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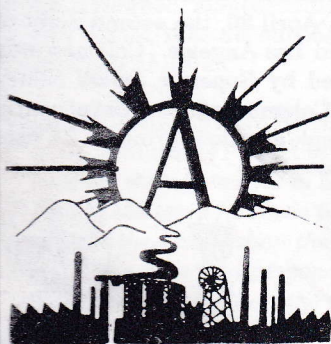
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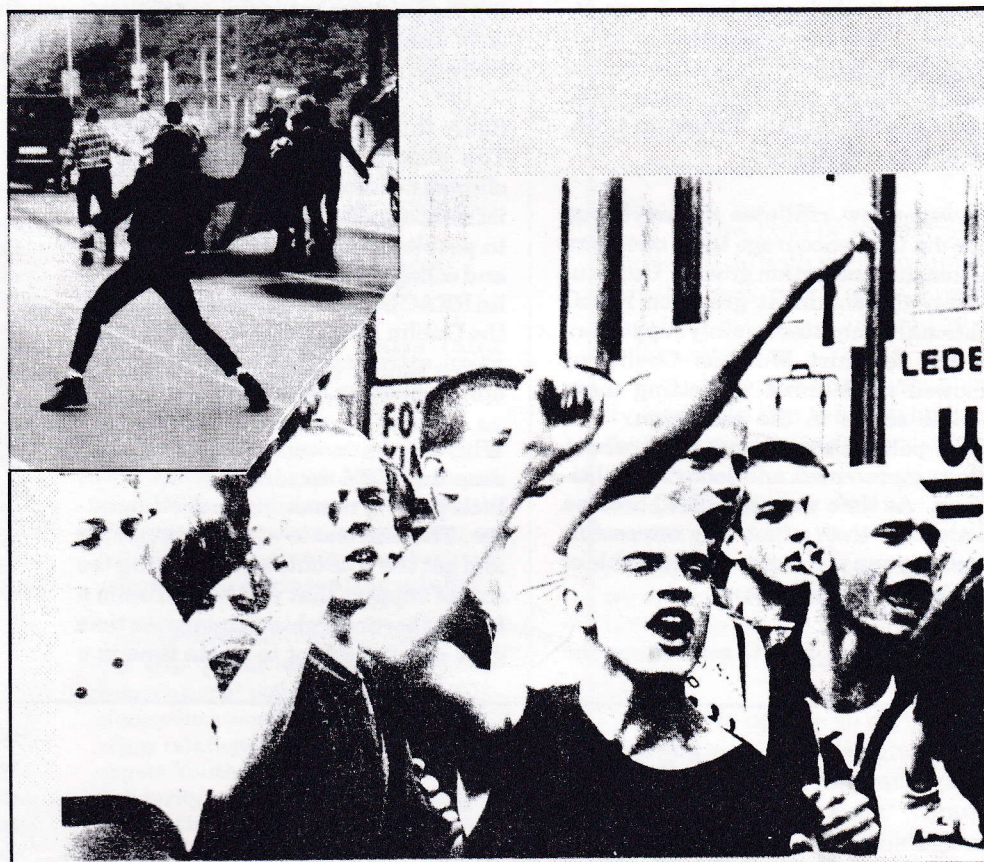


WORKERS SOLIDARITY

MAGAZINE OF THE WORKERS SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT
ISSUE NO. 37

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THE UGLY FACE of FASCISM

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IRISH ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

AUTUMN SAW the Workers Solidarity Movement devote much of its energy to the campaign for a 'No, Yes, Yes' vote in the abortion referendum. We took part in door-to-door leaf-letting, poster and organising meetings.

The main campaign in existence over the summer was the Repeal the Eighth Amendment Campaign. This had been formed in the wake of the "X" case to work for the scrapping of the 1983 anti-abortion Amendment to the Constitution. Initially it seemed to have some potential for bringing large forces together. Forty two organisations affiliated, including the Dublin Council of Trade Unions and Democratic Left. Local groups quickly formed in Cork, Dublin and Waterford.

However few affiliates did anything, nor did they encourage their members to join the local action groups. Unfortunately the dominant group on REAC national committee (mainly supporters of the feminist Womens Coalition) showed no interest in getting more people active in the campaign. For them politics was almost solely about press conferences and lobbying politicians. As time went on REAC became little more than a (not very successful) media group which proved incapable of attracting new members.

At the second REAC conference the

For Starters

WSM put forward a document addressing the problem and making concrete proposals for a democratic, active campaign. It was passed in its entirety, with the exception of one minute section. In elections to the committee the WSM got a second member elected. Three other activists (all working on the issue through the direct actionist Dublin Abortion Information Campaign) were also successful. Five of the outgoing 'leaders' also got seats, and the eleventh went to a member of the *Militant Socialist* group.

Sadly things went from bad to worse. The majority on the committee still showed no interest in building an activist campaign that could take arguments to people in the localities, workplaces and colleges, and win support. In Dublin REAC became an empty shell, while the Dublin Abortion Information Campaign attracted the most enthusiastic and stepped up its activity.

With the announcement of the referendum the WSM decided that there was little point in remaining on the committee. The task was to win the arguments and get the vote out, while winning the sort of support that will help to build a larger abortion rights campaign as time goes on. It was not to waste time in a

talk-shop which did next to nothing. Two other committee members took the same decision and all four resigned.

A broad umbrella group of campaigners, political groups, family planning clinics, womens organisations and students - the Alliance for Choice - was formed shortly after. This won the support of both the activists and of the remnants of REAC. In the next issue of *Workers Solidarity* we will look at the campaigns, the problems that arose, the things that worked and those that didn't, the referendum, and the plans for taking the abortion rights struggle forward.

Anarchists from Belfast, Cork, Dublin, Fermoy and Wexford met together in September for a weekend series of discussions (and much socialising!) between the WSM, other anarchists and people interested in our politics. Issues covered included ways to combat sectarianism in the North, feminism or anarchism?, whether an anarchist federation would be a good thing in today's Ireland, anarchist attitudes to crime & punishment, and more. If you weren't able to attend but would like to see the papers presented to the meeting, just send £1 to 'Summer Meeting', P.O. Box 1528, Dublin 8 and the documents will be yours.

THAT'S CAPITALISM

Shumon Miura, former Japanese Minister of Culture, made a revealing comment about his government's attitudes when he said "*men should be strong enough to rape women*". In spite of fierce protests from womens organisations he was appointed chair of the Tokyo Board of Education.

In 1991 26 county social welfare 'fraud' was estimated at £6.8 million. In the same year £2.5 billion was owed in unpaid taxes.

An MP of the Front National in the Alsace region of France is among three fascists charged with producing a

counterfeit edition of a daily paper in Strasbourg. The forgery was full of racist and anti-semitic statements.

Even after providing for bad debts of £72 million and £90.2 million respectively, the Bank of Ireland and AIB turned in six monthly pre-tax profits of £65.8m and £95.6m. These are the same banks who could not "afford" to concede the IBOA pay claim only a few months ago.

A citizen of the French town of Cherbourg, while verifying that household appliances were not radioactive, with the help of a radiometer, discovered

strong radioactivity coming from a party wall. On the other side the OTECMI company was storing radioactive elements for the control of joint welds. The dose seeping into the neighbour's home was 400 times the permitted level.

Donald Coleman was recently sentenced to 19 years and 8 months(!) in prison for tossing a molotov cocktail into a 7-Eleven store on April 30, the second night of rioting in Los Angeles. Coleman was sentenced by Superior Judge Nancy Brown. Coleman was the first of nearly 8,000 people arrested during the LA riots to be sentenced.



Famine in Somalia

It's not a natural disaster

It's murder

THE FAMINE in Somalia has once again focussed attention on the problems of the less developed countries. Much of the response to the crisis is a short term one in the form of food aid. However in order to understand the causes of this and other famines in Africa it is necessary to trace back the roots of the problem to colonisation and imperialism.

It is necessary to focus on the political, economic and social policies pursued in post-colonial times which perpetuate recurring famine and crisis. The role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are crucial in understanding what is really happening.

Most of the misery and famine which is unfolding in Africa today has its roots in imperialism, in the colonisation of African countries by European armies and business interests. Before the invasions the peoples of Africa were primarily subsistence farmers, hunters or traders; though there were also some highly developed civilisations that have been written out of the history books. It is true that in the past there were droughts but vast numbers of people did not starve.

There are two main reasons for this, firstly African agriculture was much more diverse than it is now. People planted a variety of crops so that if one failed others which were more drought-resistant survived. Today most of the land is given over to growing cash crops for export to pay off crippling debts to Western banks. The second reason why droughts were not so devastating was

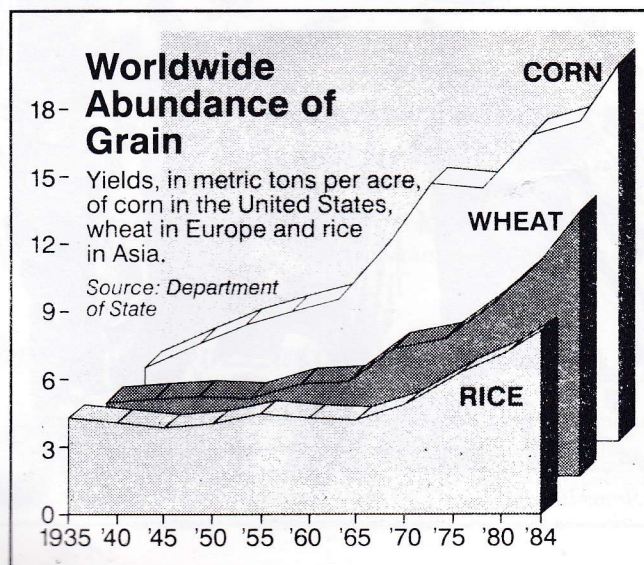
because forests were far more extensive than they are now. Forests tend to stabilise rainfall patterns and also minimise the damage caused by floods in the rainy season.

Imperialism smashed the traditional African cycle of agriculture by demanding that Africans pay taxes in cash. This meant growing crops for sale on national and international markets.

The 20th century has seen a huge expansion in the acreage devoted to growing cash crops such as tea, coffee, cotton, rubber, cocoa, and ground nuts. Today much of the most fertile land in Africa is growing cash crops. Half of the food growing land in Senegal is growing peanuts for Western margarine firms. Cash crops involve intensive cultivation and the extensive use of fertilisers which has led to land degradation, an increase in desert areas and the poisoning of the water table. The bulk of external debt in Africa is owed to Western governments.

Slavery and the damage it did to Africa is a significant factor in the underdevelopment and poverty which is never acknowledged by Western countries. Between 1701 and 1810 more than six million Africans were transported to the Americas to provide free labour for large farmers and businessmen. This

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New York Times Graph

Election fever

HERE IT COMES, there it goes. Another doling out of our share of "democracy". Where will we put our 'X'. Who do we want to rule us for another five years? The answer for anarchists to this question is easy, nobody.

The right to the vote was part of the hard won struggles of workers (and suffragettes!) over the last couple of hundred years. Even the most flawed democracies are forced to concede rights that dictatorships do not, such as relative independence for trade unions, the right to limited demonstrations and a certain amount of free speech.



However it is clear that none of these are absolutes, as anti-trade union legislation like the Industrial Relations Act, Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, and the refusal to allow nationalist marches into Belfast city centre adequately demonstrate.

The real purpose of Leinster House is not to ensure the country is run according to the wishes of all the people, cherishing all their views equally.

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Somalia

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haemorrhage of young men and women crippled African society.

External debt and falling commodity prices have had a crippling impact on African economies during the past decade. In the 1970s Western banks encouraged many less developed countries to borrow heavily. This borrowing, supposedly for roads and irrigation projects and so on, was often siphoned off for personal use by dictators or wasted on useless projects or on arms. The money was borrowed at low interest rates. Interest rates jumped from 6% to 18% in a few years, dramatically increasing the debts. In 1990 African debt was double what it was in 1980.

At current levels of production enough grain alone is produced to provide every person on this planet with a diet of 3,600 calories daily.

African countries were forced to call in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to seek a way out of their problems. However the 'solutions' of the I.M.F. have been to impose draconian and brutal cutbacks in health and education, and the abolition of food subsidies. This is a capitalist solution to a problem caused by capitalism in the first place. Famine, desperate poverty and the complete absence of health and education services are the result for millions of Africans.

Currency devaluations and cuts in public spending have led to massive unemployment. The export-oriented growth insisted on by the I.M.F. means an increase in cash crops and a consequent fall in food production. People in Africa are condemned to go hungry while the best land is used to grow tobacco, cotton, flowers, tea and coffee for the U.S., Europe and Japan.

Very pathetic efforts were made under the Toronto Accord of



• Condemned to death?

1988 (an agreement signed by creditor governments after appeals from debtor countries) to alleviate the worst impact of this debt. Only seventeen countries were eligible under this agreement and the savings were minimal anyway. It is worth noting that even if the terms of a subsequent agreement, the Trinidad Agreement, had been extended to all debtor countries, which it was not because most creditor countries would not agree, debtor countries would still be spending one third of their export earnings on debt repayments.

External debt is a millstone around the necks of many poor African countries. The Irish Mozambique Solidarity Group estimate is that there is a net transfer of US\$30 million every day from the debtor countries to the West. In 1989 Richard Jolly, deputy director of UNICEF, estimated that at least 500,000 people died that year as a direct result of such debt.

Overpopulation is sometimes put across as a cause of famine. It is clear from the above analysis that overpopulation is not really a factor at all. Health services, which include contraception and abortion services, are certainly needed

in Africa, not as a solution to famine but as part of the health and education services which are almost totally lacking. To argue that overpopulation is the cause of famine is not only to overlook all the historical factors but it is also seeks to blame the people of Africa themselves.

It is obvious that imperialism and capitalism, particularly the activities of the World Bank and the IMF are the causes of famine. A final point on overpopulation - it is a fact that the poorest countries have the largest number of children per family due to a combination of social and economic factors and conversely the richest countries have the smallest number of children per family. High standards of living, good health and education services all contribute to a low rate of population growth.

Finally a word about aid. By U.N. estimates it will take well over half a million tons of food to provide for Somalia alone over the next year. Yet only 30,000 tons of food monthly are being sent from donor countries. Worse still, other African countries under serious threat of mass starvation - such as southern Sudan - are being ignored because they are not yet in the news. Under capitalism food is used as a weapon and not as a resource to be equitably distributed. Until this corrupt system is replaced by a system, anarchism, which puts production and distribution for need before production for profit and power, people will continue to starve in Africa while the EC bosses worry about ways to dispose of their food mountains.

Patricia McCarthy



• Somalis who have fled their famine-stricken country

Election

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Parliament instead provides a democratic facade beyond which the real business of managing capitalism goes on.

Organisations like the Irish and British Labour Parties spend most of their time trying to prove they can manage capitalism just as well as the Tories or Fianna Fáil. They argue their policies are a way of avoiding strikes and any other form of class strife. They say their politics of class collaboration are more efficient to capitalism than a hard headed class strife approach of lock-outs and union busting.

P.E.S.P. LOGIC

This sort of logic has nothing to do with socialism. Indeed the former Fianna Fáil/PD government has been successfully pursuing the same logic through the Programme for Economic and Social Progress, and before that the PNR. These deals mean the union bureaucrats actively stopping and sabotaging strikes in return for pay increases below the rate of inflation. So in a comparative 'boom' period of the Irish economy when company profits doubled Irish workers made real losses with regards to wages and employment and lost ground as regards the social wage (health care, education, local authority housing, welfare entitlements).

The Labour and Workers Parties may have objected to parts of the PESP but they supported the idea of 'social partnership' as it is part of their strategy for government as well.

GOOD LEADERS?

These arguments are common to most revolutionary socialists, but anarchists have another and more fundamental reason for opposing the parliamentary process. Parliament means the mass of the working class relying on a few representatives to enter parliament and do battle on their behalf.

Anarchists do not believe any real socialist/anarchist society can come about through the good actions of a few individuals. From the time of the 'First International' over a century ago, anarchists have argued that the liberation of the working class can only be achieved through the action of the working class.

This brings us to the question of how should anarchists tackle the parliamen-



tary system. How do we convince everyone not to vote? Will the Workers Solidarity Movement be putting all its energy into an anti-election campaign?

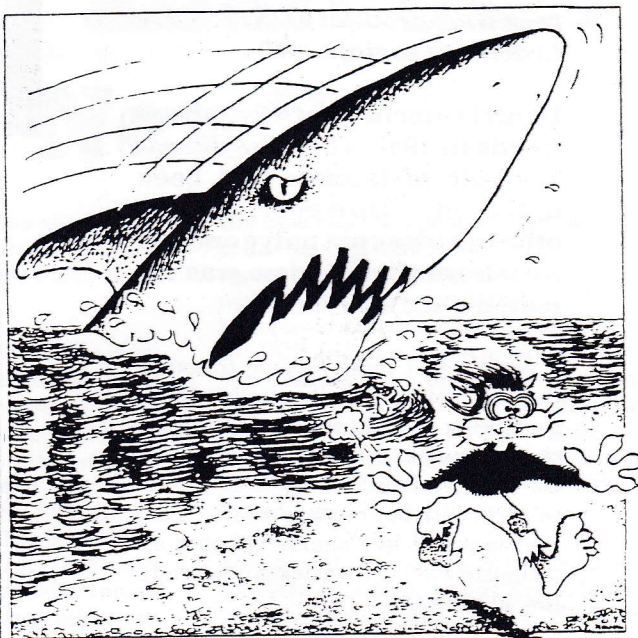
This is not seen as a major activity by us. Our aim is not to have elections where only 10% vote, for such a thing would be meaningless in itself. Our aim is to change society by winning the working class to the ideas and tactics of anarchism. This will involve the overthrow of the economic system (capitalism) we live under and its replacement with socialism under workers' self-management.

We will gain support for anarchist ideas not just through abstract propaganda but also by our involvement *as anarchists* in struggles and demonstrating how anarchism provides the best tools for winning day to day reforms. This election we will be concentrating our energy on getting a 'No, Yes, Yes' vote in the referenda.

But is it not foolish to refuse to support parties which may be slightly better than Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael?

Real decision making takes place in industry and not in parliament. Any party, even in majority government, can only do what capitalism allows them. The sight of a "socialist government" implementing cuts and breaking strikes damages the credibility of socialism.

It is also a question of energy. The sort of effort that is spent supporting (criti-



cally or otherwise) reformist organisation is energy taken away from the struggles for improved working conditions, abortion rights, etc. The "X" march demonstrated how building campaigns can effect more real change than 20 Labour or Workers party TD's. It forced the courts to allow "X" to go to England for an abortion.

Even more importantly, if we do not wish to see society divided into order-givers and order-takers we should not take part in choosing the order-givers. Our goal is efficient grassroots democracy, which will be co-ordinated nationally and internationally. We hold that everyone affected by a decision should be able to have a direct say in making that decision. Electing 166 TDs to make all the decisions "for us" is merely choosing rulers, not doing away with rulers.

Joe Black



GUN TALKES



the only person to enter parliament with honest intentions

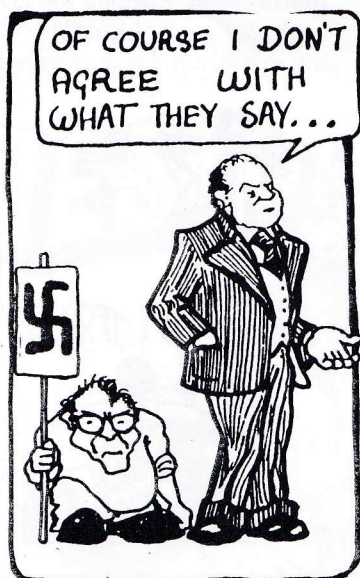
"What is Fascism, at bottom, but the direct product of the failure to achieve socialism?"

Daniel Guerin wrote the above words in 1945 when the classic example of fascism had been defeated. However, unlike others, he was not naive enough to believe that fascism was defeated once and for all.

A certain fact remains true to today, that in a period when capitalism is experiencing a crisis we are once again observing a rise in fascist politics across Europe. The politics are initially racist to begin with but more recently we see that less and less shame is being attached to waving Swastikas or giving a fascist salute.

This is mainly due to the revised history which is being spewed out by people like David Irving. Irving, the supposed historian, likes to espouse ideas that Hitler "an ordinary, walking, talking human being" was unaware of the systematic slaughter of nearly six million Jews. Irving's output, coupled along with such views of history as "Did Six Million Really Die" by Richard Verall, means that the Nazi heritage can be revealed with less shame and more perverse pride by the far-right in Germany.

Nazi Germany in the 1930s and early 1940s demonstrated the reality of fascism. Today the fascists are not on the way to taking state power anywhere in the world. However this does not mean that they can be safely ignored. Tapping into widespread discontent, they are providing the leadership and stimulus for growing racist hatred and terror. They represent an immediate threat to



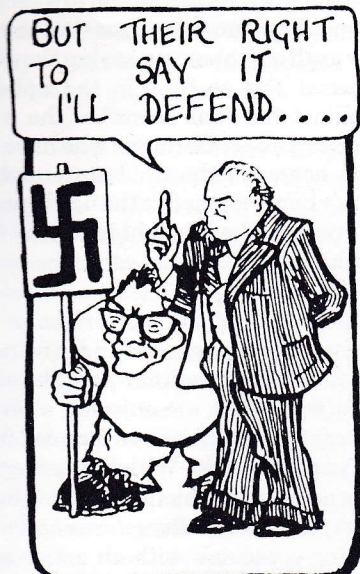
immigrants and minorities like lesbians and gays. Should they continue to grow they will pose a major threat to all working class and left-wing organisations.

RACISM AND ROSTOCK

The task in Europe is to combat racism, to oppose it in all its manifestations. This is what the victims of racist oppression need, and this is what can deny the fascists the possibility of a mass base. Fighting the specifically fascist groups, and stopping their activities and recruitment drives is necessary. But the fight against racism, both institutional and otherwise, is the main component of the struggle.

Fascist terror grows across Europe

The German town of Rostock recently became infamous as we witnessed pictures of neo-nazi youth hurling petrol bombs at the asylum hostel containing mostly Bulgarian and Romanian refugees. One local activist in Germany reported the following. "On Sunday night, a line of riot police could not prevent a second night of attacks, this time by nazi youths armed with molotov cocktails. It seemed the nazis were very well organized. Christian Worch of the far-right 'National List' party from Hamburg was on hand to provide leadership, and neo-nazi cadres with walkie-talkies (and even police radios!) helped provide organization. The obvious lack of police intervention made it clear that at least some elements within the police



force were quietly sympathetic, or may even have aided in preparations for the neo-nazi attacks. This became clearer when 100 anti-fascists were brutally dispersed as they arrived on the scene. At least 60 local anti-fascists were arrested in Rostock on Sunday night, many were placed in prison cells full of neo-nazis. Obviously the cops wanted to see them get the shit kicked out of them."

However what was the reaction of the German politicians to the events of Rostock, Ketzin and Leverkusen? The Social Democrats dropped their opposition to a change in the right of asylum for the politically persecuted. This now means that Article 16(II)2 - which was included in the German Basic Law out of responsibility for the many refugees who fled from the Nazis in the 1930's - is likely to be fully undermined. This seems a strange way to combat the rise of the far-right and their racist attacks on refugees.

FRANCE

In France Le Pen's Front National received 13.9% of the vote last March. In 1984 (Orwellian irony) the FN received 2,204,961 in the European elections. At present the FN has a presence on every regional council in France. Le Pen and his party have made very significant gains from the time 10 years previously when he could not muster the 500 signatures needed to run in the presidential election. These gains have been made over the last ten years when the 'Socialists' were in power in France. Over this time racism has become an acceptable part of the political culture.

The so-called Socialist government talked of the "necessity" of setting up detention centres in all ports and airports. The mayor of Chavieu Chavagnon, near Lyons, bulldozed a local

mosque with 12 worshippers inside in 1989. Mr Dezenpte (the mayor) boasts that his efforts have more than halved the local Moslem population. Yet, Dezenpte is not a member of the FN, he is in the Gaullist RPR (who vote with Fi-anna Fáil in the EC parliament). He was re-elected mayor, trouncing the local FN candidate, getting 66.7% of the vote.

This is just an example to indicate how racism has become an endemic part of the established Parties' politics in France. The racist agenda being set by the politicians has led to a broader acceptance of the policies advocated by the Front National. Recent polls in France showed that 84% "understand" racist reactions and 75% in one poll thought that there are "too many Arabs in France".

It is on the back of such open and obvious hostility to immigrants (e.g. 300 riot police storming a hostel, arresting



168 people and deporting 19 of them within 24 hours. This was under a 'Socialist' government) that Le Pen and his mob can now raise more openly extremist politics. The obvious growth of the FN in the polls can be related to the racists rolling in behind them. However new FN policy against the Veil law (legalised abortion) is shown in their slogan "kill the infant and you kill France".

They are also campaigning "against the right to strike". In this campaign Le Pen said that "the strike is a weapon against the workers". Here he is obviously trying to lead his already racist flock down the murky path towards fascism. It will be interesting to see if he loses some of his support or if more of the disenfranchised join his ranks. In France, as everywhere else, the Left has weakened. In a country which was buoyant with hopes

when the Socialists took power in 1982 the people then went on to see the same party propose Bernard Tappie (multi-millionaire and owner of Marseillies Football Club) on the 'Socialist' ticket for election.

There have been large demonstrations against the Front National on the streets of Paris, Nice, Brest, Lyon, Nancy, Dijon and other centres. The demonstrations may well have been strong and morale-boosting for the participants. However, the only real way to dispose of the FN is to erode their support by combating their openly racist politics. You have to expose their ideas as racist and unacceptable in order to destroy the support which Le Pen and the FN now have.

BRITAIN

In Britain where you have three anti-fascist organisations, the Anti-Racist Alliance, the Anti-Nazi League and Anti-Fascist Action, you only have one fair sized fascist party the British National Party. The Anti-Nazi League has risen like a phoenix from the ashes. The reason for its resurrection was to ensure "the growth of the far-right in Europe ... does not give strength and confidence to Nazi organisations in this country". Unfortunately however, with the recent poor showing of the BNP in the local elections it would be rather more truthful to say that the ANL were set up by the Socialist Workers Party as a focus around which to rally and recruit new members during a period of low levels of class struggle.

The Anti-Racist Alliance is led by Black professionals with the support of various liberals and former Stalinists. It sees itself as a leadership and 'voice' for the victims of racism. It places no particular importance on getting people in-



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volved in activity.

Anti-Fascist Action, unlike the other two organisations, is committed to preventing the fascists openly recruiting. They are prepared to physically oppose BNP and NF meetings and marches. They also recognise that physical confrontation is only part of the anti-fascist struggle, their ideas must also be defeated.

The threat of a growth of fascism in Britain seems very small. In the recent local elections no single candidate received more than 1,310 votes. Out of 13 BNP candidates, only two received more

been raised and dashed. The Berlin Wall may have fallen but the unified Germany is fulfilling very few dreams. The neo-Nazi movement taps into the despair of people's lives and encourages the dislike of asylum seekers and foreigners. They have turned this dislike into open hostilities such as those witnessed in Rostock and Leverkusen. German socialists have organised the ANTIFA (Anti-Fascist Action) which is a broad based action group of the far-left. This serves as a rallying point for the divergent groups. The Left in Germany is experiencing a dark time as all the ills of the GDR are blamed on "40 years of Communism". The far-left is in a state of disarray. The Anti-Fascist

seemingly radical solution to their problems. Fascism actively seeks the youth by exalting them and saying they have a special role to play in the upheaval against the "has-beens" of the world. For some east Germans who have seen the horror of their old state and had their hopes dashed in the newly unified Germany, the far-right is seen by them as having the radical solution.

The growth of the ultra-right in Germany is demonstrated in Universities by the fraternities known as "Burschenschaften" which are enjoying a revival. These fraternities were founded in the days of Bismark. With the Left enduring a very unfashionable period on the campuses these "Burschenschaften" are filling a vacuum with an active membership of 6,000. They are fencing clubs who use slogans such as "Honour, Freedom and Fatherland".

RIGHT WING REVOLT

They have also had David Irving as an invited guest speaker. The Silesian German territories lost to Poland in 1945 are a hotly debated subject. One member, Christian Paulwitz (23), said "What we keep calling east Germany today is for me middle Germany". Given that conditions in most of the universities are steadily deteriorating it is of concern to see right-wing politics gain a strong grip on the campuses. This could ultimately lead to a right-wing revolt in the 1990s which may compare with the left-wing revolts of the 1960s. Once again it seems that the Right are recruiting the Left's loss. This is exactly what Guerin meant when he said "What is Fascism, ...but a direct product of the failure to achieve socialism".

Many arguments have been made to suggest that fascism needs a strong Left and labour movement, coupled with funding by the big capitalists to grow. Well obviously the first two are almost non-existent in the present period and the final criteria is doubtful, but if we continue to only chase these fascists/racists off the streets and fail to counter their arguments ideologically then we truly run the risk of watching the numbers of people we have to chase increasing. The anti-authoritarian Left needs to organise, develop its policies, get their message across to the working class that real socialism has not failed and that there is a way out of this capitalist nightmare. We do not need to delve into diabolical fascism to achieve this.

Dermot Sreenan



than 2% of the vote in their constituency. The National Front fared even worse with the highest vote for one of their 14 candidates being 675. What needs to be combated is the racism which leads to a higher number of race related attacks each year. Unless energies are used in such a way as to make racism unacceptable then anti-fascists will always be chasing the same fascists around areas like Tower Hamlets or Bethnal Green.

The east German people have come through a period where their hopes have

movements serve as a focus for the far-left but sadly the ideological battle is being left on the back burner.

DASHED HOPES AND MISDIRECTED ANGER

In an historical sense fascism has been portrayed as a religion. During a crisis in capitalism people start to turn towards extremes and, as Mussolini succinctly put it, "if fascism were not a faith how could it give it's adherents stoicism and courage". Fascism draws towards it the unquestioning, those who seek a

Housebreaking... 'joy riding'...
heroin pushing... mugging... rape...

Crime, Criminals, Punishment *an anarchist view*

AROUND THIS TIME every year we are hit with a barrage of articles and TV programmes about spiralling crime figures. The usual rash of calls for stiffer sentences and more cops on the beat are thrown out as the answer. Anarchists have a convincing analysis of crime and some ideas on how to eliminate it for good. **Conor McLoughlin** looks at the issues.

The Russian anarchist Kropotkin in his examination of the subject came up with three types of crime. Property related crime, government related crime and crimes against the person. In Britain it has been estimated (*Anarchist Black Cross bulletin*) that 94% of crime is committed against property (though admittedly a lot of it would be personal property). However what isn't recorded are those crimes committed for property.

This isn't just playing with words. We live in a capitalist system. But where did all the capital come from in the first place? Check your history books. The capitalism of the 18th and 19th century was built on the piracy and slavery of the 16th and 17th. Millions of pounds of gold, silver and spices plundered from the "New World" financed the basis of the banking and trade system. One of the first commodities to be traded was human beings. Slavery played a vital in the early years of capitalism. Many English titled families of today owe their knighthoods and dukedoms to this sordid trade.

The day-to-day running of the system is

daylight robbery. A worker's wages only represent a fraction of the value of his/her labour. The rest flows into the boss's pocket. This was what Proudhon meant by the oft quoted "*property is theft*". It would have been clearer (though not as catchy!) if he had qualified this remark. All property and wealth that enables you to exploit the labour of others is theft. If we got paid what we were really worth the present system couldn't function. This is the main and fundamental reason for all the cops and courts, to defend the system which ensures we slave our lives away so that the rich can get richer.

There is also the whole range of officially criminal fraudulent activities. These range from 'insider trading' to criminal empires like the Mafia. Only a tiny fraction of these ever come to light. The law is built to serve the bosses not to expose them.

The Telecom scandal shows how £3 million can be made in a few weeks by sitting on the boards of several companies and playing pass the parcel. The Beef Tribunal was, until neutralised by

the recent Supreme Court decision on cabinet confidentiality, finding out how a fortune could be made in export credit insurance by small donations to the right political parties. If anyone of these businessmen are caught they risk a few days in an open prison or have their sentences suspended. Those that are nabbed are just the fall guys. The system is riddled with fraud and rackets. It is a racket. The solution to these crimes is simple. Shut the system down. It simply can't cure or reform itself.

ROBIN HOODS?

On the other hand there are crimes against property. Living on the dole or miserable wages leads some people into a range of dodges like not paying for cable TV, working in the "black economy" or shop-lifting to feed a family or a heroin habit. A small minority may even turn to burglary, drug dealing and other organised anti-social crime.

This is certainly no justification for anti-social crimes like burglary, heroin-pushing and 'joy-riding'. We understand why they happen but we do not condone or excuse them. Working class communities are especially vulnerable to this type of crime. Old people and parents of young children may live in constant



fear because of it. Those who make a living preying on their own class are as bad if not worse than the capitalists. There aren't many Robin Hoods out there and anarchists should never romanticise criminals for "*getting back at the system*".

We recognise peoples' right to defend themselves against anti-social crime. This sort of action, if it is not to break-down into vigilanteism must be community based and democratic. Effective community policing has often occurred in revolutionary situations

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(where property related crimes usually decline drastically). A glimpse at the possibilities was seen in this country for short periods in the life of "Free Derry" and "Free Belfast" in the late 1960s.

HEROIN PUSHERS

In the 1980s some Dublin working class localities saw involvement in Concerned Parents Against Drugs (CPAD) which was initially community based but later on tended to look to others, i.e. the IRA to "sort things out". It is doubtful if any of the Provos' campaigns against "undesirable elements" have represented community policing as no sort of fair public trial is ever held before knees are capped. It is extremely difficult to sustain genuine community-based action against crime within the present system. It will always be seen as a threat to the existing order and cracked down on by the police (CPAD is a good example of this). No state will tolerate it's monopoly on power being challenged by it's citizens.

We would never join calls for extra policing as *any* kind of solution. But where practical suggestions to reduce the effects of crime are brought forward within communities we would certainly support them. For example, ramps and security gates to slow down 'joy-riders'. However we know these can only contain the problem. The only way to tackle it is to get at the root causes.

Again we are down to the capitalist system, and the poverty and alienation it causes. People constantly bombarded with images of expensive consumer goods well beyond their means won't always shrug and say "*shucks I guess that's not for me*". The only solution is to abolish poverty and give people something to live for.

DEMOCRACY?

The second type of crime on Kropotkin's list are crimes relating to government. These are almost too many to mention. From trade wars to shooting wars, they and their system have probably killed more workers than any other single cause.

It's easy to point at nasty Third World dictators and their record of political prisoners and human rights abuses. However this country and our nearest and dearest neighbour have nothing to boast about. The Nicky Kelly case shows that the Irish government had no problem torturing and framing a man because of his political views. The laws that allowed them to do this have not

been changed. And let us not forget the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, McGuire family, Tottenham Three and all the other victims.

The publishing of information on abortion is banned under the Censorship of Publications Act, and the giving out of a telephone number where a woman may obtain advice about legal abortion services abroad is prohibited by High Court injunction. Republicans aren't allowed on the air under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. Books and films are banned and subjected to censorship. So much for democratic rights!

Most laws are concerned with protecting property and giving business an easy ride, or are integral to the State's own good health. Some make sense such as those against drunk driving, breaking a red light or selling heroin. These would continue in some form in a future anarchist society. For the moment, obviously, unjust laws have to be fought - like those relating to sexuality, contraception, divorce, abortion, etc. where no state should have a right to intervene in people's private lives.



•Nicky Kelly being brought into court

This leads us to the final area, that of crime against the person. Not all of these can be dismissed by simply saying "*it will disappear with the end of capitalism*". Many do arise out of property related crime and will indeed disappear. But there are some crimes committed by mentally unbalanced people, or ones committed for a range of personal reasons which will continue after the revolution.

RAPE AND CHILD ABUSE

Our analysis of crime against the person

is very different to that put forward by most establishment figures, or that of many feminists.

Rape is a horrific and brutal crime, the extent of which is only now beginning to come to light due to years of widespread under-reporting. Even now Rape Crisis Centres estimate that up to 90% of rapes go unreported. Most media and public attention is focussed on individual horrific cases where the woman involved may also be kidnapped and murdered by a madman. This gives the impression that rape is always carried out by mad axe-murderers on dark streets. It totally detracts from the reality of rape and sexual abuse in many women's lives. In fact, all available evidence points to the rapist usually being someone known to the victim.

In Ireland 92% of victims are estimated to have known their attackers. A 1989 Home Office survey in Britain found this for 61% of reported rapes (of course you are less likely to *report* the rapist if you knew him). Ruth Hall's American survey ("*Ask any women*", Bristol 1985) put the figure at 75%. Most police advice is focussed on telling women how to dress, when to go out and to beware of strangers. This implies women share some blame for the problem though 'carelessness'. It also fails to even address the reality that most rapes are carried out by someone known to the victim.

AN ABERRATION?

Rape is not an aberration. If one considers the wide degree of under-reporting and the increasing reports of child-abuse and rape in marriage it becomes clear that rape is extremely common and bound up with women's day-to-day social existence. It is very much part and parcel of our present form of social organisation.

Another misconception that has to be laid to rest is that rape is a crime undertaken purely out of uncontrollable lust or sexual desire. One leading authority, Dianna Russell argues in her book "*Rape within marriage*" (1982) that rape should be seen at one end of a continuum with voluntary mutually desirable sex at the other. In other words that the sex-obsessed male will not accept "no means no".

This may sometimes occur, especially in cases of "date" rape. However in the vast majority of cases the means should not be confused with the end. Rape is carried by means of penetrative sex but rarely has anything to do with sexual

desire. Interviewed rapists rarely report any lust for the victim or sense of sexual satisfaction after carrying out a rape.

DOMINATION

Rape is primarily an act of domination. Those raped are seen as people who can be easily dominated and humiliated. Rape is a power crime. Though generally the rapist has the monopoly of force in the rape it may also indicate powerlessness on behalf of the rapist within society as a whole. Dianna Russell in her book on stranger rape in America in *"Sexual Exploitation"* (London 1984) found that these were often carried out by young men on low incomes. Ageton in another American study of sexual assault among teenagers (*"Sexual Assault among Adolescents"*, Lexington, Massachusetts 1985) identifies rapists as being failures at school and isolated at home. The phrase she uses is "more delinquent types".

Rape within marriage seems to be clearly bound up with women's inferior position within the home and family. In Russell's study of rape in marriage (ibid. 1982) she found whether women stayed in such a marriage was entirely linked to their financial dependence. 100% of wives who had been the primary breadwinners when first raped had since left their rapist husbands.

In this context more policing, mandatory sentencing and imposing curfews on women don't address the main issue. The pathetic sentences often handed out to rapists give out the impression that rape is not taken seriously by Irish society. Cases like Levinia Kerwick's where the rapist walks free disgust most people. On the other hand we shouldn't take the easy option of blindly joining the call for harsher sentencing. The government can easily cave in on this giving the impression that they have somehow dealt with the problem. But it is no solution.

Rape is bound up with women's inferior role in our society in which they are systematically oppressed, as well as the sexist attitudes of many men. Improvements in attitudes and some small improvements in women's actual position have made a difference. At least now rape is talked about and taken seriously. The overthrow of capitalism, and the end of the nuclear family as the only acceptable form of social organisation, will make a difference. However this will only be the beginning of the battle to gain full and absolute equality for women, which is the only way that rape

will finally be dealt with.

PUNISHMENT: WHO WATCHES THE WATCHERS?

There are three possible aims of punishment: restraint, revenge or reform. Capitalism only seems to succeed at the first two. The retributive and vengeful "justice" of the present system has been a total and utter failure.

Attempting to reform people through coercion and force can never succeed. Arguments based on fear and terror are never very convincing. The institutionalised murder of the death penalty has never had the slightest effect on violent crime figures. It amounts to no more than revenge. Prison, if it achieves anything, tends to perpetuate crime with minor offenders often going on to commit greater crimes. Why not re-offend if nothing has changed when you get out?

Capitalism can not solve the problem. It creates the conditions which lead to most crimes. The supposed system of justice amounts to a closed caste of judges and legal professionals. These are initiated into a tangled web of complex rules and regulations, where any concept of justice or fair play intrudes purely randomly.

Getting rid of capitalism, and replacing it with an anarchist system, will greatly reduce crime. But what about the mentally unbalanced or "crimes of passion"? There is no doubt that some form of incarceration will be needed in particular cases. There are people who will have to be removed from society for their own good and that of others.

This in turn implies some form of law enforcement agency (or whatever title you come up with) will be needed. Of course this will be smaller, and fully answerable to the community as a whole. It will focus purely on the detection of individuals and their imprisonment. There must be no element of revenge. The aim, where possible, should be their reform and release.

These are some ideas on crime and punishment. Obviously there is no 100% perfect solution, though we think we can suggest a drastic improvement. The issue of crime and punishment in a future anarchist society does raise some complex questions. The WSM doesn't claim to have all the answers. Let *Workers Solidarity* readers know what you think. Drop us a line at P.O. Box 1528, Dublin 8.

Britain:

Bailiffs seize Police Property

On June 2nd this year, bailiffs seized police property worth £63,000 at their South Yorkshire headquarters in the latest chapter in a story which began outside the Cortonwood pit during the 1984-85 miners' strike.

The seizure of goods was for unpaid lawyers' costs awarded against the police by the High Court on July 9th last year. The costs - then £50,000 - were awarded when roadsweeper Ernest Cusworth won £60,000 damages from police who injured him during the strike. As the 54 year old left his home early on 12th November 1984, he was charged by riot police who beat him and kicked him unconscious. At the High Court hearing last year, police claimed that Ernest - 5ft 4in and 9 stone - lunged at the riot police pulling a 17 stone copper on top of himself. The jury unanimously decided to award damages and costs against the police.

Owing to the eleven month delay in payment, the legal costs were increased to £63,000. Police cars and other equipment were seized on the orders of the court. However the seizure of goods produced a remarkable effect: the police rushed a cheque to the solicitors immediately. The goods remained impounded until the cheque cleared and a further payment of £1,000 is to be demanded for the cost of the seizure operation.

This is the only time you'll see bailiffs being used for working class gain rather than loss.

Source: *Yorkshire Miner*, June 1992. (Monthly paper of the Yorkshire region of the National Union of Mineworkers)

Solutions to the jobs crisis?

WITH THE NUMBERS officially unemployed standing at 289,000 in the 26 counties and 108,100 in the 6 counties, there is no sign of light at the end of the tunnel. Latest estimates say the combined figure could be 450,000 within a year ...and rising. There are already 397,100 (Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed estimation for November). All the politicians say they are concerned about this. But instead of helping the unemployed, the government has been consistently attacking people's Social Welfare entitlements.

Since the last budget the cuts have included no more maternity benefit, no more supplementary welfare payments for local authority rent arrears and means testing introduced for deserted wives. Disability, unemployment, occupational injuries and pay related benefits are now taxable.

Obviously a government which makes cuts like these doesn't give a damn about the unemployed but does anyone have a serious solution?

PESP & PNR

For the past five years the main plan touted to combat unemployment in the 26 counties has been the PESP (Programme for Economic and Social Progress) and its forerunner, the PNR (Programme for National Recovery). The PESP is an agreement made between the so-called social partners - the trade unions, the government and the bosses.



It involves the unions restricting pay demands and industrial action. In return there is meant to be greater investment in the country and more jobs.

This strategy has not worked. Since the PNR was first signed in 1987, unemployment has risen from 237,000 to 291,200 (October 1992, government figures). At the same time Ireland's Gross National Product, which is the total wealth produced in this country, has broken all records. So the PNR and PESP have been a massive con job. It has meant on one side record profits for the bosses and on the workers' side pathetic wage rises and no union action for better conditions. For the unemployed the PESP has given nothing.

The other and most recent attempt to deal with unemployment has been the Jobs Forum. This is an Oireachtas Joint Sub-Committee made up of representatives from most political Parties in the Dáil. It is worth noting that even Fine Gael's Michael Noonan said the Jobs Forum was "a useless talking

shop" and "a sham put in place to fool the people".

Some proposals have already come out of the Jobs Forum. One of them is compulsory education. This will mean that people who are unemployed and under the age of twenty can be forced to do some sort of education course by the government. The other proposal mooted has been Workfare.

Workfare is only a proposal so far and the details have not been finalised but it will mean essentially that people will have to work for their dole. People who are on the dole and who fill certain requirements will be made to work in order to receive any money. They will get the same as the dole for their work. The sort of work suggested has been "community work" but again this has yet to be finalised and no doubt there will be all sorts of shit jobs thrown in. This is no solution to unemployment.

SCHEMES OR JOBS?

Workfare and the compulsory educa-

tion will have two effects. It will reduce the numbers officially unemployed, giving the impression that things are getting better.

It will also mean workers in permanent full-time jobs being replaced by people on Workfare, just like what has already happened with some SES schemes. Since 1984 the number of permanent staff in local authorities has fallen by 6,000. Some 3,000 people on FAS schemes are working for local authorities, doing mainly labouring jobs. Some local authorities have almost no labourers left on their permanent payroll. With Workfare the government have another tool to attack present jobs and replace them with ones that have no security, sick leave or maternity leave. Scheme 'allowances' will replace trade union rates of pay.

What makes the Jobs Forum and the PESP most sickening is the degree of support that they get from the so-called opposition in the country. The PESP is supported by the unions. It was promoted by members of the pre-split Workers Party in their jobs as union officials. It is even critically supported by the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed!

SES schemes are only be introduced with trade union agreement. This means that unions are supporting the destruction of real jobs. The Jobs Forum is backed by the Labour Party.

The problem is not that these organisations have bad leadership, nor can they just be labelled "traitors to our class". The problem is their politics. All the groupings involved whether it be the Labour Party, Democratic Left, the unions or the INOU are looking for solutions within the capitalist system.

But as long as you work within the present system you must give priority to the profit motive. In capitalism if something makes a profit it is good and if it doesn't make a profit it is bad. That is why it makes sense for them to lower wages, attack working conditions and do nothing for the unemployed.

FIGHTBACK

But we do not need to take this lying down. There is the potential to fight back and achieve better conditions. The unemployed need to organise to fight for jobs. They must link up with people who have jobs so that

together the unemployed and the employed can fight for better conditions. This starts with smashing the PESP and forcing the government to make job creation a priority.

Some groups have started fighting back. The Portobello Unemployed Action Group (PUAG) is a local activist group in Dublin fighting for more jobs. It works within the INOU and is trying to make them take a more activist route, organising pickets, demonstrations and marches. Most other unemployed groups are funded by the church or state and are only involved in providing services such as doing CVs and helping with social welfare problems.

PUAG was very much involved in helping to organise the 2,000 strong march for jobs held last October 6th. More action groups like this will need to be set up by the unemployed as a step towards larger mass action.

Trade Unionists and Unemployed Against the Programme (TUUAP) is a network of trade unionists campaigning against the PESP. They produce a quarterly paper called *Trade Union Fightback*.

ANARCHIST SOCIETY

In the long run there will never be full employment until there is an anarchist society run to satisfy peoples' needs, not to make profits for a few. There will never be full employment while we are living in a system based on profit. We will always have recessions and the bosses will always be trying to have lay-offs. Even in the best of times there has always been unemployment, both East and West.

But the fight for a future anarchist society begins with the fight for better conditions now. The government will not take unemployment seriously unless the unemployed take fighting for jobs seriously. There are small groups out there, more need to be created. Last October's march was a good start, let's see some more of the same.

Andrew Blacmore

Albert Reynolds was right ...when he said that McCreevey wanted to "dehumanise" Social Welfare

Charles McCreevey the (outgoing) Minister for Social Welfare recently gave an interview in order to answer his critics. In the last 12 months he has cut various social welfare payments no less than 12 times. However the minister said *"I didn't mean to scare anyone - especially not the elderly. What I am trying to do is protect the most vulnerable from a nightmare that must not happen."*

So how does the Minister "protect the most vulnerable"? He cuts various social welfare payments to people who are living on or below the poverty line. The Minister seems to have a strange definition of the word 'vulnerable'.

Plans which people need to be aware of include taxing disability and unemployment benefits. This is justified by the Minister by saying *"It won't affect people on basic levels of social welfare. It will only affect those whose income in addition to their benefit - is greater than their tax free allowance."*

Other plans are the "work for dole" theory which McCreevey is considering. This could be achieved by giving local authorities money in order to top-up dole payments for work. However the important quote from the Minister is where he defends his plan by saying that *"the net cost need not be huge"*. This would seem to indicate that the money for such work would be next to nothing. Slave labour and hitting those who are hurting the most seem to be the policy of Mac the Knife for the future. But no matter who becomes the next Social Welfare Minister the future will be more of the same plans as the ruling class refuse to take any responsibility for the system which has left so many dependent on social welfare.

•PUAG can be contacted at 11 Upper Clanbrassil Sreett, Dublin 8.

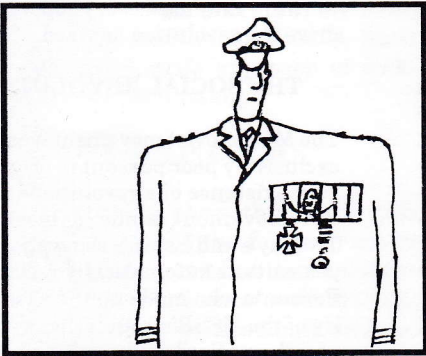
•TUUAP can be contacted at 10 Comyn Place, Drumcondra, Dublin 9. Six issues of *Trade Union Fightback* costs £3.50 including postage.



A Merry Christmas & a Happy New Year,
With good luck to Labour, hand, heart, & brain.
Stick fast to your banner, stand solid, nor veer,
Till the cause of the Workers renews earth
again.

PERU HAS SEEN the suspension of constitutional government by President Alberto Fujimori and the declaration of martial law. In reporting on resistance the world's media have largely concentrated on *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), a Maoist guerrilla movement. *Sendero's* real name is the Communist Party of Peru, or PCP. We rarely hear of the other opposition forces.

The Peruvian anarchist movement is small but strong. In Lima alone, anarchists publish two newspapers, *Bandera Negra*



(Black Flag) and *La Protesta* (Protest). They are particularly active within the miners trade union. Anarchists are fighting on several fronts. They oppose the Fujimori government and they oppose the Stalinist thugs of the PCP.

The PCP is an authoritarian organisation. They idolise Mao's China and many Peruvians believe that they would, if they managed to seize power, take on some of the traits of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. *Sendero* is notorious for their brutality, not only against members of Peru's ruling class, but against any opposition that is not controlled by them. They insist on total control of all working class organisations. If you are not with them, you can be regarded as an enemy.

DIRE POVERTY

Fujimori's austerity plans and cutbacks have dramatically increased the number of people pushed into dire poverty. Because the PCP are able to bomb and shoot representatives of the ruling class, they have won considerable support among poor peasants. Their support in the shanty towns of Lima and other cities is growing. The PCP may *seem* like the best chance to be rid of US, Japanese and other imperialist domination. It may *seem* like the best chance to be rid of the system which allows the millionaires to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor.

The struggle in Peru is not the creation or the property of the PCP. It is the result of poverty and oppression, and of the determination of workers and the poor to escape their misery by overthrowing the

World anarchist News

existing order. The PCP has appealed to people involved in this struggle, but they are not the only ones. Their vision is not the only one.

The Peruvian anarchists stand for a revolution that is controlled from below by the working class and poor peasants themselves. They resist all attempts at domination by the PCP or any other self-appointed leaders. This makes anarchists targets for the guns of the PCP gangs. Standing for a socialism that is based on freedom and direct democracy, the anarchist movement represents the best possibility for the struggle in Peru to take on an anti-authoritarian character.

ANDRES VILLAVERDE

Andrés Villaverde is an anarchist political prisoner. On October 27th, 1991 he was arrested and accused of 'sabotage'. He has remained in custody since then.

His case has been passed from the local police to DINCOTE, the anti-terrorist agency. When the police couldn't come up with evidence to convict Andrés, he was ludicrously accused of being a member of the PCP and sent to the maximum security Castro-Castro prison. Over a year later his case has not even been opened by the courts. He has no right of habeas corpus, has been refused access to a solicitor, and is not allowed visits from family and friends.

An international campaign for his release has been launched. In addition to letters and telegrams of protest, a day of solidarity took place in many countries around the world on October 30th with demonstrations at Peruvian embassies and consulates. Further information is available from the 'International Campaign for the Release of Andrés Villaverde', P.O. Box 3, Prince Street Station, New York, NY 10012, USA.

Nigerian Libertarian Socialists appeal for solidarity

FOUR LIBERTARIAN Socialists are among the victims of the latest round of repression in Nigeria. They are being kept "in confinement under extremely inhumane conditions".

In an effort to shed its image as a military dictatorship, the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida scheduled elections for December 1992. The military set up and sponsored the two major political parties, the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention.

According to the libertarian socialist Awareness League the transition to civilian rule has been characterised by delays, arbitrary jailings of political activists, bans on some political activities and aggressive posturing by the military. This growing repression is further compounded by a mounting external debt (about US\$40 billion) and soaring inflation (320%).

Increased desperation on the part of the government has seen the closure of all federally-owned universities and treason charges being brought against members of the Academic Staff Union and the National Association of Nigerian Students. Journalists who are not sympathetic to the government suffer harassment. Three newspapers have been closed down.

The Awareness League has suffered its share of the repression. Udemba Chuks, Garba Audu, Kingsley Etioni and General Secretary James Ndubuisi are in jail. They were arrested following a wave of anti-government strikes and demonstrations over the summer. A campaign has been launched to have them freed, along with other detained trade unionists and socialists.

"It is apparent, writes the Awareness League, that we can not sustain the campaign without substantial support and help. We are therefore appealing for financial aid or any other form of aid or assistance... to enable us to:

- *Pay for legal services,*
- *Cater for the families and dependants of the detained activists,*
- *Publicise and bring to the attention of the public the plight of the four detained activists, by producing publications.*

Any amount of money or other form of assistance will be highly appreciated as this will go a long way in further advancing the struggle for freedom and liberty in this part of the world".

Your aid and assistance should be sent to the Awareness League, c/o Samuel Mbah, P.O. Box 28, Agbani, Enugu State, Nigeria.

REVIEW

HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT by Peter Arshinov. (Freedom Press) £5.50

THE TREATY OF Brest-Litovsk concluded by the Bolsheviks in March 1918, which saw Russia get out of the bloodbath of World War 1, handed most of the Ukraine over to the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. Needless to say, the inhabitants were not consulted. Neither were they too pleased.

Various insurgent movements arose and gradually consolidated. The Revolutionary Insurgent Army of the Ukraine led by Nester Makhno, an anarchist-communist from the village of Gulyai Polye, quickly won the support of the South for its daring attacks on the Austro-Hungarian puppet, Hetman Skoropadsky and the nationalist Petliurists.

This book is an extremely valuable eye-witness account from Peter Arshinov - one of the main participants and editor of their paper *Put'k Svobode* (*The Road to Freedom*). Arshinov and Makhno were later to draw up the **Platform of the Libertarian Communists** in during their Paris exile in 1926 (see *Workers Solidarity* 34).

It may seem strange that the Revolutionary Insurgent Army of the Ukraine (its proper title) is constantly referred to as the "Makhnovists". Anarchists are the last people to engage in blind hero-worship. At its height it had 30,000 volunteer combatants under arms. While all were inspired by anarchist ideas, only a small minority had worked-out anarchist views. Through the army's cultural-educational section political dis-

cussion and learning was encouraged but the majority of combatants and supporters continued to call themselves "Makhnovists" and to this day the name has stuck.

Arshinov's book mainly consists of a blow-by-blow account of the movement along with some consideration of nationalism and anti-semitism, and short biographies of some of the main Makhnovists. It's an easy non-academic read. However the book is an almost exclusively military account of the movement. Arshinov makes no apologies for this. Of necessity the Makhnovists spent most of their time in military engagements. Over the three years 1918-1921 they had to fight the forces of the Hetman, White Generals Denikin and Wrangel, nationalists like Petliura and Grigor'ev and, of course, the Bolsheviks.

Makhno and his comrades won against odds of 30:1 and more on occasion. One example was on September 25th 1919 at the village of Peregonovka when the Makhnovists, after retreating 400 miles, found themselves surrounded by Denikin's army. They succeeded in turning Denikin's flank with a tiny force of cavalry and in the ensuing panic Denikin's army were routed. This action probably saved Petrograd from the Whites and was one of the most massive defeats inflicted on them.

Of course Makhno's military skill, his use of cavalry and mounted infantry to cover huge distances, isn't directly of relevance to us. What is of interest is how the Makhnovists could fight and win as a revolutionary army with deep roots among the Ukrainian peasants and workers. The insurgent army was an entirely democratic military formation. Its recruits were volunteers drawn from peasants and workers. It elected its officers and codes of discipline were worked out democratically. Officers could be, and were, recalled by their troops if they acted undemocratically.

Wherever they appeared they were welcomed by the local population who supplied food and lodging as well as information about enemy forces. The Bolsheviks and Whites were forced to rely on

massive campaigns of terror against the peasantry, with thousands being killed and imprisoned.

The speed at which areas changed hands in the Ukraine made it virtually impossible for them to do engage in widescale constructive activity to further the social revolution. "It seemed as though a giant grate composed of bayonets shuttled back and forth across the region, from North to South and back again, wiping out all traces of creative social construction". This excellent metaphor of Arshinov's sums up the difficulty. However, unlike the Bolsheviks, the Makhnovists did not use the war as an excuse for generalised repression and counter-revolution. On the contrary they used every opportunity to drive the revolution forward.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The Makhnovist movement was almost exclusively poor peasant in origin. The very existence of a revolutionary peasant movement made a mockery of Trotsky's and Lenin's conception of the peasants as automatically reactionary. Peasants who made up the vast majority of the USSR's population were seen as a brutalised and unthinking mass who could not organise collectively. When not faced with bayonets and forced requisitions they related naturally towards the workers in the towns and cities. The Makhnovists provided a unifying force encouraging and protecting peasant expropriations of landlords and large farmers (kulaks). They spread the idea of voluntary collectives and tried to make links with urban workers. Their motto was "worker give us your hand".

Around Gulyai-Polye several farming communes sprang up. These include the originally named communes 1, 2 and 3, as well as the "Rosa Luxembourg" commune with 300 members. Several regional congresses of peasants and workers were organised. A general statute supporting the creation of 'free soviets' (elected councils of workers', soldiers' and peasants' delegates) was passed though little could be done towards its implementation in much of the Ukraine because of the constantly changing battlefield.

The Makhnovists held the cities of Ekaterinoslav and Aleksandrovsk for a few months after their September 1919 defeat of Denikin. In both cities full political rights, freedom of association and press freedom were established. In Ekaterinoslav five political papers appeared, including a Bolshevik one. Several conferences of workers and peasants were held in Aleksandrovsk. Though workers liked the idea of running their own factories, the nearness of the front and the newness of the idea made them cautious. The railway workers did set up a committee which began





investigating new systems of movement and payment but, again, military difficulties prevented further advances. Ekaterinoslav, for example, was under constant bombardment from the Whites just across the river.

IVORY TOWERS

Arshinov attacks the Russian anarchists for almost totally ignoring the Makhnovists. The Bolsheviks saw them as important enough to send in 15,000 troops in 1921 to wipe them out. Too many of the anarchists "slept through" events. It is absolutely vital that this be acknowledged and learnt from.

The only significant number of anarchists to participate as a group were those of the Nabat (Alarm) Confederation. These included the famous Russian anarchist Voline who wrote the preface for this book. They worked mainly in the cultural-educational section, though some fought in the army. Unfortunately, more than few anarchists were content to remain in ivory towers of theoretical abstraction. Their sole contribution was to whine about the military nature of the movement. As we have seen the Makhnovists had no choice in this regard.

They constantly acknowledged that they were weak on theory, mainly due to lack of education. It was essential for all who called themselves anarchists to get stuck in. It is a sad reflection on the political and

organisational weaknesses of Russian anarchism that they failed to do so. Though they were in a minority, well organised intervention in groups like Makhno's might have had an important influence on the course of events in the revolution. Arshinov rightly accuses them of total disorganisation and irresponsibility leading to "impoverished ideas and futile practice".

A NEW SET OF CHAINS

Above all this book is a tragic indictment of Bolshevik leadership and mis-rule. The Bolsheviks clung to the theory that the masses couldn't handle socialism. Workers and peasants proved them wrong by continually throwing up their own organs of democratic economic control. If the facts didn't fit the theory then the facts had to be disposed off. Once again impoverished theory led to impoverished practice.

Arshinov documents the re-emergence of minority class rule. He describes the Bolshevik nationalisation of production with uncanny accuracy as "*new kind of production relations in which economic dependence of the working class is concentrated in a single fist, the State. In essence this in no way improves the situation of the working class*".

The Bolsheviks did realise the political significance of the Makhnovists. Any autonomous movement posing the idea of direct economic control and management by workers and peasants was a political threat. From 1917 onwards the Bolsheviks responded to such threats in one way, physical annihilation.

This book explodes the long list of falsehoods and myths about the Makhnovists. It serves as further evidence (is any more needed!?) of the authoritarian role of the Bolsheviks in the Russian revolution. Most of all, it serves as an inspiration to all serious class struggle anarchists. It poses clearly the need for anarchists to organise and win the battle of ideas in the working class. This is how we can finally begin to fight to make anarchism a reality.

Des McCarron

and now some good news from the Ukraine....

Textile workers at a cotton mill in the Donetsk region of the Ukraine have won a claim for their birthdays to be paid holidays. What a wonderful example for trade union branches here!

but not from Latvia

Meanwhile in Latvia the government continues with its rush to privatise just about everything. On the latest sales list is a home for children undergoing psycho-neurological treatment. The building is for sale for foreign currency only. The government has not said what will become of the children.

Source: KAS-KOR digest

BOOKS FOR ANARCHISTS

IRELAND AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM by the Workers Solidarity Movement. £1.50 40 pages.

A collection of anarchist writings on the partition of Ireland, republicanism, loyalism, how to combat sectarianism, the lessons of the Civil Rights movement, the Falls and the Shankill fighting together, and more.

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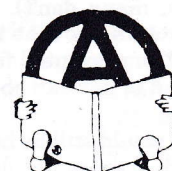
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The wages system, is it fair? What would anarchists put in its place?

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Famous labour songs like Union Maid, Casey Jones - the union scab, The Preacher and the Slave, the International, Solidarity Forever, and There is Power in a Union. Includes many by Joe Hill.

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To order books or to get your free catalogue write to
Workers Solidarity Bookservice,
P.O. Box 1528, Dublin 8.
When ordering please add 10%
to cover postage costs.

No, Yes, Yes...

It's every woman's right to choose

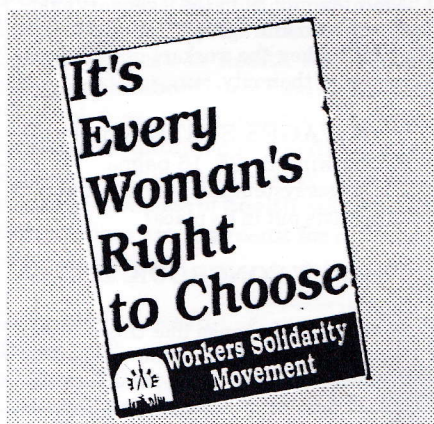
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force any women to continue with a pregnancy. The role of the medical profession should be to advise, not to dictate to women. The decision whether to remain pregnant or not should only be made by that pregnant woman. Any state that uses force to ensure that a pregnancy is continued is at its root barbaric (and this includes Ireland).

Anarchists believe in real options and real choices for women. This is why we favour full childcare provision paid for by the state, maternity leave and flexi-time for working women as well as free access to contraception, free public creche facilities, adequate sex education, decent housing and a living wage. On the other hand a woman who does not want a child should have a right to free, safe abortion on demand. This is what we see as "a woman's right to choose".

TRAVEL AND BACK STREET ABORTIONS

I always assumed that I had a right to travel. It's an indication of how bad the



situation in Ireland has become that we are voting on this at all. It would be funny if it weren't true. We have abortion in Ireland. At least 4,600 Irish women travel to England every year to have abortions (this is the figure for those who give an Irish address, many don't). The logic behind the wording is that if enforced, women would be prevented from travelling to England to have an abortion.

Those women would still be having their abortions and some would die on Irish back streets. In September Channel 4 reported on a Belfast teenager who couldn't afford to travel to England and became seriously ill following a back street abortion. You don't hear the "pro-life" movement saying much about the 300,000 women worldwide (World Health Organisation figure) who died last year following backstreet abortions in mostly Catholic

countries.

The ban on information imposed on the Well Woman Centres and Open Line Counselling clinic has recently been overturned in Europe. After the Supreme Court ruling on the "X" case, the Irish government conceded in Europe that they had lost the case. The Supreme Court ruling allowed for abortion in some circumstances in Ireland, making it impossible for the Irish government to continue their argument against information.

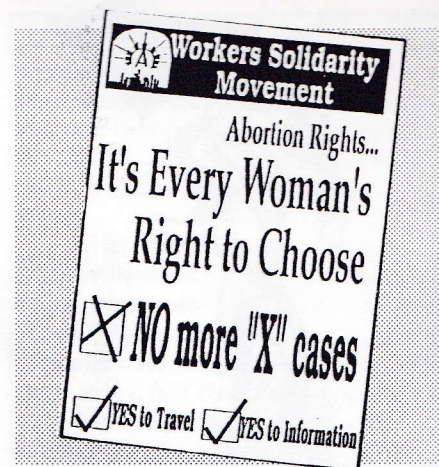
No matter what happens in the information referendum, the government have been told by the Council of Europe to sort out Irish law so that it allows abortion information. The ball is in the Irish government's court. It could be there for a very long time. A similar ruling was handed down by them, in the David Norris case, regarding our anti-homosexuality laws. Four years down the road and the government still hasn't managed to get round to it. A sizable 'Yes' vote to information could form the basis for a strong campaign which would ensure that information was still available. A 'No' vote could give them just the excuse they need to avoid touching the issue.

If we do vote 'Yes', the story doesn't end there. The government will then have to legislate on the circumstances where we will be able to obtain information. The political parties who brought us Section 31 obviously believe that too much knowledge is a bad thing. If they had their way we would only be able to get the information from Catholic priests!

It seems women are not to be trusted. Any attempts to impose restrictions on information will have to be resisted. There must be no restrictions. If restrictions are brought in we will have to continue as we are at the moment, supporting those services that clandestinely give information (such as the Womens Information Network). The law will have to be publicly and continuously broken. It must be made unworkable.

THE SO-CALLED 'SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE'

Anarchists are calling for a 'No' vote on the 12th Amendment. The wording seeks to allow abortion "where there is a real and substantial risk to the life as to opposed to the health of the mother, excluding self-termination". The "X" case changed Irish abortion law. Previously it was illegal under any circumstances. The Supreme Court ruling changed this. The judges indicated that abortion should be allowed



where there is a threat to the life of the mother, including that of suicide. The present wording cuts out suicide. In February "X" could have had her abortion here. If this wording is passed this would no longer be possible.

The new wording also introduces the concept to the Constitution that a distinction can be made between the "health of a woman" and the "life of a woman". A medical condition that was life-shortening would not be grounds for an abortion. There has been much discussion within the medical profession about this distinction. The amount of disagreement alone indicates how difficult it would be for women faced with complications during pregnancy if the wording were passed.

CRUELTY

A woman whose foetus had died as a result of chemotherapy or whose foetus is encephalic and therefore had no possibility of survival, would be needlessly and cruelly forced to carry the dead foetus for the nine months. Indeed it could be, that cancer would not be treated until it developed to such an extent that it became "life-threatening".

At the moment women with ectopic pregnancies (where the foetus implants in the fallopian tube, which is life-threatening for the woman and there is no chance of survival for the foetus) lose the entire fallopian tube. This is completely unnecessary. It reduces their chance of having further children. All because the more direct straightforward treatment, an abortion, is illegal.

The "pro-life" movement criticise this wording because they say it is a choice between "some abortion or more abortion". In fact it is a choice between extremely limited abortion and abortion in even more extremely limited circumstances. In reality it won't change the situation for the vast majority of the 4,600+ who travel to England. They will still have to get the boat to England. However a victory now could pave the way for a further victory later. It is time to start a big fightback, we need to start winning.

Aileen O'Carroll

ONE WECOME result in the US election was the election-day defeat of Oregon's anti-gay Measure 9 by 54% of the voters. A similar anti-gay referendum passed in Colorado, where lesbian and gay activists say they'll intensify the struggle.

Measure 9 would have amended the state Constitution to define lesbians and gays as "abnormal, wrong, unnatural ... and perverse", and linked homosexuality to sado-masochism and child molestation.

If passed the referendum would also have banned measures outlawing discrimination based on sexual orientation. All government agencies and public schools would have been required to discriminate against lesbians and gays.

However as Peggy Norman, chair of 'No on Nine', pointed out: *"Continued efforts are needed to protect homosexuals against discrimination. Across most of Oregon, gays and lesbians still can be fired from their jobs and denied housing solely because of their sexual orientation"*.

NATIONAL BATTLEGROUND

The Oregon Citizens Alliance got Measure 9 placed on the ballot paper. OCA is supported by large contributions from religious fundamentalists like Pat Robertson, who donated \$20,000. Since OCA went on the offensive a year ago, incidents of anti-gay violence have escalated. A black lesbian and white gay man living near Portland were murdered.

OCA's anti-gay rhetoric played on the fears of impoverished, unemployed timber workers and farmers in rural white communities who are desperate to find an enemy to blame. The OCA claimed *"homosexuals have special rights, take all our jobs and recruit our children"*.

Donna Redwing from Portland's Lesbian Community Project said *"Almost half the state voted yes to Measure 9. Part of our work has been to outreach around the state to show them we have a human face and personality, that we are less scary than the OCA, and show them our work is on economic equality, rights for children and women, our work is helpful to the unemployed lumber worker"*.

Anti-Gay bigots on the march in the USA, Nicaragua... and Ireland

Suzanne Pharr of 'No on Nine' said: *"We have groups who have pulled together people of color, women, and lesbians and gays - diverse groups of people to work against bigotry. This is not a single issue. The religious Right is trying to dismantle all the gains that were won in the civil rights movement"*.

Source: NY Transfer News Service

WHILE IRELAND waits (and waits...) for Leinster House to repeal its anti-gay laws, Nicaraguan lesbians and gay men face up to seven years in prison. The new penal code signed into law by President Violeta Chamorro threatens this for "inducing, promoting or practising" private homosexual acts between consenting adults.

The law covers not only consensual sex but also "public advocacy". Amnesty International points out this could include educational or artistic portrayal of gay relationships. In Ireland we can expect Youth Defence and the Family Solidarity to campaign against any attempt to change the law to conform to the European Court of Human Rights judgement in the David Norris case.

The Nicaraguan Collective of Homosexuals are asking for Chamorro to be snowed under with letters of protest. Get your organisation to write, send a letter yourself (it will only cost you the price of a stamp).

President Violeta Chamorro,
Casa Presidencial,
Maagua,
Nicaragua.

Please send copies of any letters to either *Workers Solidarity* or to the Irish Nicaragua Support Group, 61 Lower Camden Street, Dublin 2. This is to let lesbian & gay groups in Nicaragua know of the support for their struggle in Ireland.

GET IN TOUCH

THE world's wealth is produced by us - the working class. We ought to enjoy its benefits.

The Workers Solidarity Movement is an anarchist organisation that fights for a 32 county Workers' Republic.

We stand for a socialism that is based on freedom and real democracy, a society based on workplace and community councils.

This kind of socialism has nothing to do with the state capitalism that was practiced in Russia, and still is in China, Cuba and other police states.

We oppose coercive authority, and hold that the only limit on the freedom of the individual should be that they don't encroach on the freedom of others.

As part of our fight for anarchism we are involved in the struggles for higher wages, for trade union democracy, for women's rights, for jobs.

We oppose all divisions in the working class. We fight against all attempts to set Protestant against Catholic, men against women, skilled against unskilled, old against young, heterosexual against homosexual.

We are opposed to the British state's presence and to partition. We defend peoples' right to fight back. But we are not nationalists, we do not merely want to get rid of the border. We want to unite our class and create a totally new Ireland.



I want more information about the Workers Solidarity Movement.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Return to WSM, P.O. Box 1528, Dublin 8

WORKERS SOLIDARITY

MAGAZINE OF THE WORKERS SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT
ISSUE NO. 37

75p outside Ireland

WINTER 1992/93 **60p**

CRISIS PREGNANCY?

for information about
all the options
- including abortion -

Womens Information
Network

01-6794700

Abortion Vote:

☒ YES to Travel ☒ YES to Information

☒ **NO** more "X" cases

A 14 YEAR OLD rape victim was injuncted last February by the Irish state. She was physically prevented from leaving the country in order to have an abortion in England. Public outrage, manifested in near continuous demonstrations forced the Supreme Court to reverse this decision.

The government then came under pressure to clarify what the legal situation was in Ireland. The "pro-life" movement pressurised for a reversal of the Supreme Court ruling. Public opinion called for changes that would ensure that a case similar to the "X" case would never occur again.

JUGGLING WITH WOMENS RIGHTS

There are two ways they could have done this, by legalisation on the Supreme Court decision or by a referendum which would in some way amend the original Eighth Amendment to the Constitution. Fianna Fáil like to appear as all things to all people, they usually go where the votes carry them. For this reason they avoided the option of legislation. Enacting legislation based on the Supreme Court judgement would

inevitably result in allowing for abortion in some circumstances (i.e. threat of suicide) in Ireland.

If the government were to propose this they would face the Catholic church and the "pro-life" movement organising against them in the constituencies, costing them votes. For this reason the preferred option of Fianna Fáil was to "let the people decide", thus letting them off the hook, through having a referendum. As would be expected the holding of this referendum doesn't indicate a new found desire for democracy as much as a desperate attempt to sit square in the middle of the fence.

However they attempted the impossible and they messed things up. They attempted to forge a consensus between diametrically opposing points

of view. There can never be agreement between the "pro-life" movement and those who would allow abortion in Ireland. The result of all this manoeuvring is that we are being faced with three separate, and each in their own way highly insulting, referenda. These are on the right to Travel, the right to Information and on the right to Abortion in certain very restricted circumstances. Anarchists will be voting **Yes** to Travel, **Yes** to Information and **No** to the so called "pro-life" wording.

A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Our decision on which way to vote is based on our support for a woman's right to choose. The state, it's lawyers and it's police should have no right to

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•Fundamentalists and fanatics, Youth Defence on the march

IRISH ANARCHIST MAGAZINE