boadella: Wilhelm Reich: the evolution of his work, 400pp, £2.95 (54p). The most detailed and scholarly account of Reich's work currently available. April Carter: Authority & Democracy, 94pp, £5.95 (26p). Again expensive, this is a libertarian critique of authority and democracy from the standpoint of the political theorist Robert Nozick: Anarchy, State & Utopia, 368pp., £4.95 (54p). Nozick's highly-praised exposition of minimal statism.

Freedom

Anarchist Review

14 July / 79
Vol 40 No 13

JOSEPH LANE LIBERTARIAN PIONEER

Joseph Lane: An Anti-Statist, Communist Manifesto, Cienfuegos Press, 75p)

THE FIRST ITEM in the New Anarchist Library, a new series of anarchist pamphlets produced by the Cienfuegos Press, is the first reprint of a rare classic of the British left, An Anti-Statist, Communist Manifesto, which was written and published in 1887 by Joseph Lane. Lane was one of the almost forgotten founders of the socialist movement in this country a century ago. He was among the working class agitators who moved from radicalism to socialism in the 1870s and then formed various well known organisations in the 1880s; and he was among those who joined and then split the Social Democratic Federation, and joined the Socialist League. As a result, he is mentioned in all the histories of the subject, as well as in the biographies of better remembered people, but the references to him are generally based on ignorance rather than knowledge.

There is a nice example in an American academic study of the British left during the 1870s and 1880s, Willard Wolfe's From Radicalism to Socialism (1975). Lane is listed among the "prominent working class recruits to the Social Democratic Federation" who "derived from Freethought traditions", and further described as coming "from the ultra-Radical Secularism of Stratford (East London)". This is all based on a confusion of Lane with Ambrose Barker, who did derive from Freethought traditions and did come from the Stratford branch of the National Secular Society, whereas Lane had nothing to do with either.

Another odd example comes in the work of George Woodcock. His Anarchism (1962-1974) describes Lane in 1881 as "an elderly carter who remembered the days of the Chartists and had long been an active open-air speaker." His biography of Kropotkin, The Anarchist Prince (1950-1971) goes even further, describing Lane a few years later as "an elderly man who remembered the enclosure of the commons in the early part of the century" and also refers to the "Anti-Statist, Collectivist and Revolutionary Manifesto, the first English anarchist pamphlet since Godwin and his immediate disciples." (Woodcock also described Lane's Labour Emancipation League as "the earliest anarchist organisation in Britain", although its eight-point programme of 1882 included adult suffrage and secret ballot, direct legislation by referendum, and the free administration of justice!) Apart from getting the title of his pamphlet wrong, Woodcock also seems to have confused Lane with someone else, since he was only 30 years old in 1881.

Such mistakes are quite unnecessary, since Max Nettlau collected the basic information from Lane in 1912, some appearing in his partly published history of the anarchist movement and the rest remaining in his papers at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam; there are also some relevant papers in the William Morris and John Burne manuscript collections at the British Library in London. The first

historian who seems to have made any serious use of this material was E. P. Thompson, for his William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (1955-1977), which contains quite a lot of useful information. Yet even Thompson, as well as being biased against the libertarians in the socialist movement, can be careless and often fails to check facts.

For example, he assumes from Lane's remarks in his manuscript memoirs (at Amsterdam) that he was 15 years old in 1865 and that his home borough was Wallingford, that he was born in 1850 in Wallingford; John Quail, using the same material, made the same assumption in The Slow Burning Fuse. A quick check at the Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths in London, however, shows that no Joseph Lane was born in 1850 in Wallingford. On the other hand, an equally quick check in the relevant volume of Max Nettlau's history, Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionaere (1931-1972), shows that Nettlau thought he was born in a place called Bensington. Another quick check at the Register shows that he was in fact born on 2 April 1851 in the village of Benson near Wallingford.

Another example is Thompson's assumption that a leaflet produced by Lane about the land question dates from "the late 1870s". Again, a quick check shows that the reference in the leaflet to Baron de Forest, MP for West Ham, dates it more than 30 years later, since Baron de Forest became MP for West Ham only in his manuscript memoir, tending from the vantage point of old age to remember joining organisations several years before they existed. Exactly the same problems are caused in the memoirs of Lane's old comrade, Frank Kitz, which were published in FREEDOM in 1912. Nevertheless, a fair account of their activities does appear in Thompson's book, and a better one in Quail's book.

Even so, no proper account of Lane's career seems to have appeared anywhere, and the new edition of An Anti-Statist, Communist Manifesto is welcome not only for making Lane's main work available again for the first time for nearly a century, but also for giving a biographical introduction based on the accessible material by Nicolas Walter. The format of the pamphlet is a little peculiar, since it is A6 size - a quarter of this page - and there are two or three minor discrepancies between the original text and the reprint. Even so, everyone interested in anarchist literature or history should get hold of this remarkable example of early British libertarian propaganda, whose polemical style may be gathered from the splendid anti-Marxist protest of the title.

J.N.

Now read on. Overleaf we reprint Nicolas Walter's introduction to Joseph Lane's Manifesto, with grateful acknowledgements to Cienfuegos Press.



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THE INTRODUCTION TO JOSEPH LANE'S ANTI-STATIST COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

AN ANTI-STATIST, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, which was first published in 1887, was the most important writing by Joseph Lane, who was one of the little-known founders of the libertarian socialist movement in Britain.

Lane came from the rural working class. He was born on 2 April 1851 in the village of Benson near Wallingford, between Oxford and Henley. According to his birth certificate, his father was a cordwainer (an old word for shoemaker – Carlyle calls George Fox a “poor cordwainer” in *Sartor Resartus*), and his mother was illiterate. Lane had virtually no education, and from an early age he worked on the land. At an early age he also developed an interest in radical politics. He later recalled that during the General Election of July 1865 he “attended all political meetings in Borough of Wallingford,” and questioned the successful Liberal candidate, Sir Charles Dilke, about the abolition of the Game Laws and the House of Lords. This would identify him in the British populist tradition associated with the Chartist leader Bronterre O’Brien, who had died in 1864 but whose followers remained influential in working-class politics for another two decades.

Lane came to London soon after this. He witnessed the National Reform League demonstration in July 1866, and later recalled seeing the “Hyde Park railings down,” when angry crowds broke into the park to establish the right of public meeting there – an event which hastened the passage of the second Reform Bill, extending the vote to most working-class men in urban areas. In London Lane worked as a carter, but he managed to fit an increasing amount of political activity into his spare time. During the early 1870s he seems to have been involved in the Land Tenure Reform Association led by the radical philosopher John Stuart Mill (Liberal MP for Westminster) and in the republican campaign led by the radical politician Sir Charles Dilke (Liberal MP for Chelsea, and son of the former Wellingford MP). Lane was later said to have accompanied Dilke on one of his speaking tours and to have been nicknamed “Dilke’s Boy.” He was also later said to have belonged to an English section of the International Working Men’s Association and to have supported the Paris Commune in 1871, but this seems to derive from a misunderstanding of his later activities. There is no evidence that Lane began to move beyond radicalism before the end of the 1870s.

By 1880, however, Lane was involved in several working-class organisations in central London which played an important part in the transition from radicalism to socialism on the British left. The first organisation was formed as the Democratic and Trades Alliance Association in 1874, and became the Manhood Suffrage League in 1875. Its members included several old Chartists, and from 1874 to 1877 its secretary was Frank Kitz, a leading activist in radical, socialist and then anarchist politics for nearly half a century. Lane is first recorded taking part in the discussion in the meetings at the Queen’s Head in Little Pulteney Street in January 1879. The second organisation was the English Section of the Social Democratic Club, which was formed by Kitz in 1877 to link native radicals and foreign (mainly German) socialists living in exile in London, and

which acquired its own premises in Rose Street. Its German Section was dominated by Johann Most, a former Socialist Deputy in the Reichstag who produced *Die Freiheit*, which began as a socialist weekly in 1879 but turned towards anarchism during 1880.

The third organisation was the Marylebone Radical Reform Association, which was formed in 1879. In January 1880 Lane took the lead in forming its third branch, which held meetings at the Black Horse in Marylebone High Street, near his place of work in Paddington Street. This branch soon moved to the left, and changed its name to the Marylebone Radical Association in April 1880. The fourth organisation was called the Local Rights Association for Promoting Rental and Sanitary Reform, and was actually a front for even more radical activity in 1880.

During the General Election of April 1880, which resulted in a landslide victory for the Liberal Party, Lane led the Marylebone radicals in pestering the two local Liberal candidates with traditional radical demands for Irish Home Rule, nationalisation of the land, and abolition of the House of Lords. Sometimes they went further. Lane later recalled that at one meeting they were asked whether they really wanted to abolish the House of Lords:

I said, “Yes, and House of Commons too.”

Result – they threw all they could lay their hands on at us on the platform, and smashed up furniture and mirrors.

The Marylebone radicals rejected a Conservative offer to pay for a radical candidate to split the Liberal vote. But a former Conservative called H.M. Hyndman did offer himself as an independent candidate, with a programme of liberalism at home and imperialism abroad, and he tried to get radical support too. Lane refused, later recalling that “I told him it was only a waste of time.” But when Gladstone’s new Liberal Government soon disappointed radical hopes, some of his comrades continued discussions with Hyndman, and the result was the formation in June 1881 of the Democratic Federation, a coalition of middle-class and working-class radicals under Hyndman’s leadership, working towards an independent labour party with a policy inspired by Karl Marx (whom Hyndman had just read and met).

Lane was involved in the beginning of this process, but soon turned to other activity. In March 1881 he was involved in the Freiheit Defence Committee, which was formed when Most was arrested for welcoming the assassination of the Tsar in *Die Freiheit*. As well as raising public support for press freedom and arranging a legal defence for Most (who got sixteen months’ hard labour), the committee produced seven issues of an English *Freiheit* from April to June, edited by Kitz and published by the English section of the Social Democratic Club. At the same time Lane was involved in producing and distributing *The Radical*, a leftist weekly produced by Frank Soutter and Samuel Bennett from 1880 to 1882.

Early in 1881, Lane moved to East London, where he spent the rest of his life. He first settled in Hackney, forming a new club, which was called

the Socialistic Working Men’s Association in May, the Homerton Section of the Social Democratic Club in June, and the Homerton Social Democratic Club in July. Its original affiliation was with the Rose Street Club, which supplied it with some literature, but it soon became independent. From the start it was unequivocally socialist, and Lane practised the same politics as he preached. He acquired a printing press to produce his own literature, and later recalled that he “used in my room to write leaflets, then set them up, and went out and distributed them and pasted them up in the streets,” organising a “paste pot brigade to stick bills all over the district.”

The Homerton club held meetings on Sunday evenings at the Lamb and Flag in Homerton High Street, until they were stopped at the beginning of 1882. It was reported by *The Radical* that the police “threatened the landlord of the Lamb and Flag with the loss of his licence if he did not get rid of his obnoxious tenants” (4 February 1882), and Lane later recalled that “the police inspector said because we printed *Socialism* so large on our bills.” He complained to Scotland Yard and the Home Office, but got no redress. For the next few months the club’s press notice read: “Shut by order of the police.”

Lane was one of two delegates sent by the Homerton Social Democratic Club to the International Revolutionary Congress in London in 1881. Private meetings were held at a public house in Charrington Street, Somers Town, during the third week in July; and a large public meeting was held at the Cleveland Town Hall on 18 July. Although the six English delegates were not anarchists, most of the forty foreign ones were, and Lane recalled that he met “Kropotkin, Malatesta, etc.” The Congress confirmed the policy of propaganda by deed, following the repression of socialist propaganda by any other method throughout Continental Europe, and tried to re-establish a socialist international. The English delegates were not reported to have said much in the proceedings, but when the American delegate Miss M.P. Le Compte accepted Lane’s invitation to speak at the Homerton Club she wrote that it had “proved its spirit at the International Congress” (12 August 1881).

When the Homerton Club was silenced, Lane widened his aim to cover the whole East End. He joined a group led by Kitz in organising open-air meetings at Mile End Waste, agitating about housing conditions in the slums, intervening in various meetings and demonstrations with provocative leaflets and banners. They caused a sensation by bringing a banner defending tyrannicide to the Hyde Park mass assembly against Iris’ Coercion in July 1882. The sensation must have been sharpened by the fact that the banner was a quotation from *The Revolutionary Epick*, a Byronic poem written in 1834 by none other than Benjamin Disraeli, the Conservative leader who had died in 1881:

And blessed be the hand that dares to wave
The regicidal steel that shall redeem
A nation’s sorrow with a tyrant’s blood!

This militant activity soon brought results. In 1882 Kitz and Lane joined Ambrose Barker and Tom Lemon of the Stratford Dialectical and Radical

Club in forming the Labour Emancipation League, based at Mile End and Bethnal Green, which soon became the most important working-class organisation in the growing socialist movement. Its programme included six traditional radical points (adult suffrage and secret ballot; direct legislation by referendum; abolition of standing army; free secular education; freedom of speech, press and assembly; free administration of justice) and two definitely socialist ones (equalisation of wealth; socialisation of production). When the first secretary, Aaron Moseley, soon resigned Lane took over and established himself as the most effective socialist organiser in London. His old organisation was not completely superseded by the Labour Emancipation League. It continued to exist as the Homerton Socialist Club, and Lane was one of its two signatories to the *Manifesto to the Working Men of the World*, an unsuccessful appeal for the re-establishment of the International Working Men’s Association which was issued by the London socialist organisations in July 1883.

Lane never achieved much of a reputation as a writer or a speaker. Most of his writings were anonymous ephemera. In 1887 William Morris wrote that “his obvious earnestness and good faith make him a convincing speaker,” but the *Liberal Daily News* described him as “a humble sort of man” who “dropped his h’s recklessly” (17 March 1887). George Cores later recalled: “Joe Lane had a peculiar style of speaking. He used to close his eyes and slightly sway his body while holding forth.” His real gift, which everyone acknowledged, was for the organisation of agitation and propaganda, and it was in 1882 that this really bore fruit. Lane later recalled:

This my mode of operations. Take a room, pay quarter’s rent in advance, then arrange list of lecturers for the three months, then get bills printed, one for each week, then each week paste up bills in streets all around. By the end of the three or six months I had got a few members and got them to take it over and manage it as a branch. I had generally two or three branches on my hands at once.

Such branches quickly spread in East London, and the Labour Emancipation League extended its activities into Central and West London, bringing socialist ideas into the open at both indoor and outdoor meetings, and breaking into national politics.

Meanwhile the coalition of the Democratic Federation had begun to break up. In 1882 it turned towards socialism, and in 1883 it adopted an openly socialist programme, losing its pure radicals and gaining William Morris. In January 1884 it began publishing *Justice*, the first socialist weekly in Britain, and began working more and more closely with the Labour Emancipation League. Lane helped to distribute *Justice*, and agreed to arrange for delegates from the Labour Emancipation League to attend the annual conference of the Democratic Federation with a view to affiliation.

In August 1884 the Democratic Federation changed its name to the Social Democratic Federation, and adopted most of the programme and absorbed most of the leadership of the Labour Emancipation League. Lane was elected to the new Executive Council, and immediately joined the opposition to Hyndman’s authoritarian leadership, becoming a member of the caucus round Morris. The new coalition lasted only a few months, and by the end of the year the Social Democratic Federation split into an authoritarian minority led by Hyndman and an anti-authoritarian majority led by Morris. In December 1884 the majority seceded rather than expel the minority, and formed a new organisation called the Socialist League.

Lane signed both the statement explaining the split, *To Socialists*, and the *Manifesto of the Socialist League*, and he joined the Council of the new organisation. He brought with him most of the membership of the Labour Emancipation League, and also his printing press. He became the manager and joint publisher (with Morris) of the Socialist League paper, *The Commonweal*, and was also an occasional contributor from the first issue – when he wrote on

“East End Workers” (February 1885). He remained a leading figure in the Socialist League for four years, but he was often unhappy in it, resigning after personal differences temporarily from the Council in 1885 and permanently from the League itself in 1889. He later recalled that he had made “a fatal mistake” in transferring his activities to the Socialist League, and that he was “very sorry” he had not stayed with the Labour Emancipation League: “We should have had a very strong organisation in the East End of anti-state socialists.”

But for a time he took a significant part in the struggle. Not that it was all struggle. In February 1887 Lane represented the Socialist League at an international socialist “feast” in Paris, for example, and in March 1887 he and his wife were invited to Morris’s house in Hammersmith to watch the University Boat Race!

The Socialist League was itself yet another coalition, united at first mainly by hostility to Hyndman, and it soon developed parliamentarist and antiparlamentarist factions, “which are pretty commensurate with the Collectivists and Anarchists”, said Morris, who tried to hold the balance between them. At the first annual conference in July 1885, a draft parliamentarist constitution inspired by Engels was rejected, and abstention from electoral activity was confirmed. (The Social Democratic Federation put up two candidates in the General Election of November 1885, paid for by Conservative money to split the Liberal vote. The Socialist League produced a leaflet, *For Whom Shall We Vote?*, concluding: “Do not vote at all!”) At the second annual conference in July 1886, the antiparlamentarist policy was reaffirmed, but the parliamentarist fraction began to turn into a faction, working secretly to win branches over to a parliamentarist policy. The Council itself was so deeply divided that it appointed a subcommittee in November 1886 to draft a new policy statement for the 1887 annual conference.

The policy subcommittee had two members from each side – Ernest Belfort Bax and Thomas Binning for the parliamentarists, J.L. Mahon and Lane for the antiparlamentarists. They managed to reach agreement about everything except the Eight Hour Day and Parliament itself, so Mahon offered to draft compromise policies on these issues. When he produced the result of his work, Lane later recalled, “to my surprise” he had “done a right about face and joined the other two, leaving me to defend the position alone.” When the other three presented their majority report to the Council, in March 1887, Lane insisted on presenting his own minority report as well. In April the Council decided not to print either of the “rival manifestos,” as Morris called them, commenting privately that Lane’s was “a long lecture not at all fit for its purpose.”

Lane therefore arranged to print his draft on his own responsibility, later commenting that “like another Joseph I was not going to take it lying down.” He got some support from Morris, who helped to pay for the printing, and also from Morris’s old friends Charles Faulkner and Philip Webb; the latter added in his letter: “Keep your pecker up, and do not go off in a puff of spontaneous combustion” (21 May 1887). He circulated the branches of the Socialist League, though Morris persuaded him not to give up his job and tour the country to raise support. In the event the third annual conference in May 1887 rejected both manifestos in favour of Morris’s “shelving resolution,” which repeated the original antiparlamentarist policy and postponed the decision for another year.

The parliamentarists immediately began to organise their faction, and Lane published his manifesto in June, calling it *An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto* as a gesture of defiance against the Marxists. It was a penny pamphlet printed by W.J. Ramsey, a well-known secularist who had been imprisoned for blasphemy as publisher of the *Freethinker* in 1883. It was given an epigraph from Edmund Burke’s satirical *Vindication of a Natural Society* (1756), which was often taken as a text of philosophical anarchism and which had been reprinted by Benjamin Tucker in the United States in 1885. It was intended to be the first of an International Revolutionary Library, and it announced: “Pam-

phlets dealing with the various phases of the Social Question in all countries from a Revolutionary standpoint will be issued at regular periods.” Unfortunately they were not.

Lane defended liberty, equality and solidarity – what would now be called libertarian socialism. He attacked authority, whether religious or political, and declared himself both atheist and anti-statist – neither God nor master! He avoided the word *anarchist*, preferring to call himself a revolutionary socialist or a free communist. He opposed both mere radicals and mere secularists, both individualist anarchists and collectivist socialists. He opposed Parliament as a symbol of what was wrong with public life and marriage as a symbol of what was wrong with private life (though he was himself happily married with several children). He rejected such panaceas as imperialism and emigration, cooperation and land nationalisation, teetotalism and vegetarianism, or so-called Malthusianism (birth control), and such palliatives as a legal eight hour day or public relief for the unemployed. He attacked the welfare state as well as the warfare state. He wanted social revolution, not social democracy.

The manifesto was advertised in *The Commonweal* and later sold by the Socialist League, but it was not reviewed in Lane’s own paper. It was, however, reviewed by two other papers on the left. The collectivist socialist *Our Corner*, edited by Annie Besant, said: “Mr Lane is extravagant in many of his statements, but his pamphlet is quite worth reading” (August 1887). The anarchist communist *Freedom*, edited by Charlotte Wilson, said it was “an energetic and earnest exposition of Anarchist Socialism from a worker’s viewpoint” (August 1887):

But is it not a pity to use the somewhat clumsy title *Anti-Statist* rather than the more definite and expressive *Anarchist*? Why evade the fine old name which for years has rung out in the van of the Socialist movement throughout the world? ... Let us bear our title of Anarchist proudly in the sight of all men.

Lane was in a difficult position. Like Morris, he was a convinced antiparlamentarist but not a complete anarchist. Like Morris, he used the word as a synonym for individualist. Yet his position is hard to distinguish from anarchism. As Max Nettlau later commented: “His anarchism was the logical consequence of his consistent socialism.” There was no longer any need to avoid the term in 1887. Two American papers, *The Anarchist* and *Liberty*, had imported anarchism into Britain since 1881. Two British papers, *The Anarchist* and *Freedom*, had naturalised anarchism since 1885. The fourth Fabian Tract *What Socialism Is* (1886), gave anarchism the same status as collectivism. While Lane was writing *An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto*, Henry Seymour was writing *The Philosophy of Anarchism* and Peter Kropotkin was writing the *Nineteenth Century* articles later reprinted as *Anarchist Communism*. Presumably Lane was reacting against the accusations of the parliamentarists that he was advocating mere anarchism, and possibly he was also reacting against the middle-class intellectuals who were advocating their anarchism. He remarked later: “I do not claim that I have expounded anarchy; it is for others to judge.” And he returned to the problem twenty-five years later in a letter to Ambrose Barker which praised not only the open anarchists but also the syndicalists for doing “good work among the Trade Unions in the same direction without frightening them with that terrible word *Anarchy*” (17 December 1912).

Later in 1887 the political situation was sharpened by two dramatic events – the police riot known as “Bloody Sunday” in London, and the judicial murder of the Chicago anarchists, both in November. It is not surprising that the parliamentarist faction was finally driven out of the Socialist League at the fourth annual conference in May 1888; and it is appropriate that Lane helped to expose its intrigues, involving all three signatories of the majority report of 1887. But the Socialist League remained an unstable coalition, and the antiparlamentarists soon began to split between the anarchists and the rest, including Morris and Lane. Lane remained active for a time, though he was in bad health,

helping to organise a new East-End Socialist Propaganda Committee in spring 1888 and a Chicago Commemoration Committee in autumn 1888. But in May 1889 he quietly resigned from the Socialist League, and in November 1889 he just as quietly ceased to be named as publisher of *The Commonweal*. Morris tried to change his mind, writing: "I always looked upon you as one of the *serious* members of the League" (21 May 1889). Morris himself left in 1890, and the League was dissolved in 1895; Lane's old press went to the Freedom Press, which used it until 1927.

Lane never returned to the socialist movement, but he kept in touch with some of his old comrades. He moved to Forest Gate, and during the decade before the First World War he produced occasional political leaflets, though he no longer printed them himself. One attacked Joseph Chamberlain's campaign for tariff reform during the General Election of 1906; another attacked Hyndman's claim to have founded British socialism in 1912. Yet another was a remarkable reversion to the agrarian populism of the old days — *An Open Letter to Baron de Forest, MP for West Ham, or any other Public Spirited Member of Parliament who will take up THE LAND QUESTION on behalf of the People*. (This has previously been dated to the 1870s, but de Forest became MP for West Ham only in 1911, and it probably dates from 1912).

Joseph Lane died suddenly on 3 September 1920. A decade later Max Nettlau, who had known him in the Socialist League, wrote in his history of anarchism:

I consider him to be the best head English socialism possessed in the years from 1879 to 1889, and I regret that his activity came to an end — not through his fault — in the first months of 1889; a man like him has been lacking from that time to this.

Half a century later, that epitaph stands unchanged.
Nicolas Walter.

NOTE

ALL the available material about Joseph Lane which has been published in studies of British anarchism and/or socialism is incomplete and/or inaccurate. The following sources are the most valuable: The many contemporary periodicals — local, radical, secularist, socialist, anarchist (British Library). The documents of the Socialist League (Nettlau Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam).

Some manuscripts of Joseph Lane and William Morris (John Burns and William Morris Collections, British Library).

Some memoirs by participants — Joseph Lane (Nettlau Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam); Frank Kitz (*Freedom*, January - July 1912); Mat Kavanagh (*Freedom*, October 1934).

George Cores (*Direct Action*, November 1952 - July 1953); Ambrose Barker (Vestry House Museum, Walthamstow). But all these were written after a long time and with a strong bias, and must be treated with caution.

The following books are useful but unreliable:

Max Nettlau: *Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionäre* (1931, 1972).
Henry Pelling: *The Origins of the Labour Party* (1954, 1965).

E.P. Thompson: *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (1955, 1977).

George Woodcock: *Anarchism* (1962, 1963, 1975).

Stan Shipley: *Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London* (1972).

John Quail: *The Slow Burning Fuse* (1978).

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TRUTH IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT *or, the Art of Misrepresentation*

Cinema and History (British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War), Anthony Aldgate, Scholar Press, London, £5.95.

Spanish Diary, John McNair, edited and with commentary by Don Bateman, Greater Manchester Branch of the ILP, 40p.

CINEMA newsreels were the major form of visual information in the media, before the advent of television. As Aldgate observes in his book, "The usual content of the majority of pre-war British newsreels was trivial, being largely devoted to reports of minor events such as the laying of foundation stones, society weddings, traffic jams on the main roads at holiday seasons, ship launchings, and all the main sporting events. Material from overseas was usually similar in character."

There were five main newsreels, Movietone, Paramount, Gaumont, Pathe and Universal, and, as their names suggest, they were controlled by the main movie producers, busy turning out the opiates of the pre-war era. As an example of the way the newsreels treated news, the author uses the Spanish Civil War. Gaumont-British's item on the outbreak of the Civil War was as superficial as it was to be misleading in the later stages. Aldgate observes, "What is perhaps most noticeable about Gaumont's first report is that nowhere does the newsreel go any way towards trying to explain the causes of the fighting."

Early material was faked, as the newsreels were not at the earlier scenes of action, such as Barcelona, where the rebellion was quelled rapidly by CNT and other militants. In an edition of *World Film News* of the time, an editorial makes the observation that there is a bias in news reporting in favour of the rebels. This bias was not confined to the newsreels, since apart from *The Daily Herald* and *News Chronicle* the national press was firmly biased towards Franco. Indeed, most of the press was favourably disposed towards Hitler and Mussolini.

Such bias was not confined to the capitalist press either, for most of the news from Spain on the republican side was dominated by Communists and fellow travellers. The role of the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain was completely ignored, despite their major contribution to the initial suppression of the rebels and their major contribution to the social revolution. While the publication of *Spain and the World* by Freedom Press and news in the Independent Labour Party's *New Leader* did a little to correct this, the impressions gained from the media by the general public were largely false.

Spanish Diary by John McNair should be read by all those anarchists who have some feelings of tenderness to authoritarian left parties. As a member of the ILP Guild of Youth when McNair was general secretary of the ILP, one became aware of the disturbing activities of the Communist Party in Spain. The death of Bob Smillie, chairman of the ILP Guild of Youth, while a prisoner of the Valencia government, was a great shock.

To the credit of the ILP it was the first foreign organisation to take assistance to its comrades in Barcelona. John McNair personally took money collected to POUM in Barcelona.

ALAN ALBON

THE SILENCE OF THE POPE

IN HIS recent triumphal visit to Poland the Pope visited the Communist showpiece Auschwitz and made his obligatory homage to those who died there (including a Catholic priest, Father Maximilian Kobe, who exchanged places with another prisoner and died in the camp). These individual efforts at resistance compare startlingly with the indifference of the papacy itself to what was going on at Auschwitz when it was in full operation.

A fairly recent book by Alexander Ramati called *While the Pope Kept Silent* (Allen & Unwin 1978 £4.95) was commended in the reviews as an example of what the Catholic church did to oppose the nazis. This should be corrected to what some members of the Catholic church did to oppose the nazis and fascists. The attitude of the Vatican, the Pope and the church in general was at its best defending its own interests, at its usual stance equivocal, and at its worst, collaborating.

Ramati's book is a fictionalisation (which weakens the veracity of the book) of the work of padre Rufino Miccacci during the nazi occupation of Assisi in maintaining an escape route and shelters for Jewish refugees from the nazis. The dust jacket blurb contains the extraordinary but common statement, "The Pope may have had to keep silent; but his bishops and priests, even the nuns in closed orders, knew what they had to do." There was no real necessity, in human terms, for the Pope to keep silent. The Pope is capable of issuing bulls or excommunicating Catholics for minor peccadillos, a tactic which is accompanied by the threat of everlasting hell fire for the excommunicated. Obviously, for the sins of murder, torture and destruction committed during World War II the penalty was less, even not applied, than for the sins of birth control, abortion or divorce.

Hitler had his quota of nazi Catholics;* despite his pagan pretensions even he had a lingering aura of Catholicism, and a papal threat of excommunication would have wreaked havoc in his superstitious ranks. Even Ramati's book features a good Catholic nazi, Colonel Mueller, and the hero priest is concerned that he has (for the purposes of saving the Jews) to deceive his fellow Catholics.

Ramati puts forward the arguments for and against the Pope's intervention. The story is told in the first person by the priest hero (not completely convincing). He visits a cardinal who tells him of his duty to help Jewish refugees who are coming to Assisi. The priest asks, "Perhaps Your Eminence can explain to me why the Pope doesn't make a statement condemning the Nazi persecution of the Jews? I remember reading that before his death Pope Pius XI commissioned an American Jesuit - wasn't his name John La Farge? - to write an encyclical attacking anti-semitism. But Pius XI died before he had a chance to publish it. Why doesn't Pius XII announce, *urbi et orbi*, the text of that encyclical?" The cardinal smiled indulgently. "You ought to understand that the Vatican is a state and the Pope is also a politician, a head of state. I've been in Rome long enough to understand the Pope's position. Instead of making meaningless declarations that would only antagonise the Germans, perhaps even make them occupy the Vatican itself, he issued orders - to save Jewish lives." "And Your Eminence received such an order?" ".... The Pontiff could not issue an express order. But we received the message loud and clear." "I understand." I (padre Rufino) said, not really understanding at all. Why could the Pontiff not issue an express order? Wasn't he the most powerful man, St Peter's representative on earth?

And later, when Rufino is praying, "We Christians have the cross. The Nazis came and turned that cross into a swastika. Why did you let them profane you? And what about your deputy on earth? Why does he keep silent? Our Pope's condemnation

* Ramati states through a fictional character that "every third German soldier is a Catholic."

of the Nazis would perhaps make every third one of the German soldiers stop killing, or at least stop killing the innocent. Isn't his role as the spiritual leader of the Church more important than his role as politician or head of state?"

There are several explanations for the Pope's silence, but Ramati ignores a close examination of this problem (or dilemma) in favour of an adventure narrative of priest outwitting the nazis, one can almost see Marcello Mastroianni and Albert Decker in the leading roles of an Italian-American-German production aimed at all three markets.

In the blurb on the dust wrapper Ramati's book is cited by Irwin Shaw as being a much needed rebuttal of Hochhuth's *The Representative*. As I have tried to show it is nothing of the sort. Shaw describes the book as "a tribute to the generosity, pity and daring of those dedicated religious men and women and to the ordinary people of Italy" ... This is perfectly true but it does not answer the question: why did the Pope keep silent?

Tom Bower, the reporter-producer of a recent Panorama programme (BBC 1) on Gustav Wagner, deputy commandant of a Polish extermination camp, commenting on Wagner's escape to Brazil (which has, rightly in my opinion, refused to extradite him) said, "Stangl (another war criminal) had escaped from prison and, aided by Odessa, an underground Nazi escape group, was on the Vatican route. Wagner joined him. On arrival in Rome, they went to the priest confessor to the German Catholic community, Bishop Alois Hudal. Pope Pius XII had been sympathetic to the Third Reich and many fleeing SS men, including Adolf Eichmann, benefited from the Vatican's help after Germany's defeat." This seems over-stated and I do not know on what evidence Bower makes his broad generalisation which is probably necessary in a television programme.

Poynter in his book on the papal encyclicals (*The Pope and Social Problems*, Watts 1949) quotes *The Catholic Herald*, January 1932. "When the history of his (Pius XI's) pontificate comes to be written, it will be found that the Russian army at the gates of Warsaw, when Pope Pius XI was nuncio there just after the Great War, has exercised a tremendous influence on his mind. It explains his attitude to the Nazi government in Germany: anything is better than atheistic communism." Pius XI issued encyclicals protesting against the oppression of the church in Germany (in March) and in the Soviet Union, in the form of an attack on atheistic communism. However, a concordat was negotiated with the nazis in 1933; the nazi state did not keep that agreement. In the words of the encyclical, "With amazement and deep aversion (it has become apparent that) to change the meaning of the agreement, to evade the agreement, to empty the agreement of all its significance, and finally more or less openly to violate the agreement, have been the unwritten laws of conduct of the other party" "They disclose machinations that from the beginning had no other aim than a war of extermination (of the German Catholic church)."

Nevertheless, despite Hitler's cynicism the German nazi state made its regular contribution to the upkeep of the Catholic church; the figure given by Hitler (in *Secret Conversations*) was 900 million marks a year.

* * *

The Representative (1963) by Rolf Hochhuth, is a controversial play which expressly accuses the Vatican of indifference, equivocation and self-protection in the matter of the extermination of the Jews. In a preface to the play Robert David MacDonald, the translator, says "it is a play about the problem of choice. While there is no doubt in the author's mind where much of the guilt lies, the whole content of the play is concerned with the proposition that for every man there is a choice, and even by avoiding making that choice, he is in fact choosing."

continued on page 15

'PUBLIC WOUNDS'

(I am not a foreign / country to be run / over, or occupied.
Politics are flesh Katharyn Rosa Gabriella)

I HEAR a distant howl of angry youngish women ... "another male ego trip - why should HE review our work - bloody men! - can't be left out of anything." Well, you didn't leave me out of your poems sisters, and I feel entitled to answer back. No! That's not all. I like poetry. I am a poet. I like this book. I want to write about it ...

And while some readers digest all those egocentric male I's and allow them to confirm their darkest hatreds of men let me say immediately that it would be hard to find a more admirably egocentric anthology of poems in the English language than 'One foot on the mountain'. This anthology of British Feminist Poetry 1969 - 1979, is an unashamed celebration of the angry 'I' - or angry eye - a black look in anger at "what the world/men has declared invisible or invalid."

But how to start? I've found from writing letters on feminist issues that whatever I say will be interpreted as a put down by one part or the other of the women's movement and, as recent correspondence has shown, to declare yourself a fellow traveller can be seen as the most heinous crime of all. Carol Ruthchild in a letter in the June issue of The Leveller refers to self-styled "non-sexist brothers" ... "OK, so they didn't ask to be born male. I didn't ask to be born female either, but that hasn't prevented me from being treated as continuously sub-human since I first drew breath".

As Jane Tilly warns

"I kept on being cleverer than him but who gave a shit when he could always put me down with his fist. so if you wanna be my brother, mate, then show me your sister first."

And Janet Dubé in her poem 'to the man (for once)' lectures

"Be humble enough to learn./ Be quiet."

But Paula Jennings is 'Dressed to Kill' and rages ..

"If you don't take your slimy masculine eyes off me I will whip out the collapsible submachine gun I always carry in my sexy old haversack and blast you off the face of the earth."

OK sisters, I hear you. But the trouble is I AM egocentric - I do have a body, a brain, and a tongue - and I enjoy using them. I can't, WON'T be quiet - I won't promise not to take my slimy masculine eyes off you. But, though you may not believe me, I do promise that I won't put you down with my fist. I'll defend myself with words, though. You see I don't feel guilty about what MEN have done to women. Under poetic torture I may be forced to admit my own sins but I won't be responsible for all the damage done. It was fashionable for intellectuals to wail after the last war, "we are all guilty." I wasn't guilty then and I ain't guilty now.

It is, however, a lacerating experience to resolutely read everything in this anthology - not jumping what's uninteresting, uncomprehensible, what's silly and pretentious and what cuts too closely for my male ego. All that anger - am I really one of those men in Micheline Wandor's poem 'Some Male Poets' who "have written of us as/whores, devouring lilliths/ and never as."? There is love too, of course, much of it Lesbian, and affection for men is a rare ingredient. Where it does occur it is often buried and, paradoxically, one of the most nakedly angry poems in the book combines rage and love in a way which seems to me to transcend experience which is particularly women's and reveals a confused fury which we have all felt.

The poem, by Kathleen McKay, addressed 'To Phil (if he wakes up)' has, maybe, a special meaning when found in an anthology of feminist verse. There is no doubt that its power

would shout for attention wherever published but, like all the poems in this book, it is reinforced by the company it keeps. Phil, interestingly, is the only man (so far as I have noticed) in the book who is graced with a name. This is important I think because he can be seen as a specific flawed man, rather than all men who are all guilty, and the poem deserves to be quoted in full

Anger
Anger drove me to it
I killed him at last
When we were alone in the house
And the stage was set for sex
And romance
and he fell asleep,
smelling of creosote and beer.
So I killed him. It was simple really
with a knife I had had from the Guides
It was sharp and strong
So I found his heart and looked at him, sleeping and unaware
he'd always said he wanted to die in his sleep
the irony was good
I smiled at him once and the knife slid in, meeting resistance
of flesh at first
and then something that felt like the gristle under my butchers
knife in the kitchen

He looked up once before he died
And his eyes had that wide open, slightly surprised look of
just before he came
and his tongue hung out like it always did
and then his body twitched and he died.

Unsurprisingly heterosexual love poems are absent but, with at least 20 of the 55 poets acknowledging their Lesbianism in their brief biographies and/or their poems, love poetry (i.e. directed at a specific woman rather than poetry expressing sisterly love for women) is a major theme, producing some lovely poems.

Anna Wilson observes "women touching/their slow flapping dance/a rite of friendship". Deb Symonds' friend Peggy wears only "a black bowler white overalls gold sneakers ... dances real good". A joyous poem this, in an anthology more marked out for pain than pleasure and where humour is wry, rather than riotous. Gillian Allnut's 'Images of revenge', an impressive poem noir, is a good example "I am the hole in the dyke/where your finger/gets stuck."

And Paula Jennings resting in 'The Perfumed Garden' (sub-titled 'A Lesbian Ghetto Isn't Good Enough') bellows, "Rest?/How can I rest with this patriarchal rose bush/up my arse?"

There are many gentle love poems; Paula Jennings' 'Lesbian', Lorna Carmichael's 'Kelly's Cavern' and Caroline Gilfillan's 'To be Honest' are good examples. But anger, as ever, breaks out and maybe for some (many?) of the poets here it's netiehr the time nor place to write poems to specific lovers. For Michele Roberts, in her poem 'Eve Etcetera' there never will be a time or place

"I screen myself
under the white dress of a communicant
I seal my lips with safety pins
now I am ready
never to write a love poem"

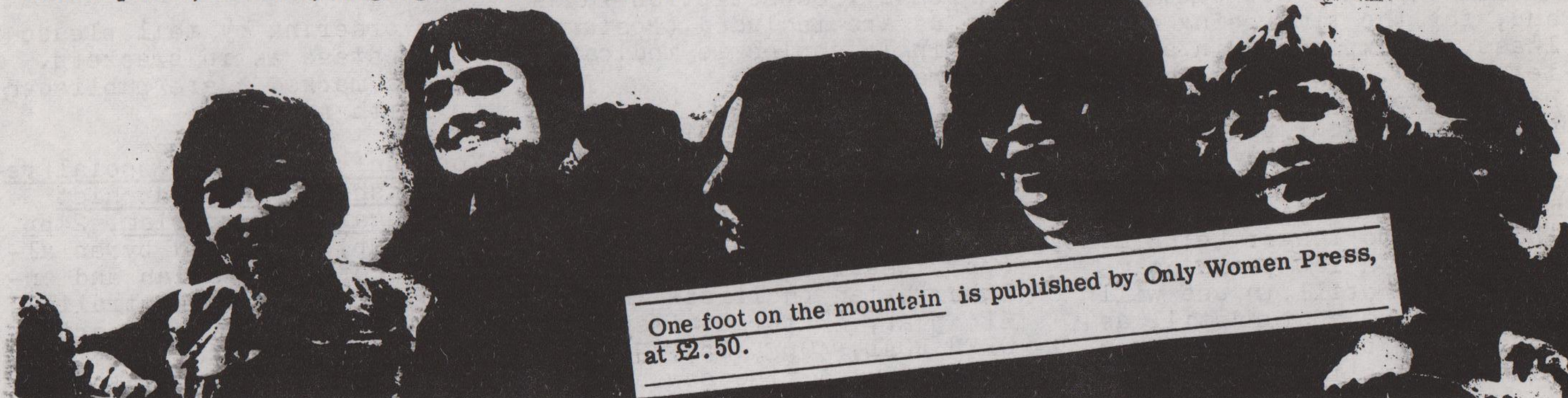
The poems concerning love interest me the most, those on matriarchy and spirituality the least; a reference to her star sign is enough to put me off the poet - and the same would go for male poets too. Poems concerned with 'the goddess', child-birth, motherhood and menstruation are major themes in the anthology and are the concern of many poems. Apart from sheer preference, the reason that these poems are not quoted in this review is simply that they are the most exclusive in

terms of experience - the most difficult for this male reader to empathise with.

It's been a long wrestle reading the poems; an even longer one trying to write about them. Lilian Mohin's introductory essay is extremely interesting and I had thought to take up some of the arguments she has raised. But what's the point? My views are of no particular significance and certainly wouldn't be welcomed. But it is a lovely and exciting book - and a great venture. It seems to me the most important anthology of poetry I've read in the last couple of decades - its intention, after all, is revolution.

I have two friends whose work is in the book and a third poet was, for a brief time, a fellow hack on a left (?) magazine. The remainder of the contributors are entirely unknown to me as poets. A side effect of the book, therefore, is to place a bunch of new poets before a readership - as a poet I welcome that fact with scarcely believing cheers and it alone would justify the book.

However, the discovery of poets like Alison Fell, Stef Pixner, Valerie Sinason and Zoe Fairbairns has been an additional and unexpected pleasure, because the sheer zip and quality of their work - aside, if that's possible, from their political stance - got to me immediately. Lilian Mohin warns, in her preface, that "some women have objected to the element of individual recognition which is explicit in a book like this one, since our movement has been built upon a democratic approach to all our work and a resolve to abolish hierarchies." Well, amen to that, but in recommending an anthology of poetry it is impossible to convey the flavour without quoting from individual poems, and thus, singling out individual poets.



SILENCE OF THE POPE

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The play is highly complex, having a sub-plot of the dilemma of a 'good Catholic' nazi who stayed in the SS in order to find out the truth about the death camps. He tried to get the Vatican to do something about it. Ironically, he was picked up by the French and executed.

The notes to The Representative quote much material to back up Hochhuth's thesis. He quotes Reitlinger (author of The Final Solution) as saying, "The question of the absence of any threat to excommunicate the instruments of Hitler's extermination policies is a graver one and frankly I am inclined to think that the fact that the victims were Jews was one of the reasons why this threat was never made. Here again, however, neutrality and diplomatic immunity had become an obsession and I do not think this need have happened had there been a better Pope." In fact the persecution of the Jews took place under two Popes. The beginning of Hitler's reign of terror was marked by a Concordat with Pope Pius XI. It was under Pius XII, according to Count Ciano who said he wished to introduce "a somewhat more easy-going policy towards Germany than his predecessor."

Hochhuth also calls attention to the Vatican's financial stake in the war. According to Der Spiegel (August 1958) the Society of Jesus earned money from both sides with mercury, "while the Spanish firm supplied predominantly the Allies and the

Lilian Mohin also quotes Adrienne Rich. "One of the reasons the use of our names and the striving for greatness has been challenged is because of its association with male competitiveness. If A is great, then B can't be as great ... women artists need to see ourselves as radiating outward from a centre, doing many diverse things, but drawing constantly on each other's breakthroughs and discoveries." Well the names I've mentioned are just my preferences - nothing to do with greatness - and I think that the book succeeds totally within Rich's requirements.

It does have a very sure centre, the poems do reinforce each other, the hub, the spokes, the rim are truly joined - the wheel is rolling. The book has deficiencies as the preface points out; there is a lack of work "by or about very young women as well as old women. There is the glaring omission of black poets." But the editor has "worked on what I am most familiar with in our movement" and it seems to me she has done an excellent job. Out of the anger, pain and frustration of the first decade of the women's liberation movement in Britain she has achieved a near-miracle of organisation and selection and the publication of the book must be an optimistic sign in itself.

One foot on the mountain is a shot of adrenalin to the movement; inspirational, conspiratorial and confessional, it is bound to become a major weapon in the arsenal of the monstrous regiment. Liberation is revolution as one of Stef Pixson's poems whispers and shouts

"our secrets bound us
now they're out."

JEFF CLOVES

and the Russians, the Italian mines provided (supplied) the German armament factories." Hochhuth also quotes the fact that the Vatican is the largest shareholding company in the world with extensive world-wide holdings including, for example, in Hungarian State Railways.

Whatever the idealism and hopes enshrined in the new Pope it cannot be forgotten that the Vatican is a power structure and as such is given to wheeling and dealing and all the political, financial and diplomatic manoeuvres associated with the retention and expansion of power. It would make a concordat with the Soviet Union if such suited its ends. Whether it was from fear of the nazis, hatred of the Soviet Union or of Jews, or an attempt to preserve the status quo or merely to survive and emerge on the winning side, it is unmistakable that no moves by the Vatican (or the Catholic church as an institution) were made to save the Jews from extermination. Whatever padre Rufino, Maximilian Kobe or Kurt Gerstein did, they did as individuals. Large power blocs, by their nature, are amoral, if not specifically immoral.

JACK ROBINSON

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