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# FREEDOM

1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

ANARCHIST MONTHLY

VOL 47 No 6 JULY 1986 75p



## CENSORSHIP : IRELAND SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Right, I'll make a complaint.



Thanks, I'll look into it, and if I decide there's a case, I'll ask the Police Complaints Authority to look into it.



# FREEDOM

1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

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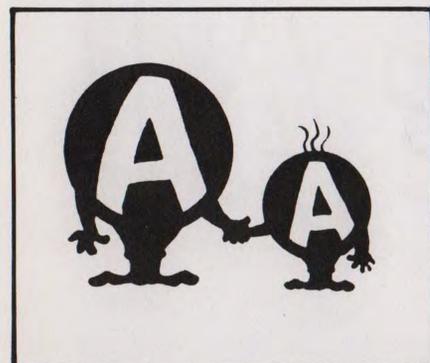
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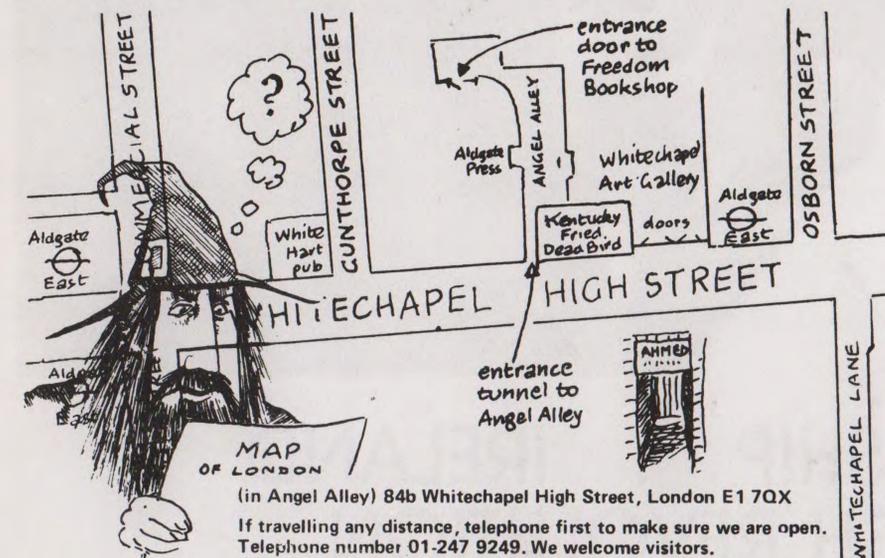
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**THE OPEN DOOR POLICY:** Freedom welcomes news, reports and comradely contributions to genuine anarchist debate. Articles give the individual opinions of their authors. Only articles specifically signed the editors reflect the shared view of the Freedom Collective.

**CONTRIBUTORS PLEASE NOTE:** Freedom is a professionally typeset paper, which means that articles for Freedom need to be typed, on one side only, triple spaced with a large margin down both sides of the page. Neat handwritten material should be on lined paper using every other line. Keep your own copy rather than ask us to return the original. Letters — up to 400 words, articles — usually 1,000 words.



## NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

This month's cover illustration is part of a poster designed by Carles Fontseré, Catalonia 1937.

This month's editors David Peers, Donald Rooum, Charles Crute, Veronica Keenan. Subscription organized by Stu Stuart.

The **deadline** for articles submitted for our special October issue is **19 July**, not 9 August as we stated in May. We have to start printing about 9 August and get everything typeset before then.

## Rejoice!!

July 23rd is David Peers' birthday. We declare this a national holiday. (Please ignore any attempts to create diversions from the joyful occasion. Any 'royal' wedding which doesn't keep the pubs open is not worth noticing anyway.)

**Gay's the Word charges dropped**  
Gay's the Word bookshop (see Freedom Sept 1985 and April 1986) was charged under the Customs and Consolidation Act 1876, which prohibits the import of things which it is legal to manufacture here. The European Court has declared the act invalid, insofar as it applies to imports from the EEC. Most imports in the case were from the USA, but Customs and Excise have dropped those charges too, 'recognising that the legal climate has changed; Another victory for the campaign against victimless crimes.

**Additional contact address**  
Libertarian Organisation and Structure (LOS), c/o Days of Hope Bookshop, 62 Thornton Street, Newcastle upon Tyne 1.

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## CLASS WAR

### Readmitted to AFA

ON 31 MAY 1986, a delegate meeting of Anti-Fascist Action considered a report of the actual evidence that Class War has fascist connections, and promptly lifted the suspension of Class War from the organization. The meeting also accepted a recommendation that any such allegations against an AFA affiliate in future should be investigated *immediately*, 'so that months of doubt, bad feeling, and suspicion can be avoided'.

Class War was suspended from AFA in October 1985, following two articles by David Rose in *The Guardian*, alleging that Class War was more or less a front organization for the National Front. Most of the information for these articles came from the anti-fascist journal *Searchlight*. Class War's suspension was ratified at the National AFA Conference in February, by a two-thirds majority (about 170 for to 80 against), and some 70 delegates and observers walked out talking of a 'witch-hunt'. The conference then set up a commission of enquiry, consisting of Geoff Robinson and John Penney, to consider the evidence and recommend whether or not Class War should be expelled.

The nine allegations against Class War, and (in brief summary) the findings, are

1. *Leading members of CW had been members of the National Front.*  
No evidence.
2. *CW allowed racist and sexist articles to*

*appear in its publications.*

*The Guardian* articles quoted from a piece written by a 15-year-old in the CW publication *Angry*, '... the anti-white sentiments of the Caucasian guilt-ridden middle-class extreme left, constantly bombarding us with dogmas about the rights of coloured immigrants'. AFA would have to judge how seriously to treat CW's proclamation of its spotless anti-racist credentials. But there is no evidence of any pattern of racist articles; this is the only example.

3. *CW members have been overheard to make racist remarks.*  
No evidence.
4. *CW acted as police agents provocateurs on demonstrations.*  
Some of their actions may have been tactically inadvisable, but there is no evidence they were acting under police instruction.
5. *CW members made Nazi salutes on demonstrations.*  
Sarcastically, not as a show of fascist sympathies.
6. *CW tolerated an NF presence on events like Stop the City.*  
The evidence the NF were there is only in an NF publication. No evidence CW knew about it or would have tolerated it.
7. *Racist fanzines were distributed from CW premises.*

CW uses, but does not control, premises in Wapping shared by many. A racist fanzine was distributed there but had nothing to do with CW.

8. *CW members or supporters harassed, burgled, and racially abused premises and personnel of the African Refugees Housing Action Group.*

Before the house was allocated to ARHAG it had been squatted by young people who included peripheral supporters of CW. The squatters were evicted and squabbled with the tenants; they would have squabbled whoever the tenants were. CW protests that their readers would never go in for racial abuse, but CW's anarchism and anti-racism were less clearly stated than they have been recently, and they cannot be sure what their periphery was doing. Now CW has published its manifesto, peripheral racists will soon drift off.

9. *CW members were involved in attacks on the Mushroom bookshop in Nottingham.*

The quarrel at Mushroom bookshop has nothing to do with this enquiry.

In sum there are a few criticisms of Class War, but the group and publication which comes really badly out of the investigation is *Searchlight*.

*Searchlight* gave the naive David Rose the material for his articles, then took a leading role in attacks on Class War at AFA delegate meetings and the AFA conference. But when asked to supply evidence to a formally constituted enquiry, they came up with nothing at all. The report says, 'We are bemused by *Searchlight's* role in this affair.'



## Dutch International Conference

International Anarchist Conference at Appelscha, Netherlands, 15-16 May 1986.

THERE has been an international anarchist meeting at this campsite every year since 1933 (except for the years of German occupation, 1940 to 1945). It is called *Tot Vrijheidsbezinning* (For the Contemplation of Freedom) and I understand was founded by anarchist war resisters who were imprisoned for resisting conscription.

Conscription has to be faced by young males throughout Europe, so it is a very live issue in the European anarchist movements. We all went to Assen to demonstrate outside a small jail where a resister was being held. Fireworks and smoke bombs were let off, causing enough noise to let the inmates know something was happening outside. The prison and the town hall next door were graffitied, a few bottles and stones were thrown, and the television camera focussed on the gate was pointed skywards by someone who climbed a drain pipe. There was no police presence, as the police were expecting a visitation at another, much larger prison, and were waiting for us there.

Most of the participants were Dutch, with a sprinkling of German, Belgian, French, Spanish and Italian comrades, and a disappointing contingent from Britain. I renewed acquaintance with an old Dutch comrade who had attended the International Conference at the Malatesta Club, London, in 1958. The founders of the site had received postcards while in prison from the No More War movement, an organisation in Britain before World War Two, to which my parents and many anarchists belonged. Much of the meeting had English translations and most people in Holland speak English, so many useful contacts were made; *Green Anarchist* arranged an exchange with *Le Monde Libertaire*.

There was a symposium on strategy and organisation, and discussions on anarchism and feminism, antimilitarism, syndicalism, and ecology.

The ecology movement in Holland is well organised and pretty aware, and anarchists tend to work through it, though the De Raaf anarchist group have issued an Ecology Special of their own.

In France the anti-nuclear movement is growing in the wake of the Chernobyl accident, especially as government sources have played the accident down. The sodium-based Superphoenix station is a technical success but a financial disaster, I suspect because more safety features have been incorporated to deal with the

extra menace of sodium. France is firmly committed to the alleged cheapness of nuclear power, but its power industry is believed to be the sixth or seventh most indebted corporation in the world, owing some 200 billion francs. It is interesting that in the USA, where consumers of electricity have to pay a realistic price including the supplier's profit, no civil nuclear power stations have been started since 1976.

Many of the older anarchists in Holland are opposed to alcohol, since the days when booze caused many social problems in Holland and was felt to prevent social change; a reasonable compromise was reached without rancour. Also noteworthy was the absence of the mess, which is often left behind after similar events in England. I hope there will be a larger UK contingent at the next meeting in Holland, as I am sure these contacts make for more realistic attitudes.

Alan Albon

## Workers Axe bosses

A BOSS was sacked at the instigation of his own workers in Gibraltar dockyard in May.

The managing director of Gibrepair, Brian Abbott, left Gibraltar after management at the yard had been locked-out by their workforce. Later he was axed by the parent company Appledore.

According to the right wing *Gibraltar Democrat*: 'This must be the first case in the history of Trade Unionism in Gibraltar and possibly even England, when a Trade Union has succeeded in its campaign to remove a top manager from his position.'

It is a worrying thing for any boss to think that the shopfloor can vote him out. Of course Mr Abbott will continue to be paid.

Since the yard was privatized 18



months ago relations have been strained. There were no pay rises last year, and there was a belief among the workforce that the UK company and the Gibraltar Government were out to break the union. This view was reinforced by the knowledge that a major shareholder in Appledore is Dennis Thatcher, and that the company won the tender for the yard against some serious local bids. Since it was privatized funds of £20 million have been provided by the British Government together with £28,000 promised for the workers' pension fund.

People with small minds may see low motives in this circular flow of public money. Another more sinister motive may explain the Appledore contract — power politics dictate that military bases are needed in the Mediterranean. The proposal to set up Gibrepair as a commercial shiprepair company keeps open the possibility of the yard being reopened as a military base. The Socialist Government in Spain is committed to downgrade the US base at Rota, and as I write a US nuclear sub is in port at Gib.

Politics demanded that the dockyard be put on ice pending other uses. So it was leased to the company most able to keep it working, while the Gibraltar Government retains ownership. This year the management overspent and disposed of the workers' pension fund as well as resisting the union pay claim. In response an overtime ban was introduced. Then when senior management and a Spanish contractor scabbed, the workforce decided to take over. Management were given four minutes to clear out of their offices. Later the labour force demonstrated by sitting down in Main Street outside the Chief Minister's office.

After a 3 week strike, and lockout of the bosses, the Gib. Government agreed to resolve the dispute by footing the difference between the management and the union. The union claimed the dismissal of managing director, Brian Abbott, to be a victory. Jose Netto, the TGWU district officer, stated that this managing director '... has been, since the outset of the commercial dockyard, the root of nearly all the problems.'

What frightened the Government was the decision in the final week of the strike of all sections of the TGWU to call a 24 hour General Strike on May 19th. This Netto assured me would certainly have been implemented, had the Gib. Govt not come up with an offer.

Sources inside the union suggest that once the General Strike had begun it could become an indefinite stoppage. Though the British army were planning to run essential services, when they did, during a previous General Strike, they succeeded in damaging electrical generators and prolonging a breakdown.

Brian Bamford

## CNT-U on trial

Militants at Michelin face 107 years jail

AS REPORTED in a previous issue of *Freedom*, six members of the CNT-U (an anarcho-syndicalist union in Spain) were arrested in November '84 accused of various terrorist offences, most importantly an attack on Jesus Casanova who is a director of the Michelin factory in Vitoria, the Basque Country, where four of them worked.

The trials are seen as an attempt to discredit the CNT-U, which is the biggest union in the factory, so it is suspected that they will be held in the autumn to coincide with the national elections to works committees. As part of the process involved, the prosecution has stated the sentence it is asking for, which amounts to 107 years in prison for the six men. Despite this the only real evidence is confessions signed by the men under torture when they were held on the basis of Spain's anti-terrorist laws and as a result about 70% of the original charges have been dropped.

The CNT-U in Vitoria had to find 3.17 million pts (about £15,000) for bail and are now in debt to the tune of 2 million pts, so they are appealing for money to conduct the men's defence and for observers to attend the trials.

Money can be sent to: Marcelo de la Torre, Caja Provincial de Alava, Cuenta no. 214 1216, Vitoria, Spain.

More information (in Spanish) from: Apto de Correos 1506, Vitoria, Spain.

Mick Larkin

Spanish Information Network

JUNE saw the launch of a new libertarian paper *Liberation*, and with it the birth of a new anarchist organisation, the Anarchist-Communist Federation. Developing out of a network of supporters and readers of the magazine *Virus*, and with the merger of the Syndicalist Fight Group, the Anarchist-Communist Discussion Group decided that it would publish an agitational paper, while continuing to bring out *Virus* as a magazine of discussion and debate. It was decided that the Discussion Group would transform itself into the Anarchist-Communist Federation with the launch of *Liberation*. There are groups in London, Medway Towns, Canterbury and Stafford, and contacts in York, Luton, Crawley, Thanet, Lancaster, Glasgow, Manchester, Southend and Newcastle. For a copy of our Aims and Principles or a copy of *Liberation* (20p plus post) or *Virus* (25p plus post) write to Box 5, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1.

THE INSTITUTE for Social Ecology, of which our comrade Murray Bookchin is Director Emeritus, has sent us the prospectus of their Summer Semester June 21 — August 16, 1986, which also includes information on their MA in Social Ecology 1986-87.. Their address is Institute for Social Ecology, PO Box 384, Rochester, Vermont 05767, USA.

Anarchist Picnic

Brockwell Park, Brixton

Saturday 19 July 1986 at 1pm

Bus: 37, 3, 68, 172, 196, 40, 2, 2b.

Tube: Brixton. Train: Tulse Hill, Herne Hill.

## IN BRIEF

The bombing of the Tory Party conference in Brighton was described as 'the most serious crime since Guy Fawkes' by one of the defence lawyers.

A shop in Stockholm, near where Olaf Palme was shot, has demanded compensation from the government for a drop in sales, because police cordoned off the area during their investigation.

A French farmer has begun to starve his flock of 30,000 chickens to death to protest at low prices for eggs. He cut off food and water supplies and stopped ventilating their coops.

This column has commented before about extreme cases of theft of gold teeth. Now a Russian is reported to have caused a heart attack in his mother's doctor by frenzied demands at her hospital.

A former Italian airman, aged 69, has had his war veteran's pension stopped because of a conviction for kissing his girlfriend in public in 1941. He must repay 13 million lire that he has already received.

Britain is being swamped by immigrants. Last year, they overtook the numbers of those leaving. Leaving out racist terrors, in fact this is caused by a fall in emigration. The number of arrivals remains about the same (11,000). The biggest net gain came from South Africa.

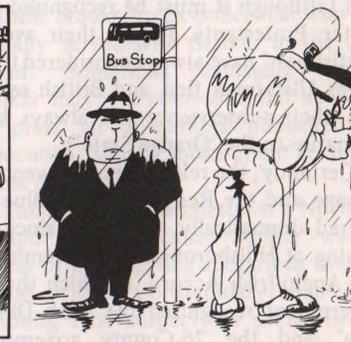
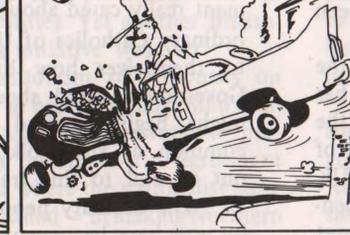
### The House Next Door



HEY! IVAN!  
YOUR MOSKVITCH IS  
PARKED RIGHT ACROSS  
MY DRIVEWAY AGAIN!



I'LL SHOW HIM!



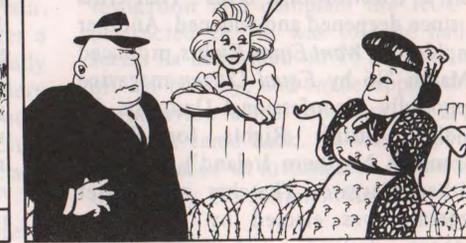
### The House Next Door



IVAN, DO WE HAVE TO  
HAVE THE BARBED WIRE  
UP?



THAT'S WHAT I LIKE ABOUT  
YOUR IVAN, OLGA! —  
— HE'S SO EASY-GOING!



— PLAYING NEXT DOOR!

# Ireland

## SOME LESS PUBLICISED VIEWS

### The Anglo-Irish Agreement – Some less publicised views

FROM personal experience, I know how quickly one becomes irritated by people who assume anarchists must automatically support the IRA/INLA because they attack state security forces; I am now getting equally annoyed with people who assume anarchists must support Protestant paramilitaries who encourage attacks on the RUC. Wherever one's sympathies lie and whatever one's own analysis of the 'Ulster Problem', it must be realised that these are not anarchist acts intended to bring about a self-organised, stateless, anarchist society; there is therefore no reason anarchists should support either side (or both) per se. However, the present situation should interest anarchists since it involves a turning against the British government of previously loyal Unionists. The possibility now therefore exists that many Protestant workers will reject the legitimacy of the British State's rule in Northern Ireland and may indeed begin to look critically at State structures as a whole. Such undermining of subservience is surely a hopeful sign (although it must be recognised that Ulster Protestants, for all their avowed 'Britishness' have always considered themselves Ulstermen first and British second and their subservience has always been primarily to the 'Orange State').

Certainly, the relationship between the Orange and the Red, White and Blue has altered dramatically, especially since the signing at Hillsborough last November of the Anglo-Irish Accord, in which the UK government recognised the 'Irish Dimension' and the 26-County government recognised the 'Loyalist Veto'. A 'United Ulster Loyalist Front' ('Ulster Clubs') pamphlet, distributed at November's 'Ulster Says No' Belfast rally, called the affair a 'constitutional crisis'. That crisis has since deepened and widened. Another pamphlet *We Want Equal Rights*, produced in March '86 by *Equal Citizen* magazine (supposedly biconfessional Unionists demanding 'British Rights for British Citizens in Northern Ireland'), explains: 'Neither Margaret Thatcher nor Garret Fitzgerald was elected by anyone in Northern Ireland. Yet both Prime

Ministers seem to think that they have a right to dictate our future to us'. They propose allowing NI residents to vote for British political parties as a fair non-sectarian election choice. However, although Unionists now realise change is inevitable and mostly accept compromise as unavoidable, there is no unanimity in the response to the 'constitutional crisis'. Some reactions have been quite radical. Consider this extract from an item by 'Connall' in the (pre-Hillsborough) September 1985 issue of the UDA's 'Ulster Information Service' magazine *Ulster*.

'There are no Ulster people involved in the (Anglo-Irish) discussions. These talks are being carried on over our heads, and I mean over ALL our heads – whether we be Protestant or Catholic Ulster people . . . As on so many occasions before, governments will decide that they are the ones who know best for the people. Sections of the political and professional establishment will be found who will fall in with their plans, and then some 'solution' will be imposed, 'democratically' of course, upon the ordinary people. . . Maybe if the ordinary Protestants of Ulster admitted to themselves how little the British Government really cared about them, and the ordinary Catholics of Ulster admitted to themselves how little the Irish Government cared about them, they might begin to find something in common as Ulsterfolk, and start to put an end to this fratricidal strife . . . The ordinary people here should by now have become experts in assessing the double-dealing, the hypocrisy, the deviousness and the falseness of governments and politicians. We have been lied to, cheated, manipulated, made to look fools of, coerced, threatened, jailed and slandered by governments . . . 'Democracy' in the original meaning of the word, means 'government by the people' . . . not just government by politicians . . . yet involvement by ordinary people is the very thing that terrifies politicians and governments. They will go to great lengths to convince the ordinary

people that they couldn't possibly be involved in political matters . . . Our present politicians, and the political structures they are part of, have failed us, and it is time the ordinary people of Ulster began looking for proper alternatives. . . Every step towards giving more power and participation to ordinary people, is a step closer to REAL democracy.'

I don't know how influential such views are in the UDA as a whole; indeed much of 'Ulster' consists of badly written anti-socialist and sectarian diatribes. However, Connall's is not an unrepresentative view – many Loyalists are beginning to question the very Unionist structures of which they are part. Another article in the same issue ran:

'Since the days of Carson (UVF founder member) Unionism had (sic) been a reactionary force. We have a seige mentality – because we have been under seige both to militant Republicanism, bigoted Catholic leaders and perhaps most importantly to our own mentality . . . What we are suggesting is for Ulster Protestants to agree to a radical reappraisal of their own attitudes and our society.'

The current unrest here remains reactionary and introverted, however. Protestants are still more concerned with their national identity than issues such as jobs and housing. Their rejection of British authority is not consciously economically based, anti-imperialist or progressive. If the two broad sections of the working class seem to be moving into similar positions vis a vis British rule, in actuality the sectarian divide has if anything deepened; events are thus unlikely to fall into a Socialist model of class unity, at least until a 'radical reappraisal' has taken place. Meantime, the problem of sectarianism has been aggravated – the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is receiving increasing applications for transfers from families who feel unsafe living in 'mixed' areas.

As to Loyalists' actual feelings about the Agreement, several points emerge, in conversation and from Unionist publications. The first is that loyal little Ulster has been sold down the river; belief that Dublin now influences/dictates policy is allied to fears that this is only the first step and that Britain intends to get rid of the Northern Ireland problem by getting rid of Northern Ireland (which may have some basis in fact now it has largely outlived its usefulness to the ruling class – ie, no longer offers huge profits). Maggie's apparent U-turn also rankles, so soon after her 'out, out, out' rejection of the SDLP/New Ireland Forum report.

Secondly, Loyalists object to the secretive and high-handed way in which

the deal was negotiated. This also extends to objections to the undemocratic manner in which Northern Ireland is routinely governed, through 'Orders in Council' whereby legislation is not subject to ordinary parliamentary discussion or process.

Despite increased cross-border 'anti-terrorist' co-operation (although the Dail still refuses to recognise the presence of the British Army) the pact is felt somehow to represent a nationalist victory. *Workers Weekly*, the (Marxist/Unionist) British and Irish Communist Organisation's newsletter, contended (8 February 1986): 'The Agreement is plainly a concession forced by the continuing IRA campaign of terrorist violence – without the latter, the former is unthinkable.' Whilst the IRA can no doubt take pride in this ability to influence the British government, such concessions have far from impressed many nationalists for whom the fight is for freedom, not concessions, from Britain. Moderate nationalists (eg, the largely middle-class Social Democratic and Labour Party) consider the Agreement a constitutional step in the right direction. This support has been used by extreme Loyalists to 'prove' the pact is a nationalist plot – Ian Paisley's latest broadsheet, *Protestant Blu Print*, claimed (21 March 1986) that during the talks the SDLP were 'kept fully informed and their wishes fully implemented'.

Meantime, whilst most Catholics favour the agreement (12% oppose it), although many supportive nationalists retain Irish unity as the goal, 81% of Protestants are against it. The prestigious *Irish Times* on 12 February 1986 reported an opinion poll showing support for various options presented to the essentially Loyalist sample against the Agreement. Most popular alternative was return to the status quo of Stormont Parliament majority rule (if necessary with guarantees to the minority population). Second choice was continuing Direct Rule; third a power-sharing devolution (eg, the Sunningdale scheme). Few would be happy with UDI and only 5% of the sample wanted a 32-County Ireland. No other options were available and the figures give no indication of preferences. Certainly this tells nothing about how respondents were actually thinking. The three most popular alternatives have already been tried and failed; thus a reassessment is obviously necessary and is now ongoing – whether this will end with the common name of Ulstermen or of Irishmen, and with what political structures, remains to be seen.

In their realisation of the non-democratic nature of British rule of the Six Counties, disillusioned Loyalists are merely discovering what their nationalist counterparts knew long ago. For so long



as populist Unionism offered Protestant workers marginally better conditions than Catholics they readily supported it. Although little has really changed since Stormont was prorogued, Protestants fear their position is being steadily eroded. With no Orange State now to protect them, perhaps there is a chance that the Union (and its supposed benefits) will be shown up for the sham it always was.

At 3.53 pm on 23rd June 1986 in the Stormont Northern Ireland Assembly Chamber, for months now merely an occasional powerless Unionist debating-shop, the Speaker, Mr James Kilfedder, read the London Privy Council's message that the Assembly was to be dissolved. 22 Unionists voted to hold a sit-in and vowed they would only be moved by force. Outside, baton-wielding riot police moved to disperse Loyalist demonstrators trying to enter the hall, and as the politicians continued to debate rioting started outside. Later, the Unionist assemblymen were indeed removed by force, Ian Paisley complaining that he was in the process denied his democratic right to note the numbers of the RUC men responsible and later predicting Civil War in the Six Counties. Yet another British-inspired 'peace initiative' was over.

'The abstentionism of Unionists on local councils in protest against Sinn Fein membership and later disruption protesting against the Anglo-Irish agreement had succeeded where the nationalist paramilitaries had failed – in making Northern Ireland ungovernable. People who refuse to be governed and reject the apparatus of the State cannot be made to do so. It is the loyalist hardliners who are now rioting and attacking State security forces. The outcome of this is uncertain, but the possibility remains that after a break the Assembly may unilaterally reconvene as some sort of 'Northern Ireland Parliament', although it would be powerless within the UK structure and it is unlikely that a unilateral declaration of independence could be made.

Katy Andrews

I would like to thank Colin Craig, Dr A D Sanders of the University of Ulster and the staff of the political collection at the Linen Hall Library in Belfast for their help in preparing this article.

MOST of the article by Katy Andrews came to *Freedom* in April, since when some further Northern Ireland events have occurred.

Most remarkable was the suspension from duty, pending a disciplinary enquiry, of the Assistant Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, John Stalker. Stalker has been friendly for years with a businessman who has never been charged with any offence, but was raided with a search warrant on 9 May. Evidence was seized that Stalker had been with this man during the past six years to a 50th birthday party, a 20th wedding anniversary, a Conservative Club ball, and a fund-raising do for a rugby club, at which functions convicted persons had also been present. Stalker was acquainted with at least one of these crooks, an ex-policeman who had actually served with Stalker in the drug squad. Something damaging against Stalker may yet come out, but as we go to press all allegations published are innocuous, and he looks about to return to his desk.

This event in Manchester is a Northern Ireland event, because Stalker was in course of investigating allegations that the Royal Ulster Constabulary had been shooting IRA suspects in preference to taking them in for questioning. It is reported he threatened the head of the RUC in April, that unless he was given access to certain persons and documents by 1 June he would resign from the investigation and complain the RUC had obstructed it. He was told he had the access he demanded on 16 May as he was off on holiday, and made appointments to interview some top fuzz on 2 June when he came back. He was suspended, and replaced as investigator of the RUC, on 28 May. No comment needed.

M McM

# Money

## FROM COWRIE SHELLS TO CREDIT CARDS



An exhibition at the British Museum, 29th May to 26th October 1986.

THIS exhibition commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Royal Numismatic Society, but is much wider in scope than a numismatic collection. With varied exhibits and profuse labelling, it sets out to tell us, 'not only of the invention, production and spread of coinage and paper money, but also of the powers and influences which control their use and design'.

The visitor can enjoy the artistry and ingenuity of craftsmen, delight in snippets of historic and ethnographic information, smile at curiosities, and occasionally experience a horrific reminder of what money is for. It is a little like going round an exhibition of weapons.

The most familiar use of money is as a medium of exchange. Trade is greatly simplified if everybody agrees, or is compelled by law, to accept some particular commodity (gold, silver, cowrie shells, knives, coins, cigarettes, or whatever) in payment for everything else. Aristotle was among those who thought money was invented for this purpose.

The evidence of this exhibition, however, is that Aristotle was mistaken. The earliest records of money are of its use in payment of taxes, tributes, fines, and compensations. A wall cone authorised by Sun-Kasid, King of Uruk (1865-1804 BC), lists the values of commodities in terms of silver by weight; one shekel for three measures of barley, twelve mina of wool, ten mina of copper, or three measures of sesame oil. This is not a list of price controls set up in a market place, but a list of equivalent values set up in the tax office, for those paying and collecting taxes in kind.

The ordinary method of distributing goods is set out in the exhibition label for the example of 'stone money' from the island of Yap, a stone disc about half a metre across (the largest measure four metres). 'Stone money' is used for ceremonial purposes only, but the islanders had no other money. In Western countries, the label explains, 'goods and services are typically purchased on the market. Communities in traditional tribal societies, in contrast, tend to be more

self-sufficient, and also make use of social networks of gift-giving and redistribution to sustain themselves'. The ordinary people of Uruk lived in 'traditional tribal societies' (as indeed did the ordinary people of mediaeval Europe).

Trade occurred, but not often enough for money to be less cumbersome than barter. A written contract from Thebes, dated 1100 BC, is for the exchange of a bull for stated quantities of grain, oil, honey, cloth and wool. The parties agree that the goods exchanged are worth a certain amount of copper, but no copper (money) was actually used.

Money is anything regularly used to make payments. *Coinage* is money regulated and guaranteed by the government. Coinage originated in Lydia (a Greek state in Asia Minor) about 600BC. Electrum, a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver, was mined there and used as money throughout Greece. The first coins were just ingots of electrum, stamped with the seal of the Lydian king to certify their weight. Coins need only be counted, and so were more convenient as money than irregular ingots which needed weighing. They rapidly became fashionable, and the kings of Lydia quickly realised they could turn a profit by certifying the coins to contain more electrum than they did. Croesus, the proverbially rich, was King of Lydia from 560 to 546 BC.

Coinage originated independently, about a century later, in China. There, it appears, payments due were assessed not in terms of metal by weight, but in terms of numbers of knives and hoes. Their first coins were bronze models of knives and hoes bearing a government stamp. Their shape was gradually simplified, while in the West, bronze tokens were used instead of losably small quantities of gold and silver. By late Roman times, entirely independently, both the Roman empire and the Chinese empire had evolved coinages of bronze discs.

I was intrigued by the 17th century trinkets called 'box crowns', made of real coins which are hollowed out; what looks like an ordinary coin can be unscrewed into two halves and is full of pictures. I learned, too, that the adjective 'wildcat' was first used of the 'wildcat banks' which issued banknotes in 19th century America;

the characteristic they shared with wild cats was the habit of departing without leaving tracks. The Nationwide Building Society has installed a money dispenser, where in return for pressing two buttons and scanning a small amount of advertising one may obtain a souvenir note. The Midanbury Mint, a group of show-craftsmen who mint coins by the medieval method, had their stand in the Museum yard for the start of the exhibition and will be there again 8th-14th September.

### Anarchism and money

Coercive institutions are many. Threats of death, mutilation, imprisonment, banishment, beating, bad weather, disease, and punishment after death were all important means of compulsion in the past and are still in frequent use. But since people have been describing themselves as 'anarchists' and 'socialists' and 'communists' the principal means of compulsion has been the threat of poverty.

The first self-styled anarchist, Proudhon, believed that money might be used to distribute wealth equitably, and proposed financial reforms which inspired the modern Social Credit Party. Most anarchists, however, perceived that the very existence of money produces a distinction between haves and have-nots, and is therefore incompatible with the equality which is a primary requirement of liberty. Furthermore, the prevention of wild price fluctuations requires money in the form of coinage which is centrally regulated (by a 'delegate conference' or whoever), and so puts economic affairs under central control. The anarchist requirement is summed up in Cabet's aphorism, 'from each according to his/her abilities, to each according to his/her needs' (the possessive is gender-free in Cabet's French).

Marxists also embrace Cabet's aphorism, and in fact the most notable attempt to set up a moneyless society was in Marxist Kampuchea during the presidency of Pol Pot. As the peasants lived in a largely moneyless 'traditional tribal society' the rulers encouraged the moneyless ideal by forcing the townspeople to become peasants and eliminating all those (except themselves) who had come into contact with foreign capitalism. The result was increased misery for all.

The Kampuchean experiment, however, differs from the anarchist notion of a moneyless society in two respects. One was that coercive institutions other than money were retained; the threat of penury was replaced by worse threats, of torture and death. The other was that the needs of individuals were assessed by persons other than the individuals themselves.

In anarchy, people assess their own needs and act on their own responsibility. The anarchist distribution method was described by Jack Robinson as 'a super-market without the till'. **Donald Room**

# Money

## MONEY MONEY MONEY



HOW does a genuinely free society cope with a complex technology with a highly mobile labour force, and ensure that if it has a money economy, the old, sick, disabled etc gain access to the means of life?

First, let's look at a theoretical basis for a libertarian society with a money economy.

Now, if freedom is to be *universal*, then I cannot see how one can logically exclude the market. An anarchist revolution aims to remove hierarchy, and its basis, coercive power, which are at the root of the present maldistribution of property and goods in an *un-free* market. Through democratising the ownership of the means of production, all workers would gain an equal share in and thereby control over the enterprises in which they work; thus promoting anarchy, liberty, community and a rough equality.

By way of empirical support, adherents of this position can point to the existence of numerous workers' co-ops which are functioning *now*. As long as these collectives are run in a fully democratic fashion, then they constitute islands of anarchy within the dominantly capitalist money economy. Failures, I suspect, have far more to do with being under-capitalised than anything else — no doubt the banks are not very keen on them! It seems to me that anarchists make far too little propaganda from these achievements. I don't think people are much impressed by polemic, but practical *working* solutions are a different matter.

This model does however have drawbacks. It embraces only those people working within the productive sector of society. What about those who can't work and thereby can't earn money to gain access to the means of life? If one does not invoke the principle of mutual aid, then one is left to accept the need of some form of social security system, presumably financed by taxation. To anarchists this will sound horrendous, but one could visualise collectivised agencies distributing higher benefits than now through a straightforward system for claimants. There is of course bureaucracy here ....

Furthermore a future anarchist society would have to contend with the highly

centralised legacy of capitalism, a far cry from the de-centralised anarchist ideal. If the few workers in highly productive, automated industries each gain their share in the ownership of those industries, then they will be far wealthier than most others. How is this situation reconcilable with the objective of a rough *social equality*? How long will it take to unscramble the situation and by what means? Will there be conflict between the wealthy and the less wealthy? I am not going to attempt to answer these questions; the point is that anarchists ought to recognise their validity and give them due consideration.

So far I have considered a collectivised money economy, an option which I think is practical and has some chance of gaining popular support. However, I still hanker after the moneyless economy and feel strongly attracted to Situationist writings which reject the notion of monetary exchange altogether. If we assume the success of the social revolution outlined above, is it not conceivable that the Situationist dream *could* become reality, once the libertarian culture had

become firmly established as the dominant socialising force? Furthermore, if we assume that technology continues to develop at a pace, an automated post-scarcity society may be possible on a global scale. Future libertarians might then wonder quite why they were bothering to exchange money for goods when there was so much of both about!

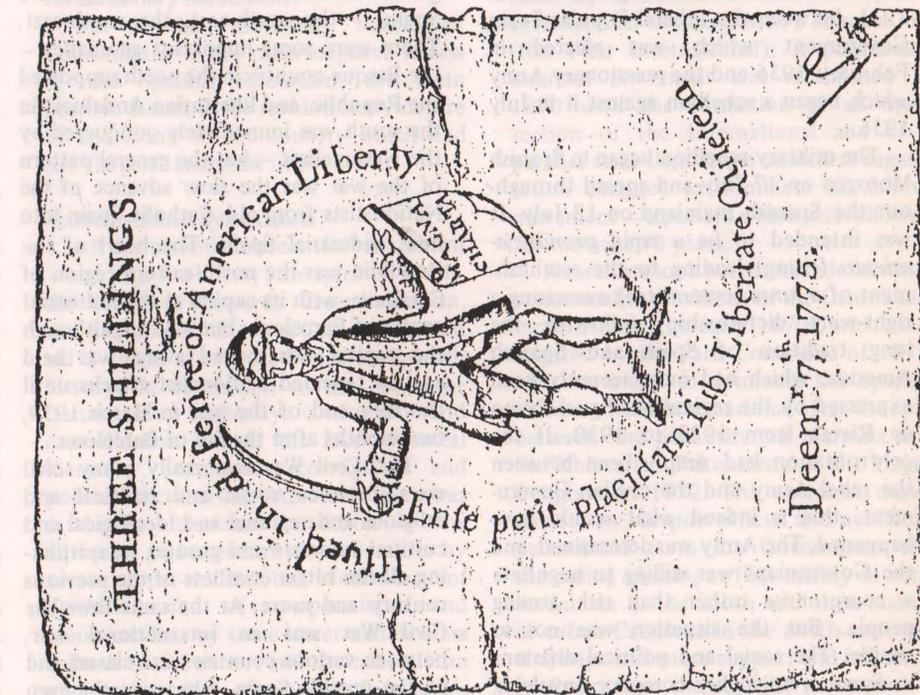
Would the money economy then wither away, or perhaps continue, where appropriate on a smaller scale? It should be remembered that even within the present grasping individualist culture, moneyless economic activity *does* take place, albeit on a small scale and usually between friends — think of all those loans and spontaneous offers of help that you have made and received. Would not a libertarian society and culture bring about a flowering of such tendencies?

These optimistic speculations apart, we have to grapple with the economic-organisational problems outlined earlier. If we are serious about anarchism, we must relate it directly to real social problems. We don't need 'blueprints', but as responsible revolutionaries we *do* need to establish the broad direction in which we wish to go and sort out the organisational problems that arise from it.

All power to the imagination!

Jay Freeman

(Editorial note: We disagree with our correspondent's description of a moneyless economy as a 'Situationist dream'. We think the abolition of money is a traditional aim of mainstream, orthodox anarchism. A 'Kropotkinesque dream', perhaps.)



Revolutionary money, designed and produced by Paul Revere.

# Spain

## CIVIL WAR AND REVOLUTION

OF ALL the many significant events whose 50th or 100th anniversaries are being commemorated during 1986, none means so much to anarchists as the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and Revolution in July 1936. The dramatic developments then and during the subsequent three years represent the most important example and test of anarchism in practice throughout the whole history of our movement, and the present anniversary provides a good opportunity to reconsider the episode from the anarchist point of view. It would be impossible to tell the full story here – indeed it is unnecessary, since there are several excellent books which describe and discuss the general pattern or particular aspects – but it is worth indicating some of the areas which deserve special attention.

### Civil War and World War

The historians and the media always concentrate on the Civil War. This began when the various polarisations between the various extremes in Spanish society eventually developed into a full-scale armed confrontation, under the bourgeois Republic which had been proclaimed in 1931, between the Liberal Popular Front Government which was elected in February 1936 and the reactionary Army which began a rebellion against it in July 1936.

The military rebellion began in Spanish Morocco on 17 July and spread throughout the Spanish mainland on 18 July. It was intended to be a rapid *pronunciamiento* (rising) leading to the establishment of a *junta* (committee) exercising a right-wing dictatorship, following the long tradition of Spain and Spanish America, which had most recently been expressed by the regime of Miguel Primo de Rivera from 1923 to 1930. If the confrontation had simply been between the rebel Army and the civilian Government, this is indeed what would have happened. The Army was determined, and the Government was willing to negotiate a compromise rather than risk arming people. But the situation was not so simple. The social and political divisions in Spain were highly complex, involving not just rich and poor and Right and Left, but semi-feudal landowners and landless

labourers, great industrialists and industrial workers, the powerful and wealthy Catholic church and the alienated and anti-clerical intelligentsia, Fascist Falangists on the extreme right and revolutionary anarchists on the extreme left, with all sorts of conservatives and liberals and radicals and socialists and syndicalists in between.

In the event the military rebellion was resisted by the bulk of the ordinary people over most of the country, and on 19 July the Government surrendered to its own citizens and distributed arms. The two sides quickly occupied about half the country each and mobilised mass support. On one side – the Nationalists – the Army was joined by the landowners and industrialists, the Church and most of the political Right. On the other side – the Loyalists or Republicans – the Government was joined by the workers and peasants, the intellectuals and most of the political Left.

Roughly speaking, the Nationalists gained control of most of traditionalist Spain – the north-west, the centre, and the south-west – whereas the Republic gained control of most of progressive Spain – the north-east, the south-east. There were some important anomalies – the Basque country in the north supported the Republic, and libertarian Andalucía in the south was immediately conquered by the Nationalists – but the general pattern of the war was the slow advance of the Nationalists from old, Catholic Spain into new, industrial Spain. The heart of the Republic was the north-eastern region of Catalonia, with its capital at the industrial centre of Barcelona; but Madrid, although the capital was moved away, was held against repeated Nationalist attacks until the very end of the war in March 1939, two months after the fall of Barcelona.

The Civil War was really many civil wars, between social and political and religious and regional and ideological and cultural interests and groups, recapitulating all the bitter conflicts of the previous century and more. At the same time the Civil War was an international war, between various countries and classes and parties outside Spain, rehearsing the even more bitter conflict of the Second World War. Throughout Europe and beyond,

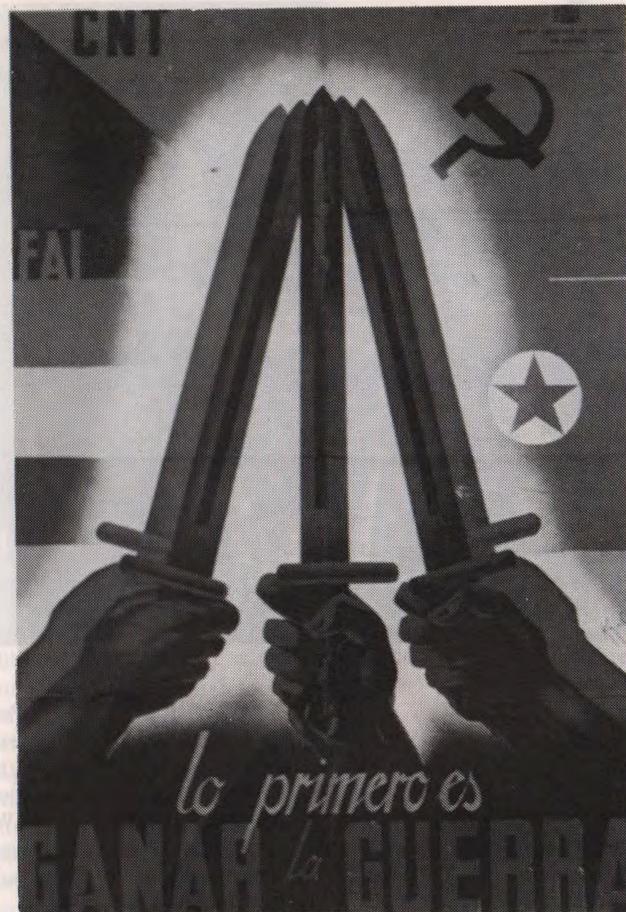
politically conscious people identified with their parallel groups in Spain. On the Right, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany helped the Nationalists from beginning to end; on the Left, Soviet Russia helped the Republic from soon after the beginning until nearly the end. The Western democracies (including Britain) maintained a policy of 'Non-intervention' – which meant letting the Nationalists win and risking the Fascists taking control, rather than helping the Republic and risking the revolutionaries taking control (rather like the Spanish Government in July 1936) – but their left-wing parties supported the Republic, and thousands of left-wing individuals went to fight Fascism in Spain.

In the event the dominant factor was not which forces were superior in Spain, but whether Hitler and Mussolini would give more assistance than Stalin or the International Brigades; and when Stalin began to withdraw his assistance in late 1938, the Republic was doomed. The complex story of these developments is the tragic history of the Spanish Civil War. But although it was obviously the most important event in Spain during the late 1930s, a very significant event of the same period was the social revolution in the Republic.

### Revolution and Counter-revolution

The Civil War occurred because the mass of the people in general and the forces of the revolutionary left in particular ignored the Government and resisted the Army in July 1936. But many of those who thus saved the Republic still ignored the Government and at the same time started a radical revolution against it. The bourgeois state lost virtually all its power either to the rebelling Army or to the resisting people. In the Nationalist zone a new militarist state was established, but in the Loyalist zone the state was not abolished but withered away – as Engels had said it would, though not how he had hoped it would. In the Republic political affairs were taken over by the revolutionary parties and the people's committees, and economic affairs were taken over by the syndicalist and socialist trade unions. A large proportion of the land and of trade and industry was collectivised, the former owners and managers being replaced by workers' and peasants' councils and assemblies.

The result was the most profound and at the same time the most popular large-scale revolution in history – much more so than the English, American, Mexican and Russian revolutions before it, or the Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese and other revolutions after it – but it has been widely neglected or distorted, partly because it took place in the middle rather than before or after a bitter civil war, and



partly because it was dominated by libertarian ideas and actions which were then, and still are, disliked by most journalists and historians. Nevertheless it was well documented at the time and it has been well described and discussed since then.

Of course there were all sorts of errors and excesses in the Spanish Revolution – such as the use of terrorism (involving the murder of several thousand civilians in the Republic during the second half of 1936) and of authoritarianism (involving the enforcement of collectivisation on unwilling workers and peasants as well as on middle-class dissidents) – but this has been true of every revolution in history. Of course it did not last – but it was destroyed not so much by internal defects as by external attacks, from the Nationalist Army and Fascist regime which gradually conquered the Republic and imposed an overt counter-revolution in its growing territory, and also from the Republican Government as it recovered its power (and especially from the Communist Party), which tried to keep Spain safe for democracy and imposed a more covert counter-revolution in its shrinking territory.

The Communist Party of Spain was relatively small in 1936, but it immediately opposed both the rebel Army and the revolutionary people, adopted a firmly middle-class position, supported the Republic and exploited the military

assistance from Soviet Russia to increase its power in the Government. Just as in the Russian revolution 20 years earlier and as in so many revolutions since, Communism emerged as a major counter-revolutionary force and one of the most serious and successful opponents of liberty, equality and fraternity in the revolutionary movement.

But if the reactionary nature of Communism is the main negative lesson of the Spanish revolution, the main positive lesson is the revolutionary nature of anarchism in the country which had the largest anarchist movement.

### Anarchists and Syndicalists

All the essential elements of anarchism – the urge for liberty, the spirit of revolt, the tendency towards decentralisation, the practice of direct action and mutual aid – were strong traditions in Spanish history, in opposition to the dominant traditions of authority, conformity and centralisation and in the face of social hierarchy, economic corruption and political dictatorship. As usual, there was a double libertarian tradition – the advocacy of mutualism and federalism by some upper-middle-class followers of Proudhon and of co-operativism and communalism by some lower-middle-class followers of Fourier, and the collectivism and communism of working-class rebels both on the land and in the growing industry. There was a series of social

experiments and of popular rebellions throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which showed increasingly libertarian features.

Conscious anarchism, which developed during the 1860s especially among French-speaking and Italian-speaking socialists, was introduced into Spain from 1868 by associates of Bakunin in the International Working Men's Association (the First International). A permanent national movement was established in 1870 with the formation of an open section of the International and of a parallel semi-clandestine anarchist organisation designed to dominate the labour movement – a pattern which was followed for the next 70 years.

Anarchists took part in the federalist and communalist rebellions of the Cantonalist movement of the early 1870s, which was inspired by the Paris Commune of 1871, and continued to dominate the Spanish section of the International after the split between the authoritarian Marxists and the libertarian Bakuninists at the Hague Congress in 1872. The anarchist movement grew, despite official and unofficial persecution from the Government and the ruling classes, at first mainly in rural Andalucía in the south and then mainly in urban Catalonia in the north-east, and it always had more support and influence in Spain than the socialist movement – contrary to the pattern almost everywhere else.

Anarchists were persecuted with great violence, and from the 1880s they responded with violence; the persecution continued, they resorted to terrorism, and the authorities retaliated with torture. This pattern of polarisation, which followed that in the rest of society, led to a series of strikes and risings culminating in the virtual civil war of the Tragic Week in Barcelona in 1909. There were also constructive aspects of the movement. Attempts to spread libertarian education culminated in the work of Francisco Ferrer, until he was executed after being framed for responsibility for the Tragic Week. Attempts to improve the status of women led to the formation of independent women's groups, such as *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women).

Attempts to develop the labour movement culminated in the rise of syndicalism, which spread from France to Spain and led in 1910 to the formation of the CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo - National Confederation of Labour). This became the largest labour organisation in Spain and, although it was never officially anarchist and always included many non-anarchists, it exerted a powerful libertarian influence. At the same time anarchism attracted many middle-class people, especially young professionals and intellectuals, and became an integral part of cultural life.

The syndicalists were persecuted with great violence, just as before. After the First World War there was a virtually continuous series of strikes and risings, during which the authorities used *pistoleros* (hired assassins) to murder syndicalist leaders, and some anarchists (especially Durruti and Ascaso) replied in kind. In 1921 the CNT provisionally affiliated to the Communist International, under the influence of the Russian Revolution; but in 1922 it affiliated instead to the revived International Working Men's Association, which followed a libertarian line in reaction to the Communist regime. In 1927 the pure anarchists formed the FAI (Federacion Anarquista Iberica - Iberian Anarchist Federation) as the latest of the semi-clandestine organisations designed to dominate the labour movement, and most CNT leaders were also FAI members.

Under FAI influence the CNT continued its insurrectionary line. In 1931 a group of 30 moderate CNT leaders (the *Treintistas*) protested against the intransigent policy and proposed closer relations with the new Republic. They were expelled, causing a split in the CNT until 1936, and many syndicalists and even anarchists did at least vote for left-wing parties in 1936 - hence the victory of the Popular Front, which prompted the Army rebellion, and thus the Civil War and the Revolution.

But despite the nature and extent of



Grenade throwers of the Durruti column, August 1936.

the Revolution, the anarchists and syndicalists came under increasing pressure, trying at the same time to win the War and the Revolution, fighting Fascists on one side and Communists on the other. During late 1936 the CNT-FAI leaders felt forced to join the Government, first in the regions and then in the Republican Cabinet, which alienated many of the followers. Then, during 1937 the Communists forced the Government to attack militant anarchists and syndicalists, as well as left-wing socialists. Meanwhile the Revolution was gradually co-opted and then destroyed. By the time the Civil War was lost, in early 1939, the libertarian movement, crushed from both sides, had already lost the peace.

#### Spain and us

Anarchists in Britain responded to the Spanish Civil War and Revolution like anarchists in other countries and other socialists in this country, by giving all the support and solidarity they could. But for nearly 20 years anarchism had been in deep decline, following the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and it took some time and much work to mount effective help for the Spanish comrades. Nevertheless, money and supplies were collected, orphans and refugees were given hospitality, and the anarchist case was presented in the media. Emma Goldman came to London as the representative of the CNT-FAI, and formed the SIA (Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista - International Antifascist Solidarity) as a propaganda front.

The British anarchist press was almost non-existent in July 1936, but after some false starts Vernon Richards began *Spain and the World*, an 'Anti-fascist Fortnightly' which appeared from December 1936 to December 1938 and which resumed the

periodical work of the Freedom Press (and eventually led to the present series of *Freedom*). By that time, of course, the Civil War and the Revolution were both well under way - indeed the Civil War was already beginning to go wrong and the Revolution was already coming under pressure.

*Spain and the World* tried to present the truth about the Civil War and the Revolution, and even about the anarchist and syndicalist movements, without either concealing the facts or dividing the libertarian forces, avoiding both mere propaganda and mere sectarianism. It remains one of the few publications of the period which were worth reading at the time and are still worth re-reading 50 years later, and which have value as a source of both information and comment that don't need revision or recantation.

It is therefore not surprising that one of the most valuable books on the part played by anarchists and syndicalists in Spain is Vernon Richards's *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* (1953, 1972, 1983). And if *Freedom* and the Freedom Press have played a worthy part since then it is by maintaining the same tradition of combining sympathetic with critical comment on the basis of truth and reason.

It is all too easy here and now to draw the lessons of the Spanish Civil War and Revolution, but things were different outside Spain then and things are even more different now even inside Spain. Perhaps the most important lesson is to learn the lessons at the time and place rather than later or elsewhere. But it is still worth returning to that wonderful and awful episode to discover what some people did for the libertarian revolution there and then and to consider what we could do here and now.

NW

## Books on Spain

FREEDOM Bookshop has some thirty titles on Spain and the Spanish Revolution.

First place must go to Vernon Richards: *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* (3rd edition, 1983, 256pp, £2.95), the decisive critique of the CNT leadership's fateful collaboration. This edition has an extensive critical bibliography of literature in English, Spanish, French and Italian. It should be read in conjunction with Burnett Bolloten's *The Spanish Revolution: the left and the struggle for power during the Civil War* (664pp, £9). With its exhaustive bibliography and fifty-page index, this important source book is exceptional value.

Richards reviews the well-known *The Spanish Civil War* by Hugh Thomas (3rd edition, 912pp, £8.95), which has excellent maps and is good on the military campaigns. Among other general surveys, David Mitchell's *The Spanish Civil War* (208pp, £5.95) based on the Granada TV series, quotes the testimony of eye-witnesses on all sides and is well illustrated, and two books by Paul Preston - *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War: reform, reaction and revolution in the Second Republic* (264pp, £6.50), and *Revolution and War in Spain 1931-39* (299pp, £6.95) give an idea of the complexity of the situation in a series of essays. Paul Preston's *The Spanish Civil War* (Weidenfeld, £10.95) was published during June and will no doubt be reviewed in due course. *The Spanish Revolution (Anarchism in Action)*, from Tower Hamlets DAM-IWA (distributed by ASP, c/o BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, £1.00) a 48 page illustrated pamphlet, is an attractively produced short outline of the revolution. Franz Borkenau's *The Spanish Cockpit* (300pp, £4.95) written in 1937, is one of the best accounts of the war and the revolution.

On the collectives, Gaston Leval's *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution* (368pp, hardback, £6) has sections on agriculture, industry and the social services, and the translator, Vernon Richards, has added an introduction and bibliography. A far-reaching social revolution and its failures are considered in a challenging manner. Also, Jerome R Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* (336pp, £9.25). Casas Viejas is an Andalusian town, the scene of a notable revolutionary insurrection and reactionary suppression in 1933. Mintz has produced a combination of oral and documentary history of much wider significance than a single episode. Well written, well illustrated and cheap. Augustin Souchy Bauer's *With the Peasants of Aragon* (145pp, £3.00) is an account of a visit that the

author made with Emma Goldman to towns and villages in Aragon in the spring of 1937. Emma Goldman's own writings, speeches and broadcasts are brought together in *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution* (346pp, £6.00).

Graham Kelsey's *Civil War and Civil Peace: libertarian Aragon 1936-37* (78pp, £2.50) with detailed notes and bibliography, covers the collectivisation, political and military struggles, the attack on the libertarian regime by the Republican government, and the Nationalist conquest in 1938. Ronald Fraser's *Blood of Spain* (628pp, £5.95) is an oral history by eye-witness participants. Liz Willis's *Women in the Spanish Revolution* (Solidarity Pamphlet 48, 30 pence) is a balanced assessment, with a bibliography.

Some contemporary reports and documents: *Towards a Fresh Revolution* published in Barcelona in 1938 by the Friends of Durruti, reprinted by Drowned Rat (80 pence). *The Tragedy of Spain* by Rudolf Rocker (48pp, £1.20), a pamphlet first published by Freie Arbeiter Stimme, New York, 1937, one of the few writings to oppose both right wing and communist propaganda. The British response may be represented by George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (246pp, £1.95), 1938, which includes his 'Looking Back on the Spanish War' of 1943, and *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, volume 1: An Age Like This, 1920-40* (624pp, £5.95) for his essay 'Spilling the Spanish Beans' and reviews of Borkenau, Jellinek, Koestler and others. Orwell went to Spain as ignorant as anyone, and exposed the press lies. *Homage to Catalonia* was reissued and sold in Freedom Bookshop. And we have on order Anthony Aldgate's *Cinema and History (British newsreels and the Spanish Civil War)* (224pp, £5.95), an illustrated account of the way the cinema newsreels treated news in the days before television, the impression gained from the media by the general public was largely false.

*The Penguin Book of Spanish Civil War Verse* edited by Valentine Cunningham (510pp, £4.50) is especially valuable for its long introduction, and includes John Cornford's letters to Margot Heinemann; Auden, Spender, Roy Campbell... One likes Auden's 'Spain':

Tomorrow for the young the poets  
exploding like bombs...

Today the expending of powers  
On the flat ephemeral pamphlet and the  
boring meeting...

In Spain, the liberal poet Lorca was executed at dawn on 19 August 1936, one of hundreds, but his international reputation brought world attention to the executions, to the embarrassment of the Franco government. Ian Gibson's *The Assassination of Federico Garcia Lorca* (272pp, £3.95) is the classic study.

We hope soon to have in stock four titles from Black Rose - *Durruti: the people armed* by Abel Paz; *Anarchist Organisation: the history of the FAI* by Juan Gomez Casas; *Anarchist Collectives: workers' self-management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-39* by Sam Dolgoff; and *The Spanish Anarchists: the heroic years 1868-1936* by Murray Bookchin - further details in future Bookshop Notes. *Revolution and counter-revolution in Spain* by Felix Morrow (295pp, £3.95), a Trotskyist view, might be read in connection with both Vernon Richards and Sam Dolgoff. *Fighting the Revolution 1: Makhno, Durruti, Zapata* (£1.00), the Freedom Press pamphlet, is useful material for a study of the tension between anarchist organisation and military requirements.

*A New World in our Hearts*, edited by Albert Meltzer, (100pp, £2.40) spans the entire history of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement from the nineteenth century to the present day, and includes Max Dashar's 'The Origins of the Revolutionary Movement in Spain' (1934, and reprinted by Coptic Press in 1967); 'What is the CNT?' by Jose Peirats, whose 'Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution' is unfortunately out of print; and a collection of Meltzer's own writings on Spain. *Sabate: guerrilla extraordinary* by Antonio Tellez (208pp, £2.95) tells the story of Francisco Sabate who carried out guerrilla warfare against Franco's dictatorship until he was killed in 1960 - a unique book since Tellez was a confidant of the activists. *Miguel Garcia's Story* (72pp, £1.00) was the original first part of 'Franco's Prisoner' (out of print). Garcia was an activist who, in 1949, was sentenced to death, later commuted to thirty years imprisonment. Released after twenty years, he came to England, where he became widely known before his death in 1981. For activity following the death of Sabate, see *The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group*, (£1.50) edited by Albert Meltzer, including a chronology and documents of the First of May Group.

New books are appearing as we go to press: *No Pasaran! Photographs and posters of the Spanish Civil War* (72pp, £5.95) is the exhibition catalogue with photographs by Robert Capa and David Seymour alongside less well known and previously unpublished work by Spanish photographers Antonio Campana, Agusti Centelles and others. *Images of the Spanish Civil War* (Allen & Unwin, £14.95) was published in June. Order them all from Freedom Bookshop in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. If ordering from Great Britain add 10% for postage and packing; if ordering from abroad add 20%. Make out cheques, in sterling, payable to Freedom Press.

CC

# Censorship

## THE CENSORSHIP OF PORNOGRAPHY: AN ANARCHIST VIEW

THE interesting article by the Feminist Anti-Censorship Task Force (FACT) (*Freedom*, April 1986) points out that feminists are not all united in defining what pornography is, nor do they all call for censorship. Attention to this topic in *Freedom* has been paralleled in the *Bulletin* of the British Psychological Society over the past 18 months. Perhaps we may learn something from the psychologists' long-drawn and extensive debate. This *Bulletin* is available in some libraries, and I make no apology for appending a substantial bibliography here.

### The effects of pornography on attitudes and behaviour

The above was the title of an erudite article appearing in the BPS *Bulletin* (Masterson, 1984). It has been followed by no less than 14 letters appearing month by month, many of them from committed feminists calling for censorship. The first letter (Prince, 1984) attacked the original article and argued:

1. Censorship is both useless and is undesirable in itself;
2. Despite all research, no causal link has been established between exposure to pornography and oppressive sexual behaviour;
3. Calling for censorship is counter-productive in that it diverts attention from real and fundamental issues concerning undesirable sexual attitudes and behaviour;
4. Calls for censorship stem from entirely subjective judgements as to what is and is not offensive.

From the later letters, what is so apparent is the sheer *ignorance* about pornography displayed by those presenting the feminist case. Perhaps they have led very sheltered lives. Again and again they refer to Dworkin (1981) as though she were the final authority. In fact, she is one of the silliest of the ultra-feminist writers. Her thesis is, of course, that pornography consists *exclusively* of images that degrade women, and this ex-cathedra pronouncement is taken by the pro-censorship feminist lobby as unquestionable. How complex the question really is I hope to show presently.

### What is pornography?

'What exactly is pornography?' asks John Broom (*Freedom*, 1986). Some writers distinguish between pornography and eroticism (eg, Eynsenck and Nias, 1978; Steinham, 1980), but the matter is very confused. If we carefully examine the two terms I am afraid that they refer to the same phenomena. The distinction would appear to lie upon the well-known continuum of 'I - you - he': ('I have broadminded tastes - you go in for erotica - he revels in pornography'). Words change over the centuries, but in order to understand something about pornography we need to pay attention to etymology. The word pornography stems from the Greek roots *porne* = a prostitute, *graphos* = writing. Thus literally pornography is 'writing about prostitutes', but taken more broadly we may consider Webster's definition of 'The depiction of erotic behaviour (as in pictures and writing) intended to cause sexual excitement' (Webster, 1983). In an earlier edition of Webster we read 'Pornography: licentious painting employed to decorate the walls of rooms sacred to Bacchanalian orgies, examples of which exist in Pompeii'. The association between sexual excitement and the worship of Bacchus (drunkenness) is of course an ancient one, and the Bacchae were *women* who sometimes made men their victims. The idea that pornography is designed to excite men exclusively is a particularly silly one, the product of the prudish upbringing of girls in maidenly ignorance.

Words such as *pornograph*, *pornographer*, *pornerastic* and *pornocracy* all have an etymology deriving from the stated Greek roots. The last-named term is of interest in that it refers to the 'Dominating influence of harlots; spec. the government of Rome during the first half of the tenth century' (Shorter OED). In that era it was a clique of powerful women who dominated the power-politics of the Papal court, using sex as a means to their end.

Nowadays pornography does not simply mean 'writing about prostitutes'. Its purpose, whether through the medium of writing, pictures, stage shows, video films, or demotic speech, is as Webster tells us, to cause sexual excitement. Those

who make money out of it are quite indifferent as to the type of pornography they purvey. Ultra-feminists such as Brownmiller (1975) who represent pornography as a male invention designed to 'dehumanize' women, state their opinions without supportive evidence. In fact, commercial pornographers couldn't care less whether their wares tend to *degrade* or *exalt* women; they are concerned with the profit motive only. It must be realised that *pornography is not necessarily concerned with women at all*. It is concerned with sexuality - heterosexual, homosexual and quasisexuality. As our society is predominantly heterosexual, naturally the bulk of pornography is concerned with relations between the sexes. But there is plenty of homosexual pornography, pornography directed towards children (male and female), concerned with violence (the targets being male, female or indeterminate) with fetishistic objects (leather, rubber, furs, etc.), or with animals. Remember the popular Woody Allen pornographic film in which one long sequence was concerned with a sheep as a sexual object?

### Pornography and violence

A very great deal of this depicts the violent aggressor as a woman, and the subservient recipient a man. The term 'masochist' derives from the novelist Leopold von Sacher-Masoch whose best known work, *Venus in Furs*, (1925) depicts the delights of being beaten and humiliated by a dominating woman, a feature that characterised the novelist's own life. The poet Algernon Swinburne also celebrated the pleasures of being beaten and humiliated by a woman, his feelings being conveyed in his little-known pornographic verses. Even such relatively mild poems of Swinburne as *Dolores: Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs* (Swinburne, 1916) make his sexual proclivities quite clear. If a man suffered from paranoia, as do a section of the feminists, he could easily work up all this into an opposing myth that pornography consists of images of women degrading and dominating men.

Violent pornography concerning the beating of the bottoms of children is prevalent in Britain. Curiously, exposure to this class of pornography may serve to *lessen* the incidence of this practice among schoolteachers. Schoolteachers defend the practice of caning boys' bottoms on the grounds that it is necessary for 'discipline', many of them being quite unaware that they are indulging in a sexual perversion - 'the English vice', which has been extensively documented by Gibson (1978). Exposure to flagellant pornography may make schoolteachers aware of just what they are indulging in, and more likely to abandon the nasty practice. I knew a

headmaster who gave up his job rather than continue to cane boys, once he realised the nature of his vice. In his sex life he then sought willing partners.

### Different theses about pornography

Dworkin-ites typically ignore the huge weight of evidence contrary to their thesis. Thus when Nicholas Gassman (1985) asked: 'If pornography is "images which degrade women", are publications such as *Playgirl*, which show nude men, not pornography?' The feminist reply was that *Playgirl* was - '... adding to the oppression of women, amongst other things by helping him (Gassman) to feel more comfortable about being able to buy and look at women's bodies because "they can do it too if they want"'. (Guinan, 1985).

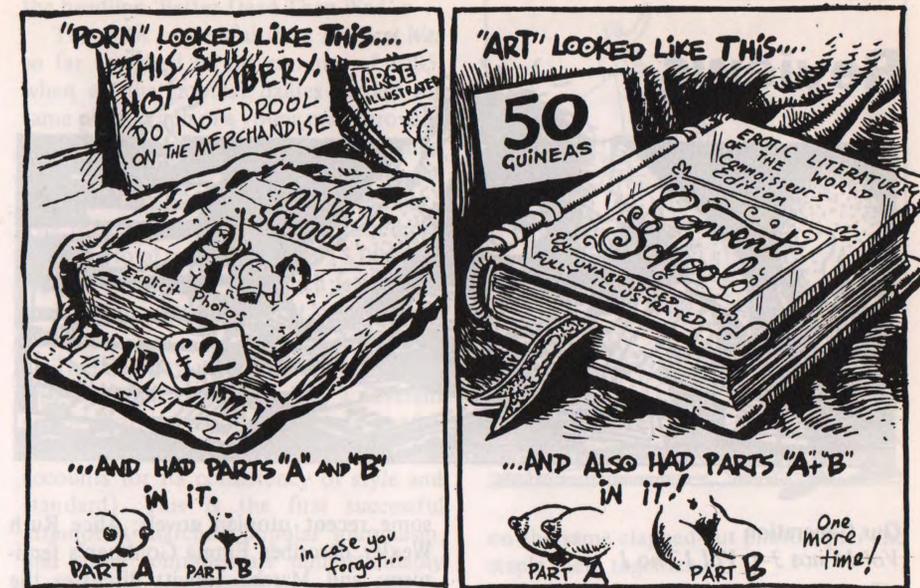
So, by the same logic, *Playboy* must add to the oppression of men! It enables women to feel more comfortable about being able to buy a look at men's bodies, etc. Heads I win, tails you lose.

That all pornography tends to degrade and oppress women is taken as an unquestionable premise. Griffin (1981) argues that pornography doesn't do what we've always supposed it to do, but suppresses 'eros' and silence the rebellious sexual urges! Diamond (1980) attributes to pornography the function of social control in keeping women in subjection. Her thesis may be contrasted with that of George Orwell: in *Nineteen Eighty Four* the state distributed pornography to the proles, but to absorb and deflect their dangerous pent-up energy.

Space hardly permits me to outline the religious theses about pornography, as expounded in the Protestant/Evangelical writing of John Court (1980), or the representations of the *Catholic Herald* to the Home Office Commission. Like the ultra-feminists, they are not content with preaching at us, but call for the big stick of censorship by the state. As for the Marxist thesis - surely you can write that yourselves if you know the correct formula.

### The central issue for anarchists

Anarchists will hardly call for legal censorship, but what is more important for us is the question of censorship by the climate of opinion. I find much pornography highly distasteful, but my own emotional reactions are no more valid arbiters of taste than the next person's. If some people enjoy some form of pornography, that is their business, and they should not allow the prudish of the feminist, Christian, Marxist or any other camp to intimidate them into being apologetic about what they find interesting, amusing or gratifying. Being adult, I no longer find the juicier passages of *Leviticus* stimulating, but everyone has a right to indulge whatever interests



Distinction between pornography and erotic art prior to the 1960s.  
H. Emerson and T. Manley (1982) A. B. Seize It, *Knockabout Comics* 4.

him or her at whatever stage of development they may be. I write this in no spirit of patronage, believing as I do that the fun and satisfactions that we get in childhood are equally as valid as those we get in later years. I get no thrill from reading Swinburne's *Dolores*, nor would I ever have enjoyed having my bottom beaten by his ideal cruel mistress. But whether Swinburne or I have had more fun out of life, or formed more deeply satisfying human relationships, I really do not know.

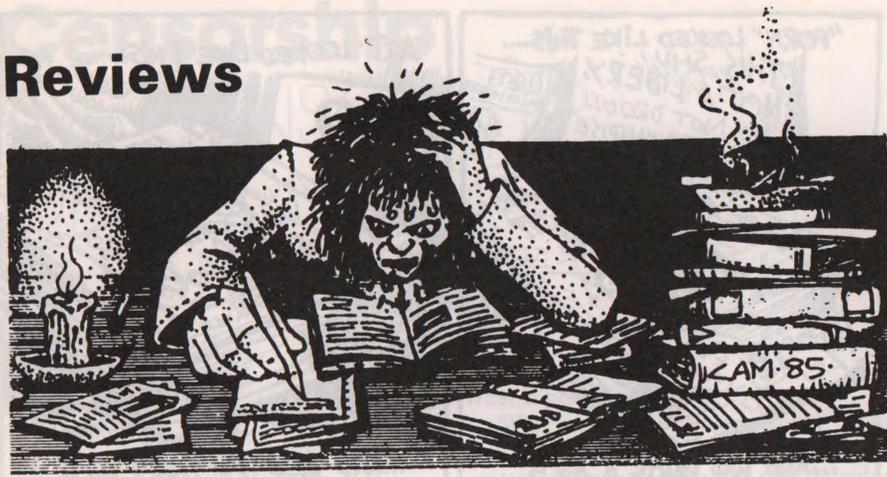
Does pornography do any harm? Perhaps in some special cases it does; but it also does good in other cases where it assists people to overcome sexual hang-ups. I believe that religious writings do infinitely more harm to some people, and very little good, yet I do not call for censorship of religious writings or attempts to make people ashamed to read their prayer books, if they get a kick out of that sort of thing. It is possible that the pro-censorship feminist and religious lobbies may effect legislation in a repressive direction, but that seems to me the lesser evil compared to the inculcation of guilt and shame, particularly in the very young. Many male intellectuals are intimidated to some degree by the insults that are levelled against them by the ultra-feminist prudes, and even so sensible a man as John Broom whom I have quoted earlier, seems by his letter to *Freedom* to be a little uneasy. This journal should be a vehicle for encouraging resistance to such intimidation, and each and every one of us can advance his or her knowledge of the subject by wide reaching and open debate.

Tony Gibson

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## Reviews



### Our Generation

Vol 16 nos 3-4, Vol 17 no 1

### The Anarchist Papers

edited by Dimitrios I Roussopoulos

Black Rose Books

THE Canadian quarterly magazine *Our Generation* began 25 years ago as a voice of nuclear disarmament, and has gradually moved from the old peace movement to the new, taking in such ideas as non-violent resistance, participatory democracy, and extra-parliamentary opposition on the path towards pure anarchism (rather like the old American magazine *Liberation*). It is associated with Black Rose Books and the Anarchos Institute, and has become the main voice of respectable libertarianism in North America. But it has had its ups and downs, and after a period of increasing introspection it temporarily ceased publication in spring 1984. However, it was revived in spring 1985 with a broader editorial policy and an impressive editorial board, and so far we have seen two issues of the new series; at the same time the ten main articles in them have been reprinted as a separate book rather oddly called *The Anarchist Papers*.

Four of the contributors are very well known. Murray Bookchin argues for 'Libertarian Municipalism' (anarchists taking part in local politics). Noam Chomsky describes 'The Manufacture of Consent' (the American tradition of democratic indoctrination to justify killing the indigenous inhabitants of North America and then those of other continents). Cornelius Castoriadis discusses 'The Fate of Marxism' (its historical decomposition). George Woodcock discusses the traditionalist anarchism of Paul Goodman. None of the other six articles, all by academics, are as interesting. Graham Baugh attacks the philosophical anarchism of Robert Paul Wolff; Chris Southcott and Jorgen Pedersen discuss the German Greens; J Frank Harrison describes the democratic totalitarianism of Canada; Thomas W Simon discusses

some recent utopian novels; Alice Ruth Wexler describes Emma Goldman's feminism; and Marsha Hewitt discusses the relationship between anarchism and feminism. The two issues of the magazine also contain several reviews — George Woodcock on recent biographies of Emma Goldman and Paul Avrich's history of Haymarket, George Woodcock and John Clark on Peter Marshall's biography of William Godwin, Robert Graham on David Miller's study of anarchism, etc.

Both the magazine and the book are rather expensive, but they are well written and well produced, and they are well worth reading as superior examples of academic anarchism. One of their most irritating defects is the old trick of not giving proper information about the provenance of their contents. Thus there is no indication in either the magazine or the book that some items from one reappear in the other, or have previously appeared elsewhere. To take one instance, there is no hint that Cornelius Castoriadis was once well known as Cardan or Choudray, or that this particular essay by him is 25 years old and was originally published in the English translation used here as long ago as 1966 (in *Solidarity* Vol 4 no 3, reprinted as a pamphlet in 1969), or that it is only the first chapter of a longer work called *Marxism and Revolutionary Theory* (1961-65) which was later incorporated into a book called *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (1975). This sort of thing really isn't good enough for a magazine or book with serious pretensions. MH

*Our Generation* and Black Rose Books: 3987 Boulevard Saint-Laurent (4th floor), Montreal, Quebec, H2W 1Y5, Canada. Subscriptions: University of Toronto Press, (Journals Department), 5201 Dufferin Street, Downsview, Ontario, M3H 5T8, Canada. *The Anarchist Papers* is distributed in Britain by Housmans (paperback £6.95).

### The Free

M Gilliland

Hooligan Press. paperback. £1.80

A FULL-LENGTH novel about an anarchist revolution by an author who knows his politics is a rare enough event. A first novel at this price even in paperback must be unique, and should ensure it is widely read.

Our heroine Linda, at her convent school, is sick over a nun (the image of sickness is a good one which runs through the book), and when she tells us 'I was only after eating my dinner' we know we are in Ireland. Linda leaves her awful home, shacks up with Barney McGuire, and suddenly changes her name to Max: 'For once in my life I was free, or anyway I felt free, which is all that counts'. Later she leaves Barney for Macker McDonagh, and the story of the revolution is bound up with the story of Max, Barney and Macker.

The novel falls into three parts: the first introduces us to Max and her lovers and their involvement in the CoOps and the Free Unions. The middle section, *The Free*, tells the story of the libertarian revolution, and if it is not always quite clear what is going on this is no doubt true of all revolutions. But what sort of Ireland are we in? Clearly it is united with its own government, for we are shown a cabinet meeting with Lerriman, the Prime Minister. 'Flaherty,' he shouted, 'Are you the Minister of Labour or am I in a fucking monkey house?' And it has its own army and police.

The final part shows the revolution lost, the Free seemingly doomed. Barney and Macker die, and Max is a worker in a factory 'like a tiny version of the world.' With a pain in the guts, she plans to slow down the machine... the denouement has a suitably surprising and satisfying twist which we shall not reveal.

The moral of this story is surely that the truly free are those who resist even to the point of death — a case of 'Stone walls do not a prison make' perhaps? But the relationships which should have been at the heart of the novel get buried by the account of the insurrection. Though the writing is too often jejune, Mr Gilliland has undoubted skill as a narrator; if he can match this with a deepening interest in characterisation, he will be a novelist to watch.

Meanwhile this book is good fun and recommended bedtime reading.

CC

Almost half of the Dutch army is to be stood down for compulsory leave on the last Friday of each month. It is part of a government campaign to reduce working hours for public employees. Others will have a two hours a week cut, but it was thought that this would cause scheduling problems for the military.

## Some more of our contemporaries

In April, responding to requests, we published some reviews of other anarchist and libertarian journals currently in production. Here are some more. Reviewers JKA, MH, DR.

### Solidarity; A journal of libertarian socialism

123 Lathom Road, London E6. Quarterly 60p.

1985 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Solidarity*. It started publication in 1960, when a few ex-members of the Socialist Labour League (now the Workers Revolutionary Party) became disillusioned with Leninist practices and went on to question Marxism as a whole.

*Solidarity* has always been distinguished by its open-minded concern for truth and has always been friendly and tolerant towards those who did not share its point of view. Its concern for truth has led it to be critical of 'Marxist-Leninist' revolutions including the current one in Nicaragua. Indeed, the latest issue contains an exposé of the situation in Nicaragua as well as accounts of the farcical events that have been going on in the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Since last year *Solidarity* has had a new look — its layout has been re-vamped and it's beginning to look stylish with photographs accompanying most articles and illustrations by Cliff Harper.

For intellectual content and insight, there are few, if any, libertarian publications in the UK to match it.

### Class War

8 pages A3, 30p. PO Box 467, London E5 8BE (and six addresses in other towns).

Periodicals may be classified as 'educated' or 'popular'. *Freedom* is one which aims for an 'educated' audience. The quality of our articles varies a lot, but we would like them all to be well researched and carefully argued.

*Class War* aims at the 'popular' end of the reader spectrum, with an eye-catching appearance, punchy headlines, and short, dogmatic articles. Unlike any other anarchist journal, but like the popular press, it takes an interest in the royal family. The queen mother, often sucked up to in *The Sun*, is often denounced as a rich scumbag in *Class War*. In April the popular dailies all had front-page pictures of Prince Andrew (one of the queen's sons) kissing Sarah Ferguson whom he is to marry. *Class War* also shows this kiss on the front page, much enlarged, with

the headline 'Better Dead Than Wed'.

The most successful issue of *Class War* so far appeared in the summer of 1985, when all the popular dailies carried the same photograph of a young man throwing a petrol bomb, and horrified headlines. *Class War* used the same picture with the headline 'The Working Class Strikes Back'. The issue sold out and was reprinted. We hear the total print order was 15,000; not a mass circulation, but much larger than that of any other anarchist paper in this country.

There is now a Class War Federation, and each issue is produced by a different group (but 'vetted at a delegate conference' before it is printed, which probably accounts for its consistency of style and standard). This is the first successful attempt at anarchist 'popular' journalism, and some comrades are understandably worried by its resemblance in style to 'popular' journalism of the far right. The latest issue, however, publishes the 'Aims and Principles of the Class War Federation', and while not all anarchists would agree with every word, it is an undeniably anarchist document.

No doubt the vengeful dogmatism of *Class War* puts some people off. No doubt either, the mind-scratching wordiness of *Freedom* puts another lot of people off. Personally I prefer *Freedom*, but it takes all sorts to make a revolution.

### Ideas and Action

Quarterly \$1.50, four issues \$5, from PO Box 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140, USA.

*Ideas and Action* is published by the Workers Solidarity Association, which is the US section of the IWA, so the emphasis of the paper is anarcho-syndicalist. Judging from the one issue we have received (issue no 6) it promises to be an excellent paper.

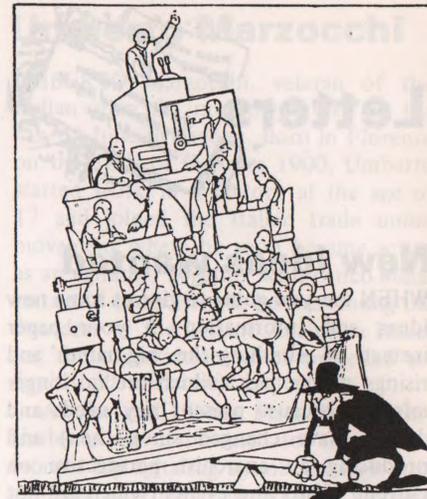
This issue contains articles on the Watsonville Cannery strike, censorship and pornography, Bhopal as well as a major article on women in the Spanish revolution. My only criticism is that the articles tend to be very long and the layout makes it difficult to find one's way about the paper. I hope *Ideas and Action* get over the problems they have been having with printing and finance — this is a paper that deserves to survive.

### Tipping the Balance

16-pages A4, 15p (Box A, c/o Lark Lane Books, 82 Lark Lane, Liverpool 17).

The editorial says 'it's not exactly a masterpiece but it's not bad for a first attempt'; a fair assessment.

The style varies so much from page to page, one might almost think it was produced by separate people who only combined at the end, to run off the pages



on the same clapped-out photocopier and staple them together.

I say nothing of the worst pages. The best pages are excellent, especially the article on work we have ripped off for *Freedom* and the lucid pieces on the opening spread, which neatly clear away the 'bombthrower' and 'ivory tower' misunderstandings of anarchism. We are told the bulk of the first issue was distributed to Liverpool university students who have not seriously encountered anarchism before; that first spread should be very useful to them.

The cover pic is Roberto Ambrosoli's 'Anarchik' tipping up the social hierarchy with a crowbar. A familiar image, perhaps, to older readers of the anarchist press, but not to newcomers.

### Fifth Estate

Vol 20, No3, Winter/Spring 1986. Box 12548, Detroit, Michigan 48202, USA.

*Fifth Estate* is one of the few underground papers started in the United States during the 1960s which have survived. This issue, which celebrates its twentieth anniversary (a few months late), includes the usual miscellany of articles and reviews, letters and reports, and also tries to explain the paper's political position. During its first decade it moved from general radicalism to libertarian communism, and during its second decade it has moved towards anarchism — they explain that 'we are not anarchists *per se*, but pro-anarchy, which is for us a living, integral experience, incommensurate with Power and refusing all ideology'. They also oppose high technology, though the paper is inappropriately well produced by high tech methods, and they are strongly influenced by situationist ideas. There are some of the usual sectarian polemics (especially with Chaz Dufe and Fred Woodworth, *Processed World* and *The Match!*) but in general the paper represents a serious attempt to reflect the whole spectrum of libertarian activity in the United States.

## Letters

### New ideas wanted

WHEN are you going to give us some new ideas and information in your paper instead of rehashing the 'big names' and risings of the past (which are no longer relevant because present day needs and desires have changed since then) and producing an anarchist perspective on current affairs and events (which are not worth commenting on because they are the products of the existing, governed world's own shortcomings). Be bold, be brave. Tell us what's wrong with today's society. Tell us what to replace it with. Tell us how to get there. Otherwise anarchism will remain what it is — bankrupt, an irritating fly buzzing around the blinkered, arrogant head of the centralised bureaucratic state, waiting to be swatted by its insensitive heavy hand!

Colin Millen

CONCERNING *Freedom* as an anarchist monthly, without wanting to offend anybody, I fail to see what it is actually doing to really further the cause of anarchism. Granted it helps to put current affairs in the light of anarchist interpretation but there must be something more. I don't mean the type of action as advocated by *Class War* who strike me as being no more of a threat to authoritarianism than a water pistol, but something to make anarchism less of an obscure ideal?

Matt Priest

### Anarchism and class

I WOULD like to comment on Jay Freeman's letter, 'Anarchism and Class' in your June edition. Jay states that the error of the Marxian analysis of class is that it has its roots in economic criteria only. The fundamental point of Marx's criticisms of capitalism is that patterns of social behaviour necessarily do have their roots in economic considerations. With economics we are talking of the way we produce and distribute the necessities of existence. The environment created by the shape of this economic structure determines our behaviour, unless you are ready to confess a belief in our 'natural tendency towards greed, aggression, selfishness, racism, and the desire for private possession. Personally I do not believe that these traits are the natural heritage of Humankind — and how could libertarian thinkers defend their position if they were to take this stance?

Unlike Jay I see myself as a member of

the working class. I hold this view due to the fact that I need to sell my mental and physical energies in the capitalist market economy in order to live. If I'm 'lucky' I can find a buyer who can use me, if I'm unlucky I can enjoy the degradation of State Benefit. Selling or utilising what property I do own would not allow me to step off the economic treadmill to which I am shackled. Modern capitalism may have produced a range of self perceived social stratifications but the manual worker and the manager have one big thing in common — they both have to work for a living, and that consistent relationship to the economic mechanism of world capitalism warrants and demands a classification. Variations in income and lifestyle only serve to blur the basic division in both the capitalist society of today and that of the nineteenth century, the division between those who produce the wealth and have nothing, and those who produce nothing and have all the wealth. True wealth cannot be counted in monetary terms, true wealth involves the ability to determine the shape of your life. If you have to sell your labour power to live you are enslaved no matter how fat the pay packet or how many underlings you've been hired to coerce.

If we are to achieve true human emancipation we must recognise the origins of our oppression — class society and the domination of one class over another. I would like to be able to use the 'human' classification that Jay Freeman is contented with, but human society is at present a class society and suggesting otherwise hinders our progress towards a stateless, classless future. Until 'their war' becomes our war that future will be delayed still further.

Tony Dobson

### Mental illness

I THINK Brian Moseley (*Freedom*, June) has rather missed the points made in Alan Reeve's 'Notes From a Waiting Room'. In writing of his childhood criminality Reeve shows very well the social-psychological processes involved. Rebelling against repressive authority (the family, the police, punitive institutions) he engaged in 'anti-social' behaviour which brought authority down on him more heavily, thus triggering worse 'anti-social' behaviour, and so forth. Reeve was caught in the sort of vicious spiral that frequently lands people in special hospitals, if they are deemed 'mentally ill', or in prison if they are mentally 'normal'. People would not get into this sort of mess in an anarchist society.

Generally the social function of the special hospitals is the same as that of the prisons; to make people obey the state's laws. The prisons rely on the crude imposition of suffering to frighten people into obedience. The

special hospitals are more sophisticated, seeking to re-program people's minds by using drugs, psychotherapy, E.C.T. etc. As a rule prisoners are only released from the Special Hospitals when the experts are convinced they will never break the law again.

Anarchists should be concerned about the techniques being used in the Special Hospitals. These are methods for extending state control into the human mind. If their development is not fought now, it is likely they will be used here in future to crush political rebellion.

Michael Davies  
Park Lane Hospital  
Liverpool

I WRITE with reference to Brian Moseley's review of *Notes from a Waiting Room* by Alan Reeve. He says: 'What would be done with a psychopath in an anarchist society?'. Aside from *organic* psychoses, most mental illness is a product of the *schizophrenic society* in which we live now. The state is the sexually oppressive 'father figure' sending its offspring mad by the contradictory values it teaches them. To paraphrase Freud, we must 'kill' the 'father' to free ourselves from guilt and repression and the other causes of so-called 'insanity'.

Johnny Yen  
Hove

### Prison correction

JUST a minor correction to the otherwise excellent article by DR on penal reform (June). In fact, time on remand does count towards sentences; time spent between convictions and appeals generally counts, but in appeals from the Crown Court to the Court of Appeal, the Court of Appeal has the power to order that part or all of it should not count if the judges consider that the appeal was frivolous. This would only happen if the prisoner was appealing against legal advice and even so is relatively rare.

'Legal Eagle'

### Labour correction

IT WAS interesting to see the articles on the Labour Party in the June issue, some corrections are needed to Roland Wood's piece. Of the three publications listed only *Chartist* has a direct connection with the Labour Co-ordinating Committee (LCC), being sponsored by that organisation since last autumn. *Tribune* is completely independent though over the last two years or so has pursued a similar political strategy as the LCC. *Labour Herald* would be most upset to be thought of as a 'LCC publication' being a Trotskyist/Hard Left orientated paper with the vanguard politics that go with it, and no friend of decentralisers — socialist or anarchist.

Dennis Bates

## 3 Obituaries

### Ahrne Thorne

WITH a certain sadness I still remember a visit in early summer 1978 to the Freedom Bookshop: Jim Huggon presented me with a bundle of papers already turning yellow. 'Do you not collect these things? Nobody else takes them, anyhow'. At the time not yet knowing 'the joys of Yiddish', I had never yet thought of buying copies of *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Free Workers Voice), which up to that time were to me just one of the standing features of the bookshop, always lying around somewhere and catching the eye with its strange letters. Strangely, or sadly, enough I got interested only when hearing that the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* had finally been silenced and had ceased publication just a few months ago at the end of 1977, 'after 87 and a half years of a fighting existence', as its last editor wrote afterwards. Now he is also gone — Ahrne Thorne, whom others may remember mainly from his appearance in the magnificent film made by the Pacific Street Film Collective on *The Free Voice of Labour — The Jewish Anarchists*.

Ahrne Thorne was born 26 December 1904 in Lodz, Poland, and grew up as a Hasid in the Lodz ghetto. He left Poland in the 1920s, like so many others before him, and went to Paris. Paris then was what London had been before the First World War, the centre for anarchist exiles. Here Ahrne joined the anarchist movement, again like many others, but unlike most he stuck to anarchism all his life. In 1930 he moved to Toronto and became an associate of Emma Goldman. Soon he began writing articles and essays for the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, an activity he continued for some 45 years until the paper was forced to close down. In 1940 he moved to the Bronx, New York, where he worked as a typesetter and printer at the *Jewish Daily Forward* and for other Yiddish publications, a work he kept up until 1974. From 1952 until 1957 he was assistant editor of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, and then from 1975 to 1977 its last editor. After its folding he continued to write for anarchist papers here and there, but mainly, I think, for *Problemen* of Israel, and he did monthly commentaries in Yiddish for a New York radio station.

On 13 December 1985 he died of cancer at his home in the Bronx, leaving his wife Paula and a daughter, and innumerable friends who miss his magnificent personality, the enthusiasm with which he cheered up so many younger comrades, and not least his mine of stories and anecdotes of sixty years of anarchist activity. B

### Marcus Graham

WE must belatedly, and significantly, record the death of a former collaborator of *Freedom* and the Freedom Press, Marcus Graham, who died in the United States in December 1985.

Usually regarded as one of the most persecuted anarchists in the United States, he lived for nearly fifty years in anonymity somewhere on the West Coast, communicating with the (anarchist) world only through trusted friends who even prefer to keep his last resting place secret.

He was born in 1893 in Dorshoi, a small city in Rumania, one of fourteen children of an orthodox Jewish family. His original name was Samuel Marcus.

He moved to the United States probably in 1907, and before long was contributing to anarchist papers in Yiddish and English. Later he joined various publishing groups, and issued papers and pamphlets of his own using a variety of names.

Several times he was arrested and held for deportation, but the Canadian and Mexican authorities consistently refused to believe he was one of their citizens.

As Marcus Graham, he published from January 1933 *MAN! The Measure of all Things*. Despite raids, arrests, and other harrassments, he managed to publish *MAN!* until April 1940, when, unable to find a printer, Graham had to suspend its publication. Subsequently he began to contribute to *War Commentary* and wrote for Freedom Press a pamphlet, *The Issues in the Present War*, a harsh attack on Rudolf Rocker who, as Graham saw it, took the same anti-anarchist turn as Kropotkin in 1914 by supporting the Allies in the war against Hitler. First published in an edition of 3,000 copies in February 1944, a further 3,000 copies were printed in May.

But Graham broke with *Freedom* shortly after the war over a congratulatory message in the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (his pet target since the First World War) against which he protested furiously.

From then to the 1970s he contributed to, and quarrelled with, a number of anarchist papers in Europe and the United States, among which *Resistance*, *The Match!*, *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*, and also to a new series of *MAN! The Measure of all Things*, from 1955 to 1957 published in London as 'An Anglo-American Anarchist Publication' first by S E Parker, with Leah Feldman providing the editorial address, and printed (later also published) by Philip Sansom at 84b Whitechapel High Street.

His last major publication, crowning a life's work for anarchism, was *MAN! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries*, collected from the files of his old paper, and published by Cienfuegos Press in 1974. H

### Umberto Marzocchi

UMBERTO Marzocchi, veteran of the Italian anarchist movement died on the 4th of June in Savona. Born in Florence on the 10th of October 1900, Umberto started work in a factory at the age of 17 and joined the Italian trade union movement where he soon became active as an agitator. Together with Errico Malatesta and Luigi Fabbri, he was among the founders of the *Unione Anarchica Italiana*, the organisation which preceded today's Italian Anarchist Federation.

At the end of the First World War, Umberto was imprisoned for nearly two months for agitating against the high cost of living after police had killed 2 workers and injured 25. Later in the same year (1919) he was imprisoned for six months 'for inciting class hatred'. In 1920, he was actively involved in the occupation of factories in La Spezia and in 1921 he was at Sarzana when the fascists were thrown out of the city. Hounded by the black shirts for being an anarchist and anti-fascist, Umberto was forced to flee to Savona and then escape to France where he remained in hiding for many years.

In 1936, he left for Spain where he joined the Italian column 'Francisco Ascaso' with Camillo Berneri and was on the front in Aragon. He returned to France again at the end of the Civil War and joined the French resistance in Toulouse.

Umberto came back to Italy in 1945, crossing the border out of sight of the authorities because the new government had neglected to take his name off the list of 'wanted' men. He set to work writing for *Il Libertario*, *Umanita Nova* and *Volonta* as well as travelling round the country to take part in conferences and meetings on behalf of FAI.

Some of our readers will remember Umberto as the FAI delegate to the International Anarchist Congress held in London in 1958.

Umberto was one of the founders of the International of Anarchist Federations at the 1968 International Congress held in Carrara where the famous confrontation with Daniel Cohn-Bendit took place. He subsequently became secretary of the International and remained in that position for over a decade. In 1977, he was arrested for the last time and briefly imprisoned before being expelled from Spain for taking part in a meeting in Barcelona to reorganise the Iberian Anarchist Federation at the end of Franco's regime. In the same year he helped to form the League for Unilateral Disarmament.

Umberto was a profoundly honest and good man. He took part in some of the most important social struggles of the 20th century and put the idea of solidarity, so close to his heart, into practice. JKA