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WORKERS SOLIDARITY

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**IF YOU THINK
THE SYSTEM IS
WORKING,
ASK SOMEONE
WHO ISN'T**

IRISH ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

The most remarkable thing about the failed coup in Russia was the fact that no one was willing to defend the old Stalinist system. Even the coup leaders emphasised they were not against the economic changes, they just thought things were going too fast. Of course they were also in favour of rolling back some of the democratic gains of won in the USSR over the last couple of years.

It was for this reason that it was important for the coup to be defeated. A coup victory would have meant the use of terror to destroy the independent unions and anarchist groups that have grown in the last couple of years. Economically Yeltsin has little more to offer to Russian workers than the coup leaders.

Workers action played a part in defeating the coup. Strikes occurred in Siberia and the republics of the USSR. In the Kirov works in Leningrad 40,000 workers struck. Anti-coup demonstrations of 100,000 occurred in Moscow and Leningrad.

For Starters

The defeat of the coup marks a significant victory for workers throughout the USSR. It meant the Baltic republics were able to gain independence. It also isolated and exposed the old guard in the army. It smashed the myth of the "Workers state" peddled by Leninists in the west for the last 70 years.

The western bosses are using the collapse of the Soviet Union to show their system is unchallenged, that there is no alternative to market capitalism. Those socialists who saw socialism as state control of the economy are no longer a real alternative. The major section of the left that has followed Lenin for the last 70 years is in the process of collapse. The left of the labour parties which saw socialism as nationalisation and bureaucratically planned economies is also collapsing.

Anarchism now stands as the only left movement offering a viable alterna-

tive to capitalism, a socialism which insists that freedom is part and parcel of its goal. Famine and mass unemployment demonstrate that such an alternative is as necessary now as it ever has been. Anarchists now face the challenge of building the sort of movement internationally that can tear down this rotten system, east and west.

Recent Workers Solidarity Movement activity has included debating the British Class War Federation in Belfast at a public meeting organised by the local Class Struggle Anarchist Group and producing a *Workers Solidarity* special supplement on the authoritarian politics of Lenin and why serious socialists should take a fresh look at them. We also hosted a national meeting of anarchists which discussed issues including "green politics" and womens' oppression.

THAT'S CAPITALISM

The bodies of fifty children were found in Peru in August. They had been slaves in the Amazon gold mines. The children aged between 10 and 14 had died of disease, malnutrition and gunshot wounds.

Ernest Saunders, the financier whose prison sentence for multi-million pound fraud was halved because his brain had deteriorated held a press conference in July. He announced, lucidly, that he was back in business. There are three possible explanations:

- a) His brain has made a miraculous recovery.
- b) It was never true that his brain had deteriorated.
- c) You don't need brains to be a financier, only ruthless dishonesty.

The Stalinist regime in North Korea made a bizarre addition to the government's fleet of luxury cars earlier this

year. This was a 66 foot long three axled limousine - with a satellite dish, a huge bathtub and its own water supply. The vehicle is for the use of President Kim Il Sung. The North Korean bosses like expensive cars. Over the last few years they have imported BMWs, Volvos and at least 1,000 Mercedes Benz.

America, the land of the free, leads the world in jailing its citizens. It has a greater percentage of its population behind bars than either South Africa or the USSR. Black men in the USA are four times more likely to be incarcerated than black men in South Africa.

Burger King, home of the Whopper, were recently prosecuted in the US for violations of the Child Labour Laws. A fifteen year old employee lost her finger when she was made to manually

feed a vegetable processor she had reported to be unsafe. The prosecution led to a fine of just \$1,000 against the giant multinational firm.

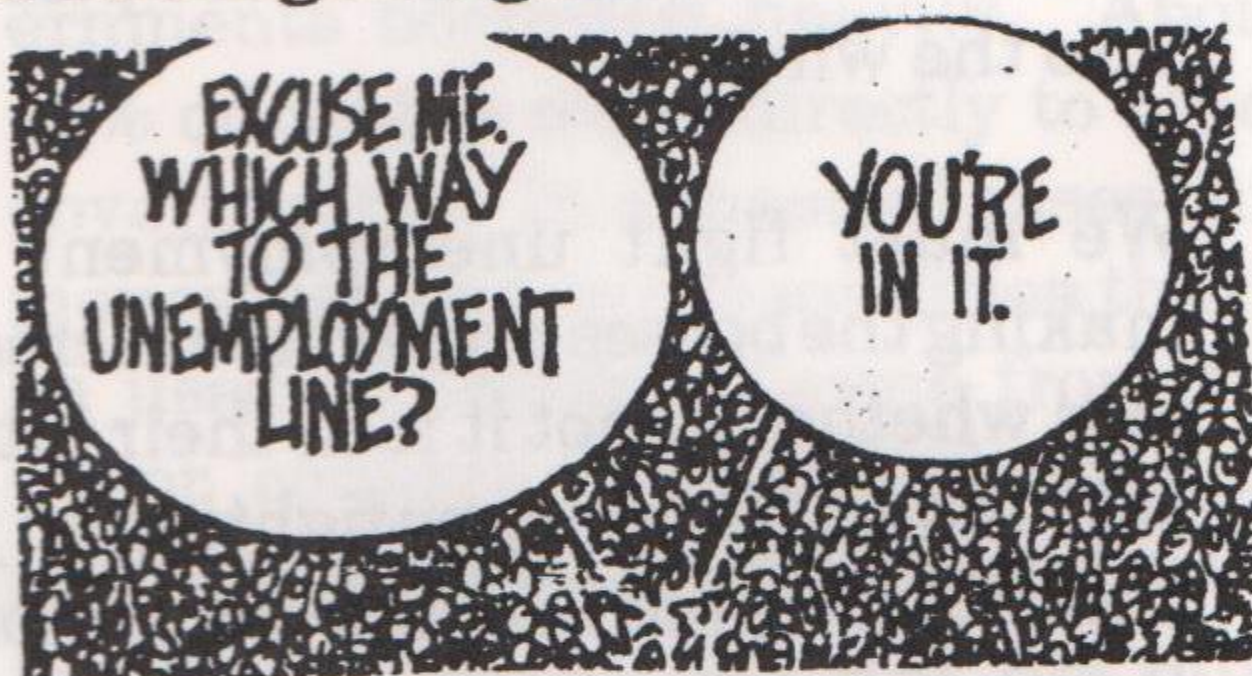
Also in America, yet another study has found that blacks and women get paid significantly less than white men in comparable jobs. However, the report went on, this did not mean that racial and sexual discrimination existed. The disparity could be accounted for by a number of reasons, among which was the finding that "some people feel more comfortable in jobs that pay less".

According to the Roman Catholic aid agency, Trocaire, up to 30 million people in Africa are in danger of starvation. The Dublin government has given a mere £715,000 in aid to Africa this year.



as unemployment breaks all previous records....

OVER THE Summer unemployment reached an all time high. It would have seemed fair enough to expect some kind of militant response to this by the unemployed organisations in Ireland but in fact very little happened. In this article we look at why these organisations are so unable to mobilize unemployed people, either to demand work or to fight for improved social welfare. We go on to look at how unemployment can be fought and what exactly should we be fighting for.



In Ireland most unemployed groups are affiliates of the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed. It is a sizeable organisation with offices in Dublin (Funded by S.I.P.T.U.) and over 67 affiliates. On paper all this is very impressive but most unemployed people are probably unaware of the existence of the I.N.O.U. and the only contact they have with their local unemployed centre is when they need advice or a C.V. typed.

LOCAL GROUPS

The first thing to be said about these local groups is that the vast majority see politics in general as irrelevant. They put their energy into providing advice for the unemployed or trying to create jobs in their community. In a survey carried out by the I.N.O.U. only an average of 20% of activities could fall into any sort of campaigning activity. What they are about is the provision of services for unemployed people in their areas rather than seeking to mobilize these people in the fight for socially useful, well paid jobs.

Obviously the services carried out by these centres like C.V. typing and the provision of welfare advice are necessary to the unemployed. The question however is why should these be provided on a voluntary basis by unemployed organisations relying on non-government sources for 51% of their funding. Why should the workers in these centres either be receiving no wages or being paid as a F.A.S. scheme worker.

How do we fight back?

Such services are needed by the unemployed but we should fight for complete state funding of them. In addition we should be fighting for the workers in these centres to be made permanent and paid at proper union rates rather than accepting SES schemes. It is also a nonsense that unions like S.I.P.T.U. which pay their top bureaucrats £60,000 a year should use S.E.S. schemes to run these centres. This seriously undermines their opposition to such schemes.

In practise the I.N.O.U. and its affiliates does not campaign seriously against unemployment or for better conditions for the unemployed. In the Autumn of 1991 a special conference of the I.N.O.U. on the P.E.S.P. decided to use it as a basis for progress rather than rejecting it outright. Yet the plan contained almost no concrete provisions on unemployment except for a few new schemes to provide cheap labour for the bosses and victimise the long term unemployed.

The approach to the limited amount of campaigning carried out is one of lobbying government departments and

producing reports on various aspects of unemployment. No attempt is made to inform, consult or mobilize the vast numbers of unemployed besides the occasional token picket to back up a lobby of government ministers. The I.N.O.U. no longer tries to become an organisation of the unemployed. Rather it is a group that lobbies on behalf of the unemployed.

Part of the reason for the inaction of the I.N.O.U. and local groups is funding. The same survey showed that the majority of groups relied on financial support from government and religious bodies or various voluntary trusts. This funding also comes with a price, the funding body always has a veto (official or unofficial) over the activities of the group. In an I.N.O.U. survey almost 50% of unemployed groups admitted that they had been "...limited by the restrictions placed on them by funders".

There is considerable funding supplied by the ICTU to some unemployed groups (ICTU centres) but the strings of this funding are held by the union

continued on page 4



Poster issued by the radical Industrial Workers of the World union in the US decades ago ...still as relevant today

UNEMPLOYMENT

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bureaucrats. In the campaign to get the I.N.O.U. to partially accept the P.E.S.P. the I.C.T.U. unemployment centres were unofficially told that if the I.N.O.U. rejected the PESP they would not exist the following year. This meant the I.N.O.U. was forced to go against the anti-PESP sentiments of the unemployed as expressed in a survey just before the special conference carried out by the Portobello, Thurles and Portlaoise unemployed action groups.

Another problem with the unemployed groups is the lack of contact between these groups and the rank and file of the trade unions. There are very strong links between the union bureaucracy and the I.N.O.U. itself as well as some centres. But as the example above demonstrates these are used by the bureaucracy to buy off unemployed opposition to the PESP. At the time of the 'Trade Unionists and Unemployed Against the Programme' campaign only one unemployed group out of the 67 was involved (individuals from a couple of other groups were also involved). Some groups do have links with local trades councils but with the demise of trades council radicalism these links are token rather than real.

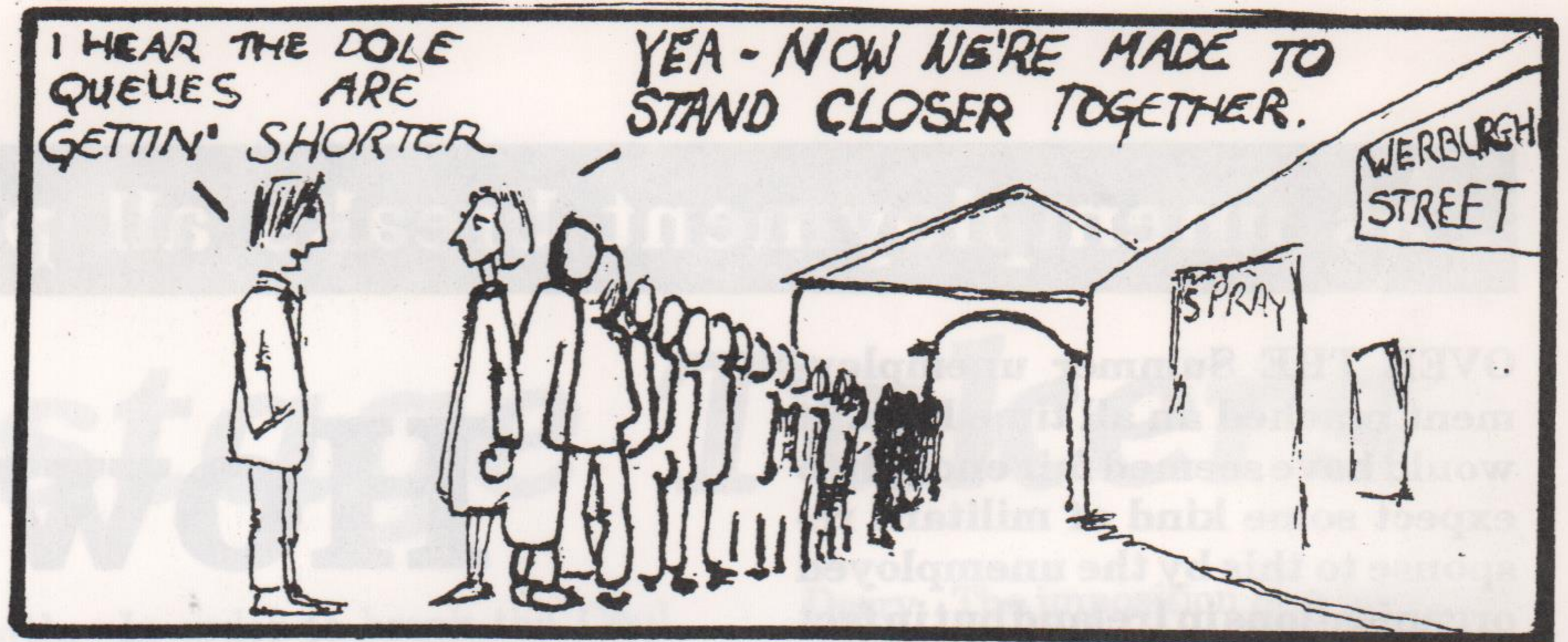
The fact that these factors severely limit the ability of the unemployed organisations to fight unemployment is fairly clear. There were no unemployed groups involved in the Gateaux



fight against job losses. This was the major fight in recent years by workers against job losses. The I.N.O.U.'s acceptance of the P.E.S.P. despite the fact that it did not meet their modest criterion on job creation is yet another example. The unemployed movement is silent not so much because it wants to be but because it has to be. It is dependant on government funding to the hilt and a gentle squeeze will bring it running into line.

BUILDING A REAL CAMPAIGN

So how do we go about building a real, fighting unemployed campaign. The



first thing to realise is that this will be a very difficult process. It is important to realize the problems any unemployed organisation will face. Workers who are unemployed tend initially not get involved in unemployed action groups as they do not expect to be on the dole for very long. By the time those who are long term unemployed recognise this they will be demoralised and isolated by the experience of being a year or more on the dole.

The key part of fighting unemployment will be forging real links with the trade union rank and file. Unemployed and workers need to fight for full membership rights for the unemployed in unions, with unemployed sections in branches. Some unions like the A.T.G.W.U. already have unemployed members but these schemes are restricted.

There is also a place for a national organisation of the unemployed but one that is very different from the I.N.O.U. The urgent need is to mobilize large numbers of the unemployed in a fight for socially useful work at union pay rates and conditions. For such an organisation funding will always be a difficulty as neither the state or the union bureaucracy will provide the necessary resources. A fight within the unions at a rank and file level will have to be won in order to obtain 'no-strings' funding.

TRANSFORMATION

Whether or not the I.N.O.U. can be transformed into such an organisation is a matter for debate. It is clear that this would involve making the government take over the direct funding of the services it and its affiliates provides. It would have to rid itself of the layer of professional 'unemployed' and poverty pimps that now dominate it. At the current time a very small percentage of I.N.O.U. affiliates would favour this transformation.

Unemployment is a problem fundamental to the workings of the system. The government will not be persuaded

to create jobs by endless lobbies and reports showing this is a good idea. Under capitalism unemployment is necessary to the bosses. For this reason there is a clear line between the needs of the bosses and the need of the workers. Those who try to fight unemployment by saying it is in the interests of the bosses to do so are pissing into the wind.

We must fight unemployment by making the bosses preserve and create jobs whether or not it is in their interest to do so. This means fighting all job losses through strikes and occupations. It means fighting for the state to create jobs by providing the services working people need. This means building housing, hospitals and schools. It means employing more teachers, bus drivers and nurses. We should fight against the expansion of S.E.S. type schemes and for those working on schemes to be employed at trade union rates and conditions.

The bosses will tell us they cannot afford to do this, and the country cannot afford it. Our answer to this should be simple, if your system cannot satisfy even our most basic need then it is time it went.

The 'Training' Scam

We are told that FAS schemes are tackling unemployment. Rubbish! Since 1984 the number of permanent staff in local authorities has fallen by 6,000. 3,000 people on FAS schemes are working for local authorities, mainly in labouring jobs. Some local authorities have almost no labourers left on their permanent payroll. SES workers are low paid, are out of their jobs after twelve months and don't even benefit from the few useful labour laws like those providing for paid holidays and maternity leave.

A SURVEY carried out by the Connolly Unemployed Centre at three labour exchanges in Dublin's South Inner City during the recent local elections showed that 90% of respondents would vote for an unemployed party if there was one running. Is this a way forward in the fight for decent jobs for all who want them? It is worth taking a look at what happened in 1957 when an unemployed candidate made it into the Dáil.

Ireland saw a massive rise in unemployment in the 1950s, ironically at a time when the rest of the 'western world' was booming. Emigration was to be the safety valve. However not all those out of work were prepared to uproot themselves and take the boat. Some stayed to fight.

Unemployment meant poverty. A couple with two children on Unemployment Assistance were entitled to just £1.90 a week. This bought very little, e.g. a pound of butter cost 21p. People often lived on little more than bread, margarine and tea.

WITH A CHAIR AND A SPEECH

The Unemployed Protest Committee was launched on January 12th 1957 when a chair was borrowed from a local shop and a public meeting held outside Dublin's Werburgh Street labour exchange. A committee of about 16 men (no women were involved nor does it appear that any serious attempt was made to involve them) began to meet. Among their number were Sam Nolan (today an official of the builders' union UCATT and a member of the Labour Party), Johnny Mooney, Jack Murphy and William McGuinness.

Almost immediately McGuinness pulled out saying that the committee was dominated by the Communist Party (then named the Irish Workers League) and set up a rival Catholic Unemployed Association. With the seemingly obligatory split out of the way the UPC got down to business.

Use of a room was provided by the Dublin Trades Council and a march was arranged for January 16th. About one hundred men and a solitary woman marched through the city under a banner inscribed with "support us in our demand for work". It was a tame

When the unemployed elected their own TD

beginning. Even the Catholic grouping was looking for a 50% increase in social welfare payments.

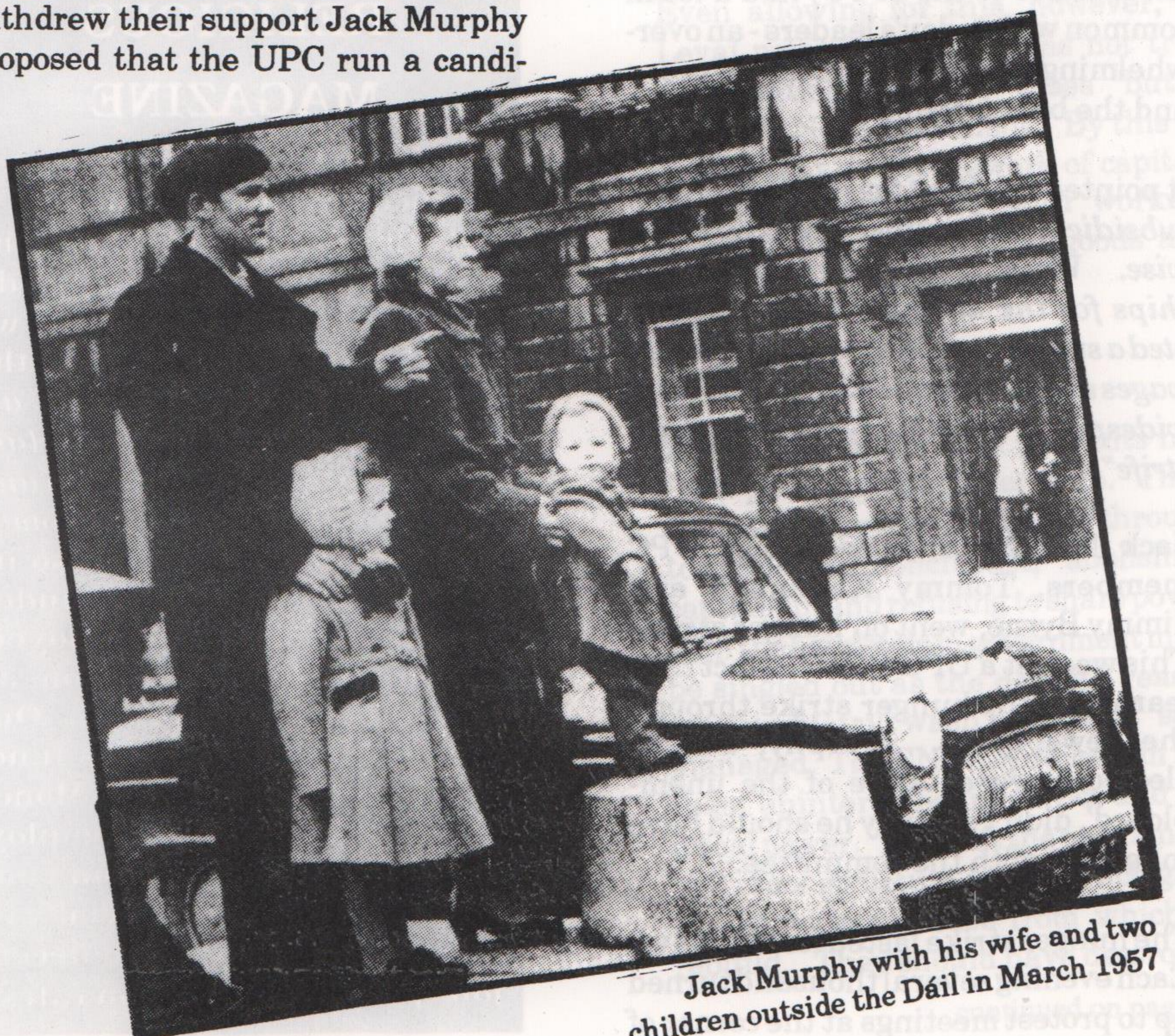
Agitation was stepped up and more joined the ranks of the UPC. Up to this point most had looked to the Labour TDs to fight on behalf of the unemployed. Sam Nolan summed it up at a UPC meeting at the end of January, "surely it was the responsibility of the Labour leaders and deputies to work out some organised plan. After all they were supposed to represent the working class".

Most members quickly saw that the Labour Party would contribute little more than empty platitudes. When the government fell in February after Séan McBride's Clann na Poblachta withdrew their support Jack Murphy proposed that the UPC run a candi-

date in the coming general election. This was seen as a way of putting the need for jobs onto the political agenda.

Two names were put forward, Nolan and Murphy. Both were unemployed building workers. Nolan was a leading Communist. The Communists were divided on running him. Some, including Nolan himself, were unwilling to allow the UPC to be seen as a front for their party.

Murphy was a left republican who had been interned in the 1940s and had been a militant shop steward. He was selected to contest the election in Dublin South Central. The £100 deposit was raised from unlikely sources. £25 each came from Toddy O'Sullivan,



Jack Murphy with his wife and two children outside the Dáil in March 1957

Murphy

continued from page 5

manager of the Gresham Hotel; Fr. Counihane, a Jesuit priest; a Fianna Fáil senator called Mooney and Mr Digby, the owner of Pye Radio.

After a vigorous campaign Murphy gathered 3,036 votes and was elected. His seat was gained at the expense of the Labour Party who had run James Connolly's son Roddy. Murphy's success was encouraging to unemployed activists and new organisations were set up in Waterford and Cork.

If the unemployed thought that having one of their own in the Dáil would force the government to take their concerns more seriously they were in for a shock. Murphy could not even get an answer to a question about how much unemployment relief money would be spent in Dublin.

There was no problem, however, in providing an answer to Fine Gael's Belton when he asked about the "hardship imposed on cricket clubs because of the cost of cricket balls".

The new Fianna Fáil government's budget provided for the ending of food subsidies. This was going to hit the unemployed and low paid workers very hard. The response of the trade union leaders was pathetic. The Provisional United Trade Union Organisation (forerunner to the ICTU) had a lot in common with today's leaders - an overwhelming concern for industrial peace and the bosses' profits.

It pointed out "that the removal of food subsidies was neither necessary nor wise. While creating terrible hardships for the unemployed it also created a situation where claims for higher wages would be made with the threat of widespread instability or industrial strife".

Jack Murphy and two other UPC members, Tommy Kavanagh and Jimmy Byrne, went on hunger strike. This was not a UPC stunt, in fact they learned of the hunger strike through the newspapers. Murphy, as 'the elected representative of the unemployed', didn't see why he should have to consult with the committee.

The hunger strike lasted for four days. Each evening several thousand turned up to protest meetings at the corner of



Dominic Behan addresses a DUA demonstration

Abbey Street and O'Connell Street. Over 1,000 marched to Leinster House seeking a meeting with the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Séan Lemass - who sneaked out the back gate.

Resolutions began to come from trades councils and union branches calling for a one day strike. There was now a possibility of building the sort of campaign that could force the government to back down.

This possibility quickly evaporated when Murphy fell sick and with Byrne and Kavanagh called off the hunger strike on day four. To save face the UPC arranged for trade union leaders to appeal for its end in order to save

lives. It was wrong to rush into a hunger strike, and the way it was called off caused much confusion and demoralisation among the unemployed.

All that followed was a few delegations to plead with Fianna Fáil TDs and a meeting between Murphy and Catholic Archbishop McQuaid. McQuaid made it clear he would not interfere in political decisions (which had not stopped him dictating to the previous government over the Mother and Child Scheme). He further warned Murphy of the danger of associating with Communists.

The last big demonstration was a 2,000 strong march from Séan McDermott Street to the Dáil. Jack Murphy opposed the demonstration saying it conflicted with his Dáil work. In August he broke with the UPC and the next year he resigned his Dáil seat.

The unemployed movement was dead. The biggest mistake they made was getting involved in parliamentary politics. Far from building active support for the UPC it made its supporters passive. Why bother marching, going to meetings and seeking trade union action if you have a TD to 'represent' you? The election of Murphy was seen by most as an end in itself.

The key to winning on issues like extra jobs, higher payments and lower food prices is a mass, active movement. A movement that can and will fight alongside those in work. This is incompatible with electing figureheads to speak for us, to argue for us, to make decisions for us.

Real democracy is necessary. This means those affected by decisions having the power to make them. It does not mean handing that power over to a few individuals, that only makes people passive. No boss or government feels under pressure to make concessions to the passive.

Joe King

UNION FINANCES RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE

The Irish Trade Union Trust is financed by members of SIPTU with the intention of helping the unemployed. In the July edition of the INOU Bulletin we saw that the ITUT is helping the unemployed of Balina by "assisting the start up of a top class magazine that will report on and explore current affairs from a religious viewpoint". Also involved is the local ICTU funded Centre for the Unemployed. Union members come from all religions and from none. Our unions have no business funding any religious activity. Money given for fighting unemployment should be spent on campaigning for higher social welfare payments and for decent jobs paid at trade union rates.

unemployment... slump... cuts...

Why the bosses' system can't sort it out



Australian jobless hammered by Labour government

AT LEAST 180,000 unemployed people in Australia have lost their dole since July 1st. With unemployment running at almost 10% the Labour government has passed legislation which makes life a lot harder for the long-term (over 12 months) unemployed.

People on the dole for a year are now to be paid a substitute "Newstart Allowance", with social welfare officials able to insist on any "measures to eliminate or reduce any disadvantage the person has in the labour market".

According to the Council of Social Service "junior officers will have the power to force clients to do anything they deem will help the person to get a job ...from telling someone to seek psychiatric treatment, move house, or lose weight". The former dole recipient must sign a contract agreeing that "my Newstart Allowance will continue to be paid only if I keep to this agreement and to my responsibilities set out (in the contract)".

Once again workers are supposed to see the unemployed as the problem. The inability of capitalism to provide jobs for all who want them, not to mention well-paid and socially useful work, is to be forgotten.

THE LIST OF JOBS to be done in Ireland is endless. Houses need to be built, roads need to be repaired, hospitals and schools need to be adequately staffed. At the same time 265,300 people are unemployed in the 26 counties (official figures for end of August, which do not include those on FAS Schemes, early retirement and SES Schemes). Why can't these jobs be given to those who want them?

Is it because we have a right wing government and all we need is a more 'caring' one? Or is there a more fundamental reason, one specific to capitalism? In this article we explain how long unemployment lines are part and parcel of the capitalist system. And we explain why "booms" and "recessions" and millions of people dying of hunger are something that leftist or "socialist" politicians in government can't do anything about.

First, a brief economics lesson. Picture a typical business with workers and owners. In a small business the owner will also be the boss. But in big corporations and multinationals the owner would be the majority shareholder who may never meet you. The following still applies whether there are 10, 100 or 100,000 employed in the business, and whether the owner/boss is the local shopkeeper or a cigar smoking Texan billionaire.

What we will look at in this business is the way the finances are arranged. And in particular, who controls them. The workers who do not own anything do the majority of the work and get paid by the owner/boss. Also paid by the owner is a relatively fixed sum for maintenance of machinery, electricity and gas bills, rents, taxes, etc.

The bosses who own everything and do at most a small fraction of the work reward themselves out of what is left over. This means that they get more for themselves if they pay out less in other expenses. The main expense that the owners can lessen is the wages and working conditions of the workers, so these are attacked most.

This is what is meant by the class struggle. The capitalist system

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creates two main classes, owners/bosses (or ruling class) and workers (or working class). The more the working class wins (through strikes and militant action), the less the ruling class has.

The ruling class is a tiny minority and so must defend its "property" (i.e. the ownership of factories, businesses and land) from the majority by use of repression. This involves using a wide spectrum of tools, from the propaganda of the education system and Church to the State courts, police and army. The working class will be constantly forced to fight to win and protect gains from this class. And as long as the capitalist system exists these two classes will be pitted against each other.



I'm racing to complete this job...

But how does this lead to unemployment? Why not employ everyone, including developing the third world. Surely this would mean more workers, more profits and so more money for the ruling class. The reason why, in the Western World, is competition.

Different companies have to compete with each other to sell more, in order to make higher profits and increase the money in the bosses' pockets. To protect their present sales and hopefully increase them, the ruling class must invest in more research and development, more modern machinery, advertising and marketing. This costs money.



... so that the firm can make a big profit...

The bosses are faced with the problem of trying to recover this money. They can produce more of the product in the hope of selling more and they can try to

lower workers wages.

The recession starts when more goods are produced than people can afford to buy. Sales and therefore profits drop as shops start filling up with unsold goods. Then the ruling class resorts to the second method of keeping their profits up. They start imposing wage freezes and wage cuts.



... which it will re-invest in the firm...

Recently, for example, Cooks Travel workers in Britain had their wages "voluntarily" cut - they were given the choice to accept wage cuts or lose their jobs! This accentuates a downward spiral. As people have their wages cut they buy less; prices are put up and wages put down.

Finally the owners start sacking people and closing down factories. The number of unemployed in Cork City has



... thus providing more jobs.

risen by 5,000 this year. Small companies drop like flies, companies like the Cere Star chemical factory which laid off 80 of its 86 workers recently. In Britain one out of every fifty businesses have closed down this year. The situation is the same elsewhere in the world as the thousands of returning, out of work, emigrants will testify.

A point about the recession is that profits have not vanished, they have just gone down low enough for large parts of the ruling class to make more by earning interest from government funds, stocks and speculation rather than by direct investment in business. *Fortune* magazine in its September issue announced that the average wealth of the richest 202 people has gone up from \$2.6 billion to \$2.7 bil-



There—finished!

lion in the past year.

Meanwhile it is the working class who suffer. Unemployment soars, wages are slashed. Working class confidence dives. Women are most effected by cuts in public services: housing, hospitals, schools and transport.

The recession ends as it began - when the economic conditions are right for the ruling class. That is, when they can make high enough profits by investing in production instead of speculating on the stock market.



In the absence of a large fighting movement, workers will be forced to work for less and accept worse conditions. The unemployed are used by the bosses to threaten the security of workers' jobs. For the same reason strikes and militant action will be at a minimum. And with less money being spent on wages, health, education and housing the owners will take a larger chunk of the profits for themselves.

As the economy pulls out of a recession only one thing is sure - it is going to collapse again. Not that a "boom" is any way brilliant. It just means that a large amount of bosses are making an extraordinarily large amount of money. Any increase in living standards won by the working class is only a fraction of that which is gained by the ruling class as the last "mini-boom" showed.

The horrific pictures of people starving in Ethiopia first came in when the world economy was last at an all time high. Even then, Thatcher was smashing the miners, cutting support to schools and hospitals, and crushing

the independence of the unions with the new anti-union laws.

The unemployment rate in Ireland still hovered, officially, between 17% and 19%. Hospitals were being closed down and the youth were still emigrating to find jobs. The numbers homeless in the United States reached the highest level ever recorded.

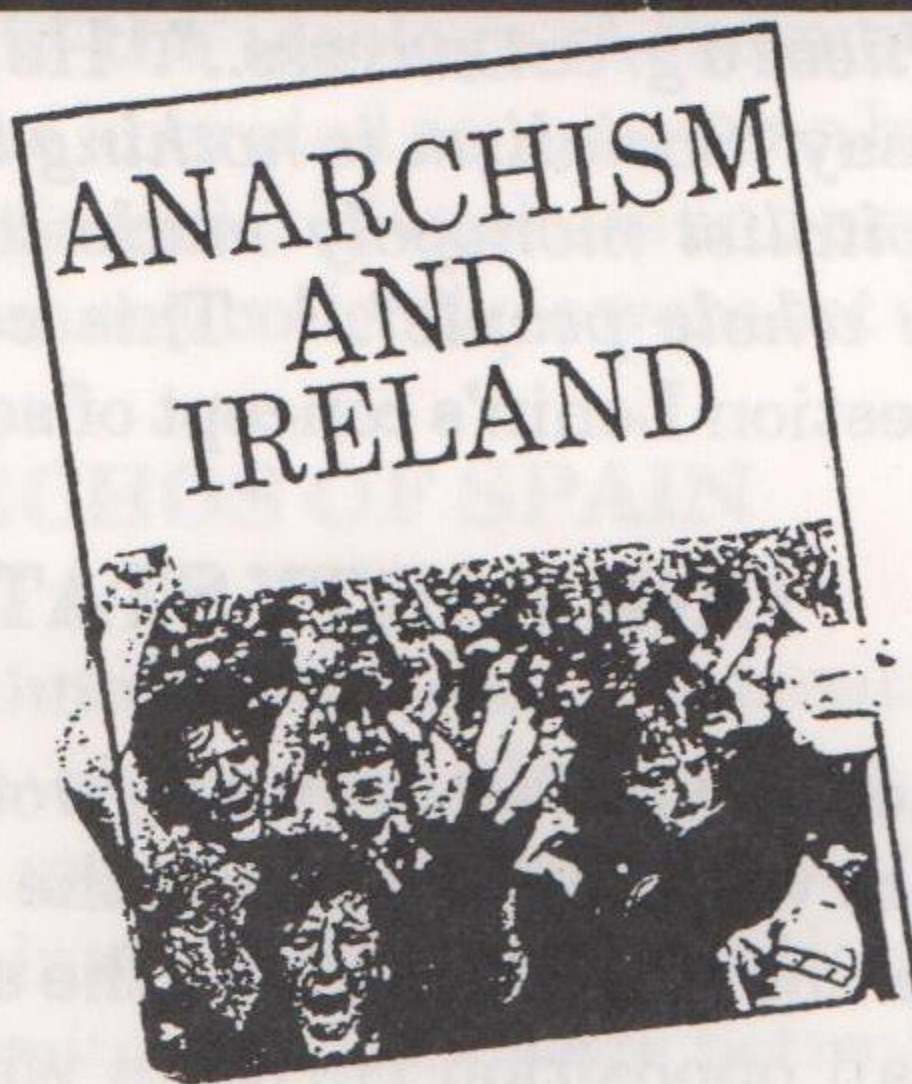
The ruling class will never invest in lower than average profit making businesses simply because they don't need to. And it is in their interests to keep people unemployed and hungry. The only sizable gains that are made for the workers are when they fight for them and win them against the ruling classes' wishes.

Therefore capitalism can only offer to the worker a continuous struggle, against the ruling class, for the necessities of life. We can never be as rich as the ruling class, because we can never own what they own.

The only way to achieve long term riches for all is by a complete elimination of the class system. It will have to be replaced with ownership of the means of production by the working class. And that means everybody having a fair say in how things are run, not just a ruling "political party" clique who would be no more than the replacement of one set of rulers by another.

Andrew Blackmore

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Peace Train runs out of steam

*"Are you right there Michael are you right
do you think that we'll be home before the night
ah it all depends on whether the old engine holds together
and it might now Michael sure it might"* (Percy French)

Last year saw the spectacular sight of all the major Irish political parties (with the exception of Sinn Féin) and a ragtag of rent-a-liberals (David Norris, Eamon Dunphy etc) and rent-a-reactionaries like Conor "Capetown Cruise" O'Brien come together to solve a problem of supposed national importance. Sound improbable? Cast your mind back to the heady days of "The Peace Train".

Posters given out by the organisers before it's maiden voyage assured us that every dog and divil in Ireland wanted this train to run except those spoil sports in the IRA. Deft manipulation of an already biased media bought massive publicity. The peace train set off, stopped (hoax bomb warning), started, stopped and finally started again eventually reaching Connolly station after an extended weekend journey.

The object of the exercise was the familiar one of portraying the IRA as criminals bent on destroying "civilised society" North and South. We maintain that nothing is further then the truth. The IRA are a response to the action of British imperialism in Ireland. It was the British ruling class and not the IRA who drew up artificial boundaries and set Protestant against Catholic workers. It was they who sent in troops to blast protesters back into the ghettos and maintain the status quo.

We recognise that the IRA's revival and continuous existence since 1970 was a reaction to this. We defend the right of anyone to take up arms to defend themselves against imperialist aggression. However we do not support either the aims or the methods of Sinn Féin and the IRA.

Their initial aim of a 32 county Capitalist Ireland offers nothing to either Protestant or Catholic workers. Sinn Féin's strategy of 'broad front' political alliances with anything waving a green flag, backed by attacks on security forces and loyalist para-militaries, won't even get the troops out let alone move us an inch nearer to socialism.

The bombing of the Belfast to Dublin train line is a singular example of this. As class struggle anarchists we recognise that this is a pointless activity putting worker's lives and jobs at risk. For an organisation that is anti-partition it seems a bit bizarre to disrupt such links as there are between North and South. There is only one reason the bombings and hoaxes continue - it's an easy target. It is a clear example of the republicans' political bankruptcy.

On the other hand the statements from the peacetrain campaigners are, frankly, laughable. To hear Fianna Fáil and the PDs presiding over unemployment of 265,300 whining about the IRA causing unemployment is a sick joke. The British government presiding over the highest UK unemployment in Northern Ireland come out with similar crap. Unionist politicians like Paisley and Robinson who have marched at the head of thousands of armed para-militaries wax lyrical about terrorism.

Then of course there is the Worker's party trying frantically to shake off their connections with the Official IRA. The peace trainers have so many skeletons in their cupboards it's a wonder you can here a word of what they say over the rattling.

The whole scheme has been even further compromised by recent revelations of massive secret British aid. On July 19th of this year British Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office proudly revealed that they had financed the whole fiasco to the tune of £8,000.

The cat is finally out of the bag. Anything that can distract the public from the British and Irish governments collusion in maintaining the sectarian cesspit of Northern Ireland is welcomed by them.

We believe that workers should lend not one jot of support to the peace train. We should campaign against ICTU's support for it. If they gave a fig about unemployment they wouldn't be up to their necks in deals with the government.

Only in the struggle against capitalism can sectarianism be beaten. It is important for us to attempt to also win workers in such struggles to anti-imperialist politics. Only the politics of anarchism not those of Sinn Féin or the peace train can bring peace and freedom and an end to oppression and imperialism.

How Lenin led to Stalin

FOR THE LENINIST far left the collapse of the USSR has thrown up more questions than it answered. If the Soviet Union really was a 'workers state' why were the workers unwilling to defend it? Why did they in fact welcome the changes?



What happened to Trotskys "political revolution or bloody counter revolution"? Those Leninist organisations which no longer see the Soviet Union as a workers state do not escape the contradictions either. If Stalin was the source of the problem why do so many Russian workers blame Lenin and the other Bolshevik leaders too.

The mythology of "Lenin, creator and sustainer of the Russian revolution" is now dying. With it will go all the Leninist groups for as the Soviet archives are increasingly opened it will become increasingly difficult to defend Lenin's legacy. The Left in the west has dodged and falsified the Lenin debate for 60 years now. Now however there is a proliferation of articles and meetings by the various Trotskyist groups trying to convince workers that Lenin did not lead to Stalin. Unfortunately much of this debate is still based on the slander and falsifications of history that has been symptomatic of Bolshevism since 1918. The key questions of what comprises Stalinism and when did "Stalinism" first come into practice are dodged in favour of rhetoric and historical falsehood.

Stalinism is defined by many features and indeed some of these are more difficult than others to lay at the feet of Lenin. The guiding points of Stalin's foreign policy for instance was the idea of peaceful co-existence with the West while building socialism in the USSR ("socialism in one country"). Lenin is often presented as the opposite extreme, being willing to risk all in the cause of international revolution. This story like many others however is not all it seems. Other points that many would consider characteristic of Stalinism include, the creation of a one party state, no control by the working class of the economy, the dictatorial rule of individuals over the mass of society, the brutal crushing of all workers' action and the use of slander and

historical distortion against other left groups.

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

The treaty of Brest-Livtosk of 1918, which pulled Russia out of World War I, also surrendered a very large amount of the Ukraine to the Austro-Hungarians. Obviously, there was no potential of continuing a conventional war (especially as the Bolsheviks had used the slogan "peace, bread, land" to win mass support). Yet, the presence of the Makhnovist movement in the Ukraine, clearly demonstrated a vast revolutionary potential among the Ukrainian peasants and workers. No attempt was made to supply or sustain those forces which did seek to fight a revolutionary war against the Austro-Hungarians. They were sacrificed in order to gain a respite to build "socialism" in Russia.

The second point worth considering about Lenin's internationalism is his insistence from 1918 onwards, that the task was to build "state capitalism, as "If we introduced state capitalism in approximately 6 months' time we would achieve a great success.."¹ He was also to say "Socialism is nothing but state capitalist monopoly made to benefit the whole people".² This calls into question Lenin's concept of socialism.

ONE PARTY STATE

Another key feature many would associate with Stalinism was the creation of a one party state, and the silencing of all opposition currents within the party. Many Trotskyists will still try to tell you that the Bolsheviks encouraged workers to take up and debate the points of the day, both inside and outside the party. The reality is very different for the Bolsheviks rapidly clamped down on the revolutionary forces outside the party, and then on

those inside that failed to toe the line.

In April 1918 the Bolshevik secret police (The Cheka) raided 26 Anarchist centres in Moscow. 40 Anarchists were killed or injured and over 500 imprisoned³. In May the leading Anarchist publications were closed down⁴. Both of these events occurred before the excuse of the outbreak of the Civil War could be used as a 'justification'. These raids occurred because the Bolsheviks were beginning to lose the arguments about the running of Russian industry.

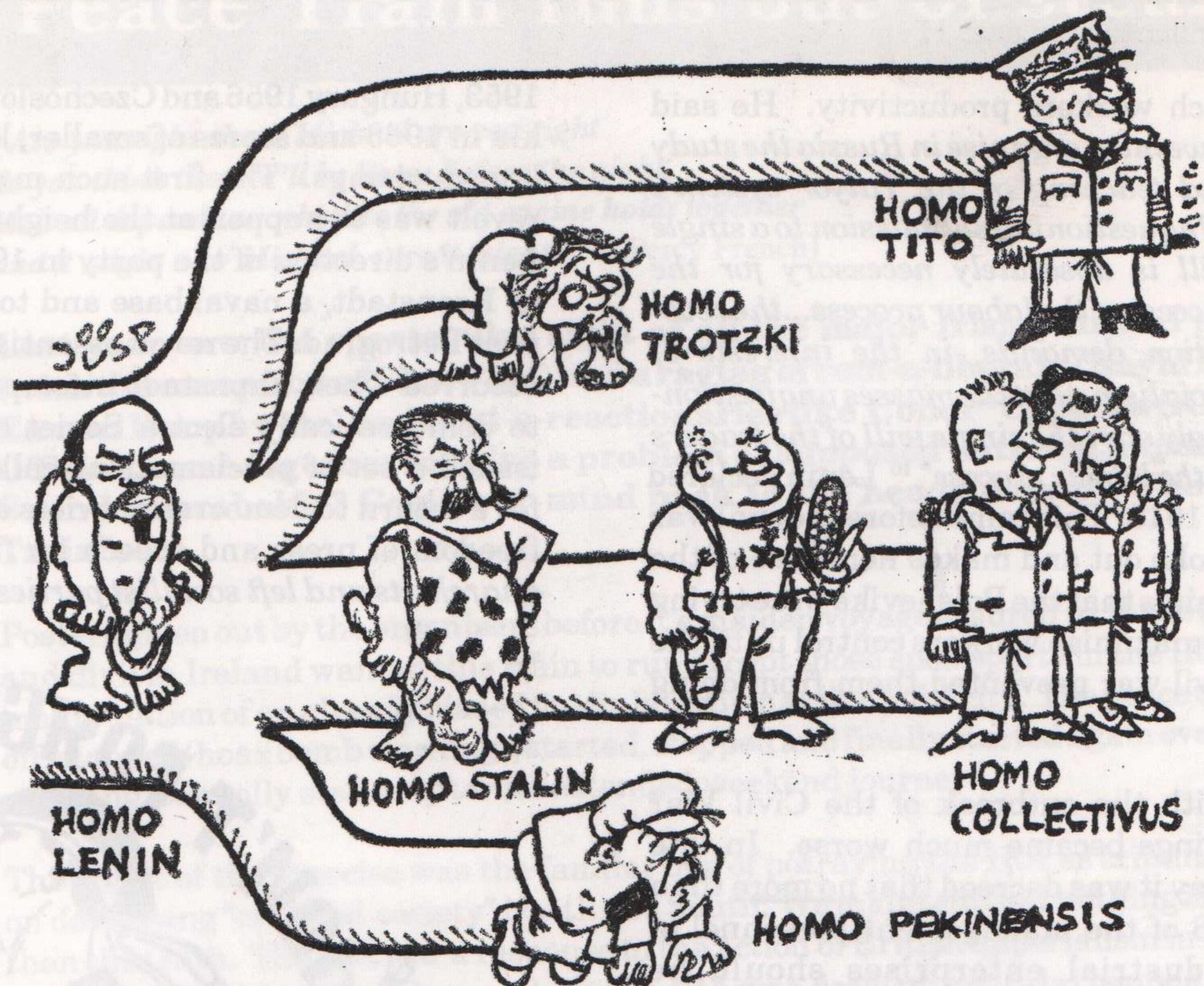
In 1918 also a faction of the Bolshevik party critical of the party's introduction of 'Talyorism' (the use of piece work and time & motion studies to measure the output of each worker, essentially the science of sweat extraction) around the journal *Kommunist* were forced out of Leningrad when the majority of the Leningrad party conference supported Lenin's demand "that the adherents of *Kommunist* cease their separate organisational existence".⁵

The paper was last published in May, silenced "Not by discussion, persuasion or compromise, but by a high pressure campaign in the Party organisations, backed by a barrage of violent invective in the party press...".⁶ So much for encouraging debate!!

A further example of the Bolsheviks 'encouraging debate' was seen in their treatment of the Makhnovist in the Ukraine. This partisan army which fought against both the Ukrainian nationalists and the White generals at one time liberated over 7 million people. It was led by the anarchist Nestor Makhno and anarchism played the major part in the ideology of the movement. The liberated zone was ran by a democratic soviet of workers and peasants and many collectives were set up.

ECHOS OF SPAIN

The Makhnovists entered into treaties with the Bolsheviks three times in order to maintain a stronger united front against the Whites and nationalists. Despite this they were betrayed by the Bolsheviks three times, and the third time they were destroyed after the Bolsheviks arrested and executed all the delegates sent to a joint military council. This was under the instructions of Trotsky! Daniel Guerin's description of Trotsky's dealings with the Makhnovists is instructive "He refused to give arms to Makhno's parti-



The family tree of Leninism ...an inherited genetic disease is killing off its branches

*sans, failing in his duty of assisting them, and subsequently accused them of betrayal and of allowing themselves to be beaten by white troops. The same procedure was followed 18 years later by the Spanish Stalinists against the anarchist brigades"*⁷

The final lid was put on political life outside or inside the party in 1921. The 1921 party congress banned all factions in the communist party itself. Trotsky made a speech denouncing one such faction, the Workers Opposition as having "placed the workers right to elect representatives above the party. As if the party were not entitled to assert its dictatorship even if that dictatorship temporarily clashed with the passing moods of the workers democracy".⁸

Shortly afterwards the Kronstadt rising was used as an excuse to exile, imprison and execute the last of the anarchists. Long before Lenins death the political legacy now blamed on Stalin had been completed. Dissent had been silenced inside and outside the party. The one party state existed as of 1921. Stalin may have been the first to execute party members on a large scale but with the execution of those revolutionaries outside the party and the silencing of dissidents within it from 1918 the logic for these purges was clearly in place.

Another key area is the position of the working class in the Stalinist society. No Trotskyist would disagree that

under Stalin workers had no say in the running of their workplaces and suffered atrocious conditions under threat of the state's iron fist. Yet again these conditions came in under Lenin and not Stalin. Immediately after the revolution the Russian workers had attempted to federate the factory committees in order to maximise the distribution of resources. This was blocked, with Bolshevik 'guidance', by the trade unions.

By early 1918 the basis of the limited workers control offered by the Bolsheviks (in reality little more than accounting) became clear when all decisions had to be approved by a higher body of which no more than 50% could be workers. Daniel Guerin describes the Bolshevik control of the elections in the factories "elections to factory committees continued to take place, but a member of the Communist cell read out a list of candidates drawn up in advance and voting was by show of hands in the presence of armed 'Communist' guards. Anyone who declared his opposition to the proposed candidates became subject to wage cuts, etc."⁹

On March 26th 1918 workers control was abolished on the railways in a decree full of ominous phrases stressing "iron labour discipline" and individual management. At least, say the Trotskyists, the railways ran on time. In April Lenin published an article in *Isvestiya* which included the introduction of a card system for measuring

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How Lenin led to Stalin

continued from page 11

each workers productivity. He said *"..we must organise in Russia the study and teaching of the Talyor system"*. *"Unquestioning submission to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of the labour process...the revolution demands, in the interests of socialism, that the masses unquestioningly obey the single will of the leaders of the labour process"*¹⁰ Lenin declared in 1918. This came before the civil war broke out and makes nonsense of the claims that the Bolsheviks were trying to maximise workers control until the civil war prevented them from doing so.

With the outbreak of the Civil War things became much worse. In late May it was decreed that no more than 1/3 of the management personnel of industrial enterprises should be elected.¹¹ A few "highlights" of the following years are worth pointing out. At the ninth party congress in April of 1920 Trotsky made his infamous comments on the militarization of labour *"the working class...must be thrown here and there, appointed, commanded just like soldiers. Deserters from labour ought to be formed into punitive battalions or put into concentration camps"*.¹² The congress itself declared *"no trade union group should directly intervene in industrial management."*¹³

ONE MAN MANAGEMENT

At the trade union congress that April, Lenin was to boast how in 1918 he had *"pointed out the necessity of recognising the dictatorial authority of single individuals for the purpose of carrying out the soviet idea"*.¹⁴ Trotsky declared that *"labour..obligatory for the whole country, compulsory for every worker is the basis of socialism"*¹⁵ and that the militarisation of labour was no emergency measure¹⁶. In *War Communism and Terrorism* published by Trotsky that year he said *"The unions should discipline the workers and teach them to place the interests of production above their own needs and demands"*. It is impossible to distinguish between these policies and the labour policies of Stalin.

WORKERS REVOLTS

Perhaps the most telling condemnation of the Stalinist regimes came from their crushing of workers' revolts, both the well known ones of East Berlin

1953, Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 and scores of smaller, less known risings. The first such major revolt was to happen at the height of Lenin's direction of the party in 1921 at Kronstadt, a naval base and town near Petrograd. The revolt essentially occurred when Kronstadt attempted to democratically elect a Soviet and issued a set of proclamations calling for a return to democratic soviets and freedom of press and speech for *"the anarchists and left socialist parties"*.¹⁷

This won the support of not only the mass of workers and sailors at the base but of the rank and file of the Bolshevik party there as well. Lenin's response was brutal. The base was stormed and many of the rebels who failed to escape were executed. Kronstadt had been the driving force for the revolution in 1917 and in 1921 the revolution died with it.

There are other commonly accepted characteristics of Stalinism. One more that is worth looking at is the way Stalinist organisations have used slander as a weapon against other left groups. Another is the way that Stalin



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re-wrote history. Yet again this is something which was a deep strain within Leninism. Makhno for example went from being hailed by the Bolshevik newspapers as the "*Nemesis of the whites*"¹⁸ to being described as a Kulak and a bandit.

SLANDER

Modern day Trotskyists are happy to repeat this sort of slander along with describing Makhno as an anti-Semite. Yet the Jewish historian M. Tchernikover says "*It is undeniable that, of all the armies, including the Red Army, the Makhnovists behaved best with regard to the civilian population in general and the Jewish population in particular.*"¹⁹

The leadership of the Makhnovists contained Jews and for those who wished to organise in this manner there were specific Jewish detachments. The part the Makhnovists played in defeating the Whites has been written out of history by every Trotskyist historian, some other historians however consider they played a far more decisive role than the Red Army in defeating Wrangel²⁰.

Kronstadt provides another example of how Lenin and Trotsky used slander against their political opponents. Both attempted to paint the revolt as being organised and led by the whites. *Pravda* on March 3rd, 1921 described it as "*A new White plot....expected and undoubtedly prepared by the French counter-revolution*". Lenin in his report to the 10th party congress on March 8th said "*White generals, you all know it, played a great part in this. This is fully proved.*"²¹

Yet even Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer said in "*The Prophet Armed*" "*The Bolsheviks denounced the men of Kronstadt as counter-revolutionary mutineers, led by a White general. The denunciation appears to have been groundless*"²².

RE-WRITING HISTORY

Some modern day Trotskyists repeat such slanders, others like Brian Pearce (historian of the Socialist Labour League in Britain) try to deny it ever occurred "*No pretence was made that the Kronstadt mutineers were White Guards*"²³ In actual fact the only czarist general in the fort had been put there as commander by Trotsky some months earlier! Lets leave the last words on this to the workers of

ON QUOTES AND MISQUOTES

The problem when writing an article covering this period of history is where you select your quotations from. Both Lenin and Trotsky changed their positions many times in this period. Many Leninists for example try to show Lenin's opposition to Stalinism by quoting from *State and Revolution* (1917). This is little more than deception as Lenin made no attempt to put the program outlined in this pamphlet into practise. In any case it still contains his curious conception of Workers control.

I have only used quotes from the October revolution to 1921 and in every case these quotes are either statements of policy, or what should be policy at the time. As socialists are aware governments in opposition may well say "Health cuts hurt the old, the sick and the handicapped". It is however in power that you see their real programme exposed.

Kronstadt "*Comrades, don't allow yourself to be misled. In Kronstadt, power is in the hands of the sailors, the red soldiers and of the revolutionary workers*"²⁴

There is irony in the fact that these tactics of slander and re-writing history as perfected by the Bolsheviks under Lenin were later to be used with such effect against the Trotskyists. Trotsky and his followers were to be denounced as "Fascists" and agents of international imperialism. They were to be written and air-brushed out of the history of the revolution. Yet today his followers, the last surviving Leninists use the same tactics against their political opponents.

The intention of this article is to provoke a much needed debate on the Irish left about the nature of Leninism and where the Russian revolution went bad. The collapse of the Eastern European regimes makes it all the more urgent that this debate goes beyond trotting out the same old lies. If Leninism lies at the heart of Stalinism then those organisations that follow Lenin's teaching stand to make the same mistakes again. Anybody in a Leninist organisation who does not take this debate seriously is every bit as blind and misled as all those Communist Party members who thought the Soviet Union was a socialist country until the day it collapsed.

Andrew Flood

1. V.I. Lenin "Left wing childishness and petty-bourgeois mentality", 2. V.I. Lenin "The threatening catastrophe and how to fight it", 3. M. Brinton "The Bolsheviks and

Workers Control" page 38, 4. M. Brinton page 38, 5. Brinton, page 39, 6. Brinton, page 40, 7. D. Guerin "Anarchism", page 101, 8. Brinton, page 78, 9. Guerin, page 91, 10. Brinton, page 41, 11. Brinton, page 43, 12. Brinton, page 61, 13. Brinton, page 63, 14. Brinton, page 65, 15. Brinton, page 6 16. I. Deutscher, "The Prophet Armed" pages 500-07, 17. Ida Mett, "The Kronstadt Uprising", page 38, 18. A. Berkman, "Nestor Makhno", page 25, 19. quoted by Voline "The Unknown Revolution", page 572, 20. P. Berland, "Makhno", *Le Temps*, 28 Aug, 1934, 21. Lenin, Selected Works, vol IX, p. 98, 22. Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed*, page 511. 23. *Labour Review*, vol V, No. 3. 24. I. Mett, page 51.

Further reading

If you want to find out more about where the revolution failed these are some books worth getting

- The Bolsheviks & Workers' Control by Maurice Brinton. £ 3.95
- The Kronstadt Uprising by Ida Mett. £1.75
- Anarchism by Daniel Guerin. £4.95
- History of the Makhnovist movement (1918-21) by Piotr Arshinov. £ 5.50

All available post free from WSM Bookservice, PO Box 1528, Dublin 8. Cheques or Postal Orders payable to Workers Solidarity Movement.

LENINIST THEATRICALS

At a recent Socialist Workers Movement (a 'Leninist' group) public meeting in Dublin, the leader of a rival 'Leninist' tendency, the Irish Workers Group, was thrown out for requesting permission to speak.

Jim Larragy (IWG) had been completely ignored while signalling for permission to speak all through the 'question and comment' time. When he pointed this out to the chair he was physically ousted by the political leader of the SWM, Kieran Allen.

Any party that claims to be democratic should allow anyone who respects the rules of the chair to make a point in a public meeting. Unfortunately, it is normal practise for parties who do not believe in democracy to ignore their political opponents, and sometimes to throw them out, or bar them from entering.

Ironically the title of the meeting was "Good Riddance to Stalinism"!

ANARCHISM IN ACTION

the collectives in Spain

Many people would agree that the anarchist principle "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs" is a nice idea. A self managed society with everyone having a real say in how things were run is a lovely ideal. They might nod along to the lyrics of "Imagine" by John Lennon but then equally shake their heads and tell you that such a thing could never work "in the real world". You would probably be told that people are just naturally greedy and self-centred and such a thing would end in chaos.

However throughout the history of the 20th century ordinary working people have succeeded in taking things into their own hands and making a go of it. Nowhere, however, has come closer to a fully self-managed anarchist society than large areas of "republican" Spain during the Spanish Civil War.

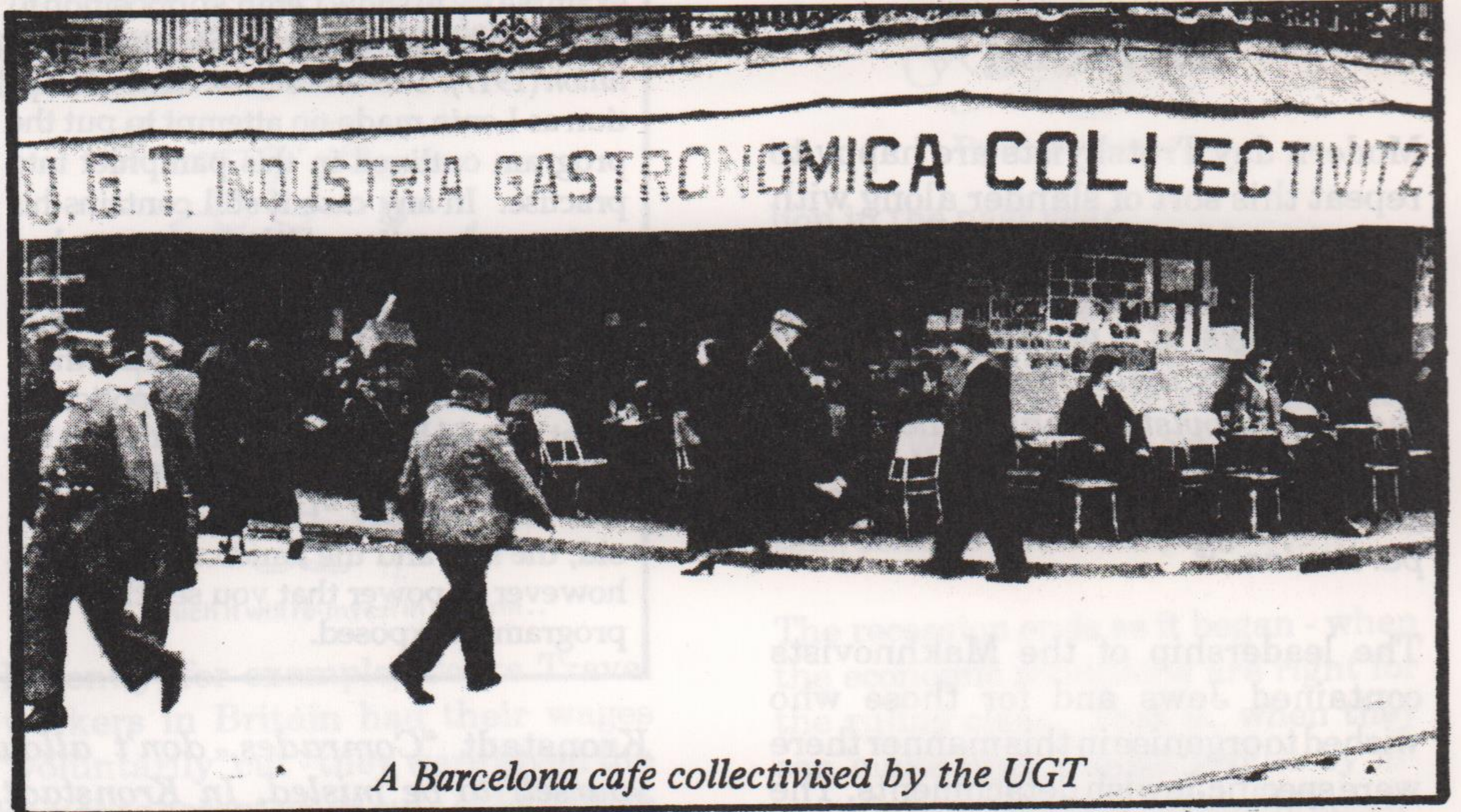
Collectives in the Spanish Revolution

by Gaston Leval
£8.95 (post free) from
Workers Solidarity Bookservice
P.O.Box 1528
Dublin 8

Here, for a short space of a few years, both on the land and in the factories workers and peasants demonstrated that far from chaos anarchism was an efficient, desirable and realisable method of running society.

This account of the enormous social revolution in Spain is mainly taken from Gaston Leval's "Collectives in the Spanish Civil War". Leval was a French anarchist exiled for resisting the World War I draft who spent many years in exile in Spain and Latin America.

He returned in 1936 just in time to document the revolution in economic and social organisation as it occurred. Rather than take off for the front he saw the importance of these changes



A Barcelona cafe collectivised by the UGT

and attempted to make a record of some sort for the future.

The extent of collectivisation on the land was unprecedented. Estimates of the numbers in collectives range as high as 5-7 million directly or indirectly involved (from Leval himself). Certainly millions took part to some degree from periods of weeks to as long as three years as fortunes fluctuated in the war. At the height of collectivisation there were 400 collectives in Aragon, 700 in the Levant and 300 in Castile. Of course many just refuse to believe that so many people (whether landless or with fairly large holdings) would voluntarily collectivise.

FORCED COLLECTIVISATION?

One accusation which is repeated by almost all historians of the Spanish civil war is that the columns of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT union enforced collectivisation at the point of a gun. Ironically enough this was first put about by no less an authority the Spanish Communist Party but it is still accepted as gospel by the majority of historians of the civil war.

Of course this doesn't stand up to even a glance at the facts. The CNT was a mainly industrial union based in Barcelona and Madrid. In many areas such as Castile and Aragon their numbers were extremely low. For example there were only 34,000 members of the CNT in Aragon, Navarre

and Rioja all areas where most of the land was collectivised.

The military columns of the CNT moved immediately to the front and mostly took no further part in the collectives. As Leval puts it, they "lived on the fringes of the task of social transformation being carried out". Some far sighted militants such as Durutti realising their importance sent some members back to the collectives. But these were skilled organisers not armed troops.

Finally in all the collectivised areas there were many "individualists" who were allowed to hang on to their land. Far from been harassed to join they were often allowed to avail of the many free services of the collectives. Though their numbers declined with time in many cases they remained a significant minority. This couldn't have happened if collectivisation was forced.

ARAGON

Let's take a closer look at one region- Leval's first example: Aragon. An estimated 69.5 % of Aragon's 430,000 inhabitants in the revolutionary zone took part in collectives in total, with up to 400 collectives established. When Leval arrived in February 1937 there were 275 collective villages with 141,430 families organised into 24 cantonal federations holding their first conference in Caspe. Obviously over the seven months since the Fascist coup in July this was a major achieve-

ment.

He visited the main collectives of seven of these federations. Collectivisation occurred in a similar way in most of them. After the major landowners had fled the land an assembly was held. It was decided to seize all land and machinery hold it in common. Teams were formed to various jobs, each electing recallable delegates to a village assembly.



To distribute the common stock of goods rationing or a family wage was brought in. Given the low level of Spanish agriculture and the demands of the war it wasn't possible to jump immediately to communist distribution (i.e. free goods for all) in Aragon (or most other areas). However there was a major increase in living standards along with a greater say for everyone and a huge range of free social services.

In the village of Graus, for example, the family (which persisted as the main social form) wage meant a 15% increase in money going into households. All services such as electricity and gas were free as well as free and hugely improved medical, educational and entertainment facilities. Overall this meant an increase in living standards of 50-100%.

There were many increases in productivity and efficiency. In several areas huge new projects were made possible by collectivisation. In Esplugas there were four new piggeries producing

hundreds of animals and the sheep herd increased from 600 to 2,000. In Mas de Las Mantas a huge collective bakery handled all the baking previously the exclusive task of women in the home. In Alcorisa there had been a 50% increase in cultivated land and centralisation of tailor's shops brought a 66% increase in production.

These are just a few examples where the landlord system had held back the efficient use of land while peasants and labours had faced starvation every year.

At the February meeting of the cantonal federations measures were been taken to set aside areas of land for research into better seed production in each canton. It had been suggested, for example, that virus free potatoes could be raised in the mountains of upper Aragon. These type of innovations could never have been dreamed up by the landlords who relied entirely on cheap labour (without "wasting" money on machines) to keep them well heeled while the majority starved.

The Federation was also attempting to promote exchanges between collectives with richer ones distributing food and machinery to those in less well off areas. The collectives also supplied the major cities voluntarily (unlike the case in the Russian civil war (1921) where forced grain seizures by the Bolsheviks killed off any fellow feeling between rural and urban workers). They also sent spare supplies to columns at the front.

INDIVIDUALISTS

The conference also took an interesting attitude towards 'individualist' farmers which contrasted with Stalin's murderous forced collectivisation in the 1930s. The individualists were left to their own devices though the collectives were under no obligation to give them any aid (in practice most did). However they were totally forbidden from employing workers and they lost automatic inheritance rights. Many individualists did eventually go

over to the collectives and they were usually won over by example and not forced.

Aragon is only one of the regions covered. In some other areas there was almost a fully communist system in operation. For example in the Naval collective in Huesca a system operated where you just went to the collective store and took what you needed. Contributions and withdrawals were recorded and all was reduced to simple accounting.

In most areas this just wasn't possible and rationing was the order of the day. However the achievements are still impressive given the miserable state of Spanish agriculture in the first place.

INDUSTRIAL COLLECTIVES

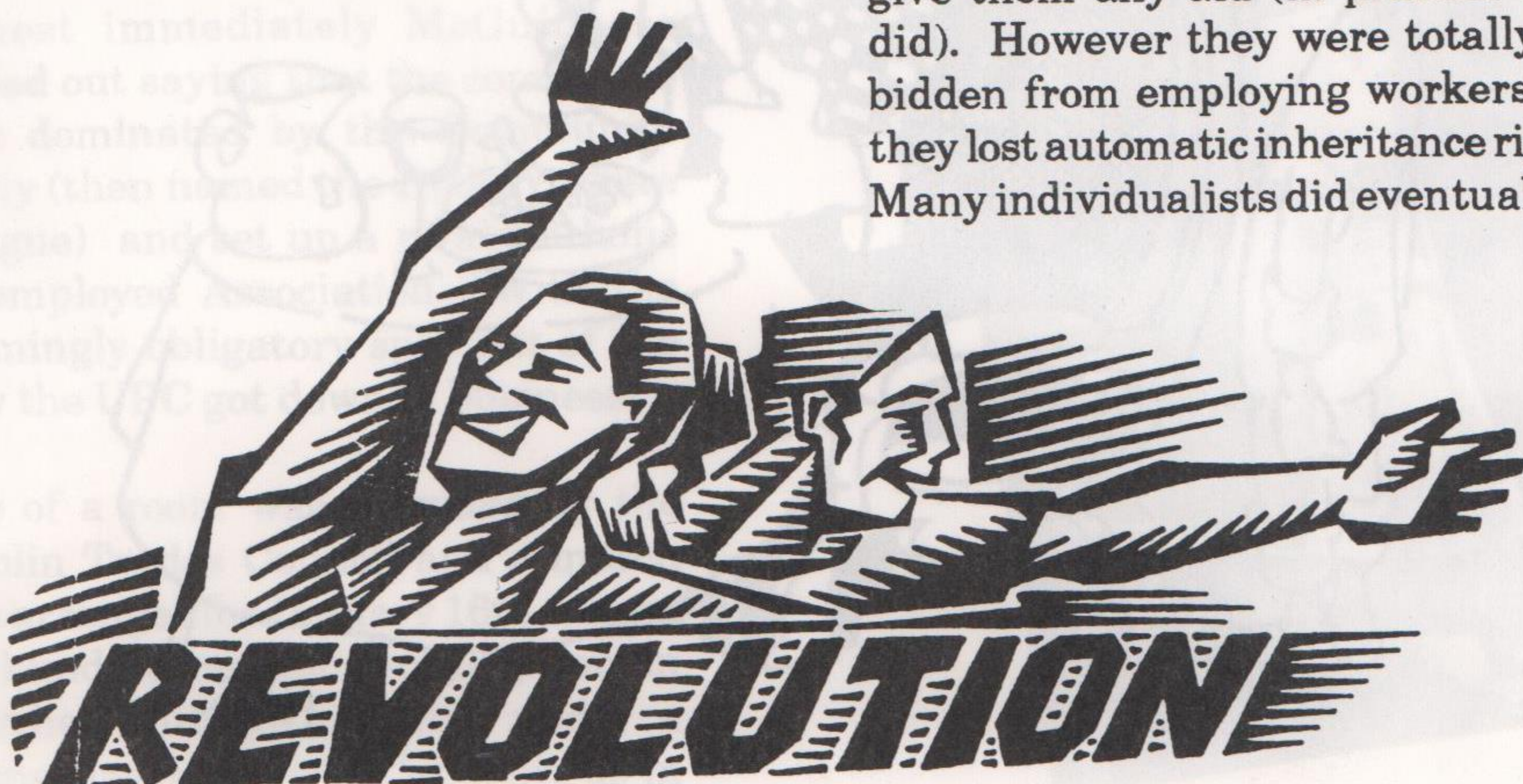
The CNT was a mainly urban anarcho-syndicalist union drawing much of its support from workers in Barcelona and Madrid. For this reason it may seem surprising that industrial collectivisation did not go as far as that on the land. However it must be remembered that many of these industries depended almost totally on countries outside Spain for both markets and raw materials. These were almost immediately cutoff by the European governments on the grounds of "non-interference" in Spain's internal affairs. Also most factories had to retool for the war effort which made huge demands on labour time.

Even allowing for this, however, as Leval points out there was not true socialisation in many cases "but a worker's Neo-Capitalism". By this he meant that the framework of capitalism was maintained with workers running factories, selling goods and sharing the profits.

CNT

His loyalty to the CNT prevents him from pointing the finger here. Their refusal to drive the revolution through to its logical conclusion, abolishing capitalism and refusing to share power with the bourgeois in government must be singled out as the decisive reason why industry wasn't entirely self-managed. The CNT's syndicalism left them uninterested in politics and political power. They left the parliament and state structure intact which gave the bourgeois a base from which to rebuild. They should have destroyed

continued on page 16



Spain

continued from page 15

the government's political power entirely and used the arms and gold reserves seized to further the revolution.

All things considered, the achievements in industrial collectivisation were still amazing and surprised foreign observers like George Orwell. 3000 enterprises in Barcelona were collectivised. A council was elected by an assembly of all the workers to run each workplace. Each section elected delegates to liaise with the council on day to day matters. The council sent recallable representatives to a council for each industry which drew up general plans for that industry.

All the major services were greatly improved. Equal wages were paid to all grades and the general wage level

was increased for most workers.

For example all the small electricity generators in private hands were linked together and new dams and generators built to give a more efficient system. The water supply which had been erratic was improved with supply going up to 150,000 cubic metres fairly quickly (Leval explains, however that it couldn't be increased much further as most existing natural catchments were been used and, presumably, there wasn't time to build reservoirs).

Perhaps the most dramatic improvement was on the trams, the major method of transport in Barcelona. Five days after the fascists were beaten off the streets the trams were running under workers' control. The fleet had been increased from 600 to 700 by the repair of 100 trams previously discarded as un-fixable. A new safety and signal system was built. Track and roadway repaired and improved, an automatic breakdown warning system installed and many lines re-routed.

Passengers carried increase from 183,543,516 to 233,557,506 at a standard class cheap fare. Tell that to anyone who maintains workers are too ignorant to run things themselves!

The Spanish revolution proved conclusively, if only briefly, that given a chance workers and peasants can run things themselves a lot better than the bosses. The elimination of the profit motive and the undistorted application of technology improved life greatly for those involved.

Workers' self-management and the agricultural collectives didn't collapse due to some flaw in human nature. They were smashed by fascist attacks from the front and Communist tanks in the rear (for example a division of tanks under the command of the Communist general Lister was used to destroy most of the Aragon collectives). Anarchism as a method of organising society faced the test of history and passed with flying colours.

Des McCarron

Why half the world's children go to bed hungry

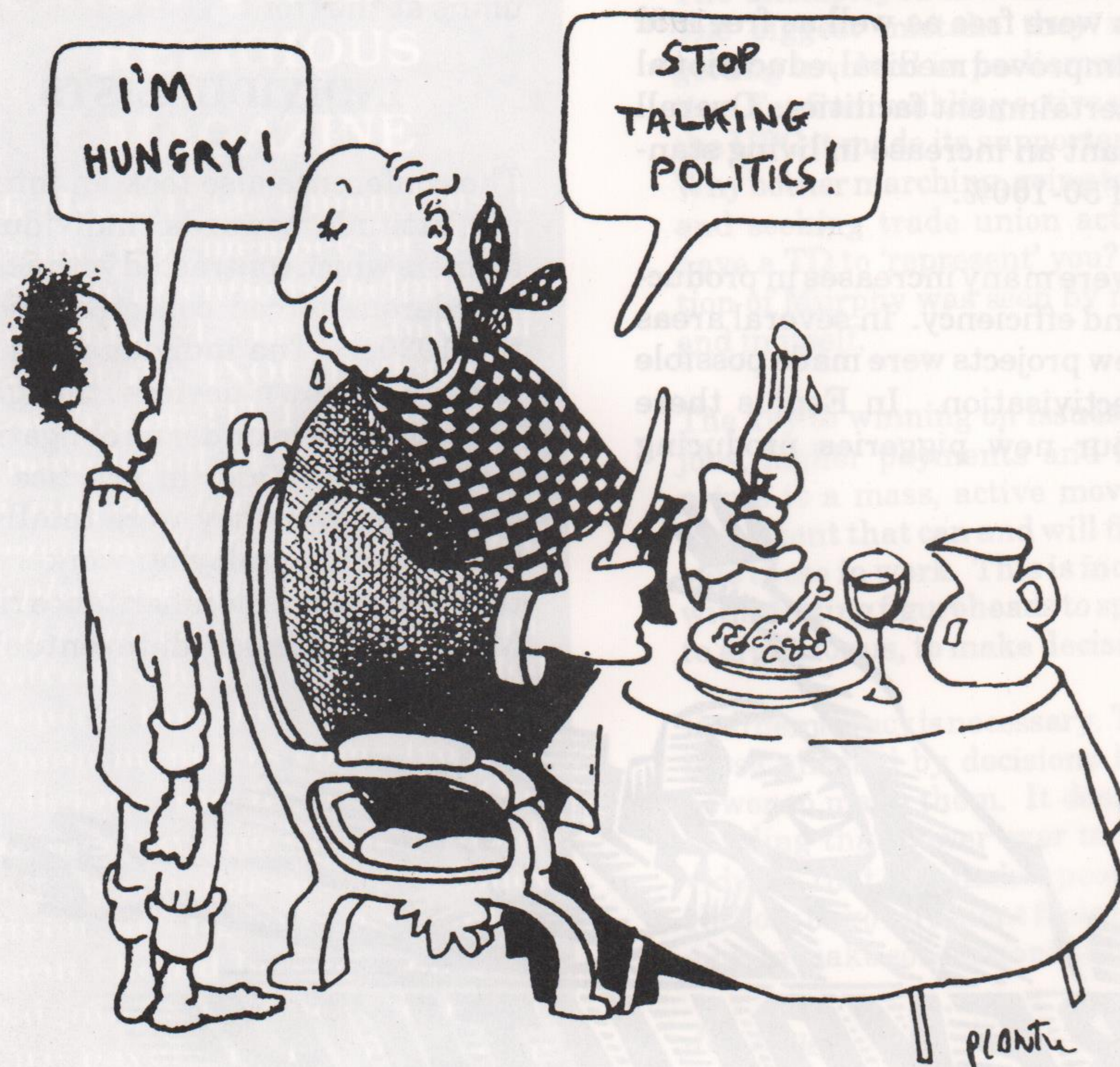
It's hard to know how any one can consider capitalism a viable system when looking at the situation of the less developed countries. After the millions raised by Live Aid, it seems unreal that people are going hungry. A recent UN report estimates that 30 million people face starvation. Yet EC beef, butter and wine mountains rot in European warehouses, farmers are ploughing crops back into the land, in US corn belt fields of wheat are burnt.

There's a bit of a modern myth that the problems of Africa are either their own fault (over population, wars) or beyond anyone's control (drought, desertification). Though it's true these are contributory factors, many other countries cope with these same prob-

lems without the huge loss of life suffered by Africa (for example China, even England has been through war and drought).

The reasons cited by the UN for the deaths of these people are as follows; lack of resources from the international community, poor planning and falling prices on the commodity markets (especially for cocoa and coffee). Companies selling to Africa have tightened up credit terms while external debt levels continued to increase.

When Africa was first colonised, land



was switched from production of food to feed the local population to the production of 'cash crops' such as cocoa, tea, coffee and sugar. These crops were exported to colonising countries at low prices. In a similar way corn was grown in Ireland during the 1845 famine. Today coffee and cocoa is still a major export of 15 African countries as they need the cash provided to keep up with debt repayments. Cocoa prices have fallen to their lowest level in 15 years while coffee is at a similar low level.

DEBT

In the early 1970's many African governments borrowed heavily. About 40% of debt is owed directly to other governments. In almost all cases this money was lent on the condition that it be used to purchase arms from the donor country or that subsidies be granted to multinationals based in the donor country. In this way the third world country is made to pay twice over. 25% of the debt is owed to the IMF and the World Bank. Today Africa's debt is estimated at 270 billion dollars. Repayments consume 30 per cent of export earnings.

UNITED NATIONS

It's obvious that the governments of the U.S., China and Europe aren't really interested in combating the crisis and these are the governments that run the UN. The last program of aid implemented by the United Nations (according to their own report) in 1986 met with little success. This was the plan the UN promised would revive Africa's economies. Instead, in their own words "By the end of 1990, it had become evident that the African crisis had indeed deepened...the average African continued to get poorer and suffer a persistent fall in an already meagre living standard". Now, five years later, they add that even if their latest plan was fully implemented (they call it ambitious) the average income per head in sub-Saharan Africa would only reach US\$700 per annum in 25 years time. Rather than offering the solution the governments that make up the UN itself that are the problem.

THE FUTURE

So it doesn't look as if the situation will fundamentally change. But then, why should the Western governments want things any different? Africa provides the bosses with markets for

the surplus goods we produce as well as cheap labour and raw materials. Live Aid showed that workers of the West are not willing to let Africa starve (as some Greens would argue), however it also showed that while the means of production and all the resulting profits are in the hands of the bosses, individual attempts at resolv-

ing the problems will do little more than make a dent in the problem. The type of massive development that Africa requires will only come about when the resources of this world are distributed according to need and not according to profit.

Aileen O'Carroll

DUMPED ON

ANARCHISTS often point to the Common Agricultural Policy of the EC as a typical example of capitalist values. It has led to massive beef, grain and butter mountains, and milk and wine lakes. Cold stores whose space is leased to the EC are built beside meat plants. Ireland has run out of storage space for butter. There is now a ship sitting in Cork Harbour loaded with butter sold into 'intervention'. It is going nowhere.

The purpose of these food mountains and lakes is to restrict the amount of goods released onto the market. Creating such artificial shortages leads to higher prices. The big profits that flow from this go mainly to the tax-evading big farmers and food barons like Larry Goodman. It is all about profits and that is why the EC bosses won't release more than a mere fraction of this food for famine relief. If you can't pay, you can't eat.

A growing mountain is tobacco. Many of us grew up when smoking was seen as acceptable, even glamorous. Thanks

to increasing awareness of the health risks we have cut our tobacco consumption by about 25% over the last ten years. However in the less developed countries we have seen the opposite trend. In Africa, according to the World Health Organisation, cigarette consumption has risen by an enormous 77% since the 1970s.

This problem is made worse by the EC and its CAP policy. £750 million a year is given in subsidies to tobacco farmers in countries like Greece and Italy. Much of this tobacco has a very high tar content but thanks to the sales techniques of multinational tobacco companies and the ability of farmers to exploit the subsidy, it ends up being sold in the developing countries.

Now that we know the effects of tobacco, the companies seek to maintain their super-profits by dumping it on an already deprived Third World. It would make more sense to use the £750 million to develop alternative crops that are useful. Unfortunately capitalism is less concerned with health than with wealth



Islamic Jihad, Iran, Israel, Britain, USA... The Hostage Takers

HOSTAGE TAKING - "the seizing of person or persons to use as a lever to get your own way" has been in the news lately. When John McCarthy was released on August 8th, George Bush said that he wished to see "the immediate and unconditional release of all hostages". The major examples of hostage taking that have taken place show that Bush was speaking with forked tongue.

As we go to press there are 10 Westerners held by; the "Islamic Jihad", "Revolutionary Justice Organisation" and the "Freedom Struggle" between them. The longest held is Terry Anderson who was captured on March 16, 1985.

SHOCKED PENISES

Meanwhile, Israel has roughly 375 Shia Moslems held without trial in Southern Lebanon at Khiam jail. They have been putting people in there since 1982. While the Westerners have not been treated like royalty, none of them have complained of having electric shock treatment to their penises or fingers like many released inmates from Khiam have reported. Neither the Red Cross or Amnesty International are allowed enter.

This is only the thin end of the wedge as far as Israel is concerned. It also holds almost 9,000 Palestinians in the "Occupied Territories". Israel has used these prisoners for exchanges in the past. 1,150 detainees were swapped in 1985, for three captured Israeli soldiers.

None of the above Israeli prisoners have been charged or tried. This officially recognised UN member and "democratic" state goes down as being by far the largest and most persistent hostage taker in the Middle East.

Back to the West. Every "democracy; US, Britain, Germany, Ireland, etc, has held people without trial or charge when they have felt the need.

Last August 10th saw the twentieth anniversary of internment in the

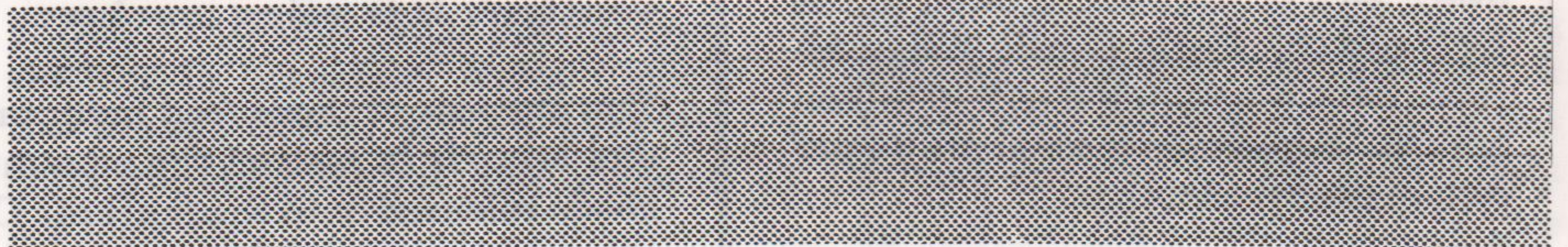
North. In order to break the Civil Rights campaign, the British government locked up mainly working class Catholics in famous hell-holes such as Long Kesh (Maze), Magilligan, Ballykinlar (and HMS Maidstone in Belfast harbour). Initially 342 Catholics were seized and in all 2,158 internment orders were made over a four year period.

Contrary to what the British State had hoped, this provoked a wave of protest. A rent and rates strike, supported by 23,000 Catholic households was started. Large demonstrations were held, notably on January 30, 1972 when the British Paratroop regiment murdered 13 anti-internment marchers in

Derry. The imposition of internment gave life blood to the reactivated IRA.

Since then the British government have got more "sophisticated". The majority of Catholic prisoners held in the North are in on their own "confessions" only. Either IRA members are extraordinarily honest or the "confessions" were beaten out of them by the RUC in the famous Castlereagh "questioning" centre. This brutal system is intended to beat the IRA into submission.

The Irish government too has used internment between 1956-61 during the IRA's border campaign in the North. Internment in both these cases



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Workers Solidarity Movement

ing. The message was given out clearly: "behave yourselves, do as we say and you will see your loved ones again".

Hostage taking is a regular occurrence - it is regarded as "normal" during war time. Germans in Britain were held on the Isle of Man during WWII and the Japanese in the USA were interned in camps after Pearl Harbour. More recently some Iraqis were interned during the Gulf War and curfews were imposed on certain ethnic areas of Britain.

The leaders of all these countries boast about "democratic rights". But a right is not a right if it can be taken away from you whenever your rulers want to. It is a legal fact that any government can lock you up for as long as it wants. It may have to declare a 'State of Emergency' or do some other legal nicety, but all the strings are in the states hands.

FREEDOM FOR ALL

We in the WSM condemn hostage taking, by the state or by a small elite who call themselves revolutionaries. But we always make it clear that the main hostage takers are the governments and states that rule us. They are the main threat to our liberty because they are the ones who can easiest take it away. They are also the ones who benefit most from locking us up. That is why when we call for freedom for all hostages we include, unlike George Bush, freedom for all the Palestinians and Lebanese and freedom for all prisoners in the North.

"Human Nature"

continued from back page

divide us. They split us into Protestant and Catholic, gay and straight, black and white, working class and so-called middle class (white collar workers).

But again and again the system throws us together in struggle. It is in struggle that we we come to depend on each other and co-operate for a common goal. This is the first step towards building a society where selfishness is replaced by co-operation, where the dictate of the boss is replaced by freedom, where we take control of our own lives and futures.

Alan MacSimóin

Public Meeting

Stalinism is dead; Socialism is alive and well

THE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVE

Wednesday October 16th
8pm

Kinlay House
Lord Edward Street
(opposite Dublin Castle)
Dublin 1

speakers:

Andrew Flood

&

Aileen O'Carroll

Organised by the Workers Solidarity Movement

letters

Dear Workers Solidarity,

I'd like to raise a few points from your article in *Workers Solidarity* 32 on ACT-UP and AIDS. You state in regard to ACT-UP "...the actions of one small group, however radical, will not on their own change the society we live in. The most they can do is raise awareness". The principal aim of ACT-UP, as I understand it, is not to change society but rather to force those who control the scientific resources, as well as the medical and social services in society, to take the AIDS crisis seriously. In this context ACT-UP have been quite effective, scoring successes like getting more resources diverted to AIDS sufferers, as well as helping to fight victimisation.

This fact contradicts what you say further on: "...the only way to fight back effectively is to mobilise the working class". Such an attitude gives no weight, as far as I can see, to forging the type of links that AIDS activists and organised workers will need to make if victimisation is to be successfully resisted.

I think it is important to recognise that ACT-UP exist in their own right and have been successful. They deserve respect and support for that. Moreover, we should also acknowledge that within the gay community they are a significant development. As exemplified by

their slogan 'Silence = Death', their militancy and hostility to accommodating homophobia in society places them, very definitely, in the anti-authoritarian camp.

Later in the article in regard to "capitalist controlled science" you say that "most drugs developed so far extend your life for a while, so you can buy more e.g. AZT, but there hasn't been as much research on drugs which could prevent or cure AIDS". This view is bordering on the absurd. Are we to believe that capitalists all have two horns and a tail too!

The field of AIDS research is both scientifically and internationally diverse. Even within the greedy context of the capitalist marketplace, such a scenario as you imply could not operate, nor would capitalists be so short sighted to go with it. Are you saying there is no money to made from a cure? I would argue that there would be much more to be made, especially given the projections for the increase in the number of sufferers in the next decade.

In so much as we should target current research, we should stress the underfunding of it, as well as the specific problem of private individual research into AIDS being so susceptible to cuts in line with profits, etc. But most of all the issue is why so much of societies wealth is wasted on 'smart bombs' and 'star wars', etc., when it is clearly needed to solve more pressing problems.

In solidarity,
Kevin Doyle,
San Francisco.

A WORLD without war, famine, poverty, racism? A world where there are no bosses ordering us around and living off our work? A world where competition is replaced by co-operation and individual freedom?

Sounds nice. Who wouldn't like to see it? But it can never happen, it runs against human nature. How many times have you heard that line? How many times have you been told that people are naturally selfish, greedy, prone to violence and short-sighted?

We are constantly being told that there will always be leaders and led, rulers and ruled. These ideas are powerful because they seem to make sense. We do live in a nasty, competitive society.

IT WOULD BE A MIRACLE

Capitalism is based on competition. Countries compete, companies compete. At work you are encouraged to compete for promotion (or to avoid being let go), in school you compete against other students to get the best exam results. With so much competition around it would be miraculous if people were not competitive.

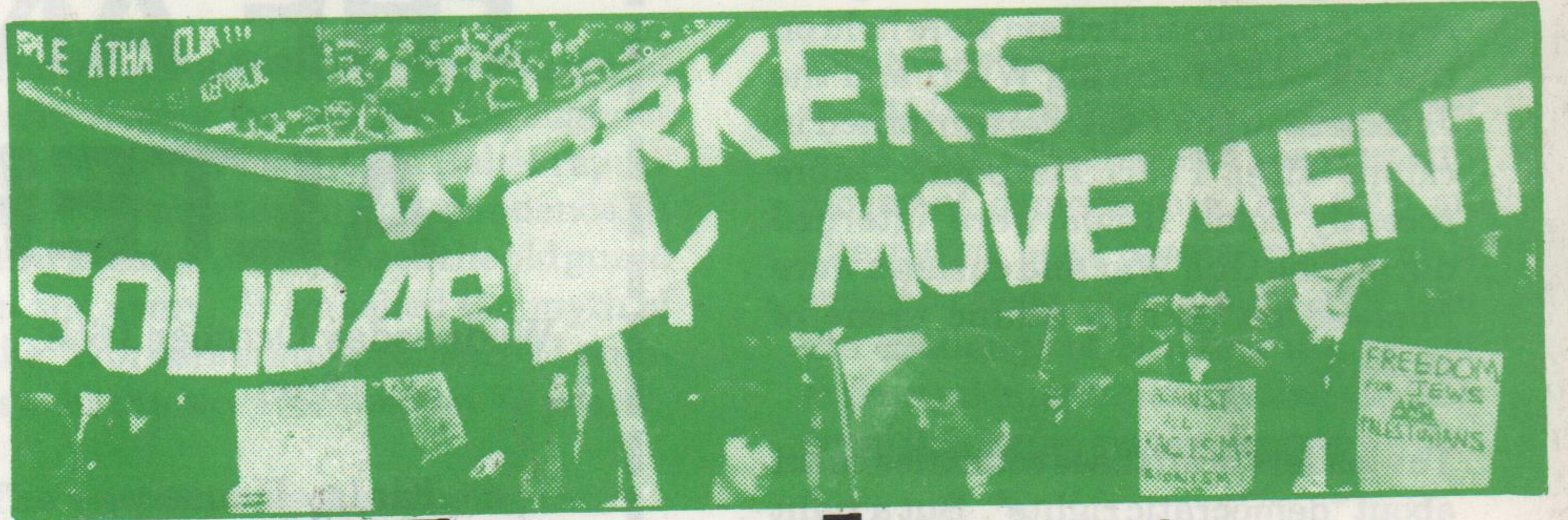
The question is whether this is natural? The idea that there is some eternally flawed human nature that we can't do much about gets lots of support from those with a stake in the existing set-up. Anarchists reject this as self serving nonsense churned out by those who are doing well out of capitalism and don't want to see it got rid of.

WHO DOESN'T CARE?

Despite the odds stacked against it we can find just as many examples of caring and co-operation as we can of selfishness and competition. Solidarity strikes are an obvious one. We even saw workers in Dunnes Stores go on strike for months in support of black workers in South Africa whom they



Thinking about Anarchism



What about human nature?

had never even met.

Look at any working class neighbourhood and you will find people caring for each other. They are organising football teams for the teenagers, summer projects for the younger children. This doesn't make sense if greed is part of our human nature.

WILLIE BERMINGHAM

Greed and selfishness don't motivate people to carry kidney donor cards or make them want to donate blood to the transfusion service. Greed did not inspire the late Willie Bermingham to start up ALONE to care for the elderly living on their own.

Selfishness does not lead people to give money to charities. It does not explain why nurses volunteer to work unpaid for Concern projects in the less developed countries.

But, we are told, there are those better suited to ruling, that inequality is natural and inevitable. Before capitalism the ruling class used the argument that God had chosen them, the 'divine right of kings'. With capitalism came a new justification. We are told that our bosses and rulers owe their position to superior talent. They 'merit' their position.

We are told that with intelligence and hard work anyone can make it. The other side of the coin is that those at the bottom of society are there because of their own laziness or because they are not as bright as the likes of Haughey or Ben Dunne. Are we really expected to accept that Pdraig Flynn is an intellectual giant? Are we to believe that the child of a millionaire has only the

same chances as the rest of us?

This is crap pushed at us to stop us questioning why the many do all the work while the few make all the important decisions and live off the fat of the land.

The true story is that we are products both of the environment we live in and of the changes we make on it. We have no control over what sort of society we are born into but we can change it.

CHANGING VIEWS OF 'NATURAL'

To law-abiding parents stopping the heroin dealers was a job for the gardai. When the gardai were not moving against the Larry Dunnes and Ma Bakers those same law-abiding parents thought it quite natural to organise into the CPAD and put the pushers out of their areas - even though doing that was illegal.

To the conscripted American soldier in Vietnam blindly obeying orders from officers seemed perfectly natural. After years of slaughter and massacres, desertion and even mutiny seemed natural.

To most workers getting in to work each Monday morning and taking orders from the boss seems natural until they are forced to strike. They may even challenge the right of the boss to control their workplace by occupying it.

WE CAN DO IT

We have the power to change the world. The ruling class know this and try to
continued over the page