

DIRECT ACTION

**Police
State
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The Voice of Anarcho-Syndicalism

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UP THE JUNCTION

'The 17.40 from Paddington has been delayed due to a blockage on the line' and 10-1 it's some poor bastard who's thrown themselves on the rails because they're so tired of waiting for a train! Or maybe it's a whole train load mingled with scrap metal due to a 'faulty wire', or even a station gone up in flames because someone dropped a poxy fag butt.

Whatever the reason you can be sure of one thing, when a train does turn up it will be full of sweaty, irate commuters willing to stab each other rather than let anyone else get a seat before they do.

If this situation sounds familiar to you then you've probably been unlucky enough to have to travel on public transport recently. Whether bus or train, the situation is the same, a completely and utterly miserable experience from start to finish — and one which you have to pay for!

And all the time we're being told that 'more money is being ploughed into transport than ever before', but where?!! Into advertising what's left of it so it can be sold off to people who want to make it bloody worse!

A good example of the way things are is the comment by a senior British Rail official after the Clapham Junction disaster. He gave out the usual crap, 'large amounts of money is being laid out for new signalling to make the railways safer' — they had just failed. This may just have something to do with the constant pressure they are putting on signal workers to do longer hours for less money (see *Knapp Off* — DA 50).

It's all very well having new fangled signal systems which are safer (but seemingly aren't!), but if they're undermaintained due to an overworked and inadequate staff it's not surprising they don't work.

This emphasis on 'streamlining' and 'cost effectiveness' which we are



witnessing at the moment can only mean less staff, less routes, less vehicles and less safety.

It results in the appalling situation we have at the moment. People being herded on and off trucks like so much cattle, being charged extortionate prices for it, and all the time wondering whether the Underground may just take them six foot underground.

The passenger protests on the Northern Line of the London tube network last year, when trains were occupied because passengers were so tired of trains being continually terminated, were an encouraging sign. If these spontaneous protests could be organised and linked with action by staff then the future will look rosier.

Until then you may be better off walking, but keep one eye on the sky, a plane might just drop on your head.

Direct Action Movement — International Workers Association

ON THE WATERFRONT

In the very near future industrial action is likely to break out in Britain's docks. This could mean the biggest threat to the stability of British capitalism since the miners strike in 1984/5. Some dockers were on the verge of walking out just before Christmas but a strike failed to materialise at the last minute. Nevertheless a national shop-stewards committee has been meeting weekly since then to assess the situation, and on the 28th January, the day after we go to press, there is a national mass meeting in London for all Registered Dockers to discuss having a strike. This dispute is brewing because the employers, egged on by Tory MP's and the media, want to end the National Dock Labour Scheme.

The situation is especially tense in Liverpool. There the employers have thrown down the gauntlet by putting 172 registered dockers on to the Temporary Employment Register. This means they could be made redundant after 28 days with no severance pay. The bosses hope to get casuals in to do the work, as and when required.

In the old days the workers had to wait outside the dock gates in the hope of getting a days work. If there was not much work on, or your face did not fit, you and your family starved. The NDLS was fought for and won, meaning that many dockers could get paid, even in slack times. The media have fallen over themselves ever

since to criticise it. They have heaped on abuse and lies, usually along the lines of 'Lazy Workers Get Jobs For Life'. The media conveniently forgets all the hunger, poverty and suffering which the old system caused. As legislation goes, the NDLS can be regarded as a real victory for workers' rights.



Britain's ruling class really hate the NDLS not because it is more inefficient than any other work system but because it is a symbol of organised workers collective strength. It is a thorn

in their sides in the same way as the printers' and miners' unions were.

These days the number of dockers registered under the NDLS is a minority — only about 10,000. Generally all dockers, whether registered or not are members of the Transport and General Workers Union. To save the NDLS the TGWU is saying that they will instruct their members not to handle goods which have been blacked by registered dockers. This is a completely toothless threat because the employers will simply send the ships to ports such as Felixstowe where the NDLS has no power.

If this dispute comes to a strike the TGWU will avoid paying strike pay if their past record in the docks and elsewhere is anything to go by. This is despite the fact that the union bureaucrats spend millions on their own wages and expenses. Dockers will be needing all the help they can get in the form of fund-raising, assisting on the picket lines, and initiating solidarity actions. Brace yourselves!

IFFY...

The violence at the Nov 24th 1988 demonstration against student loans was given wide press coverage. It was termed the worst student violence since the 'angry sixties'. The demo was portrayed as a storming of parliament, which is a little too paranoid (or optimistic), yet it was not a reformist write-off.

Student anger was focused against government plans to phase in loans to replace grants. This means mortgaging knowledge on a pay-once-you've-learned basis and will increase the poverty and debts of working class students. To fight student loans is a defensive reflex, rather than reformist theorising.

The National Union of Students (NUS) expected around 5,000 students for a lobby of parliament (chat to MPs) and rally, rather than the 30,000 who turned up to march on Westminster. Faced with the fact that such a march was not expected, nor a route planned, the students had to do it themselves 'spontaneously', with much hesitating and changing of direction. It would be easier to unravel the press lies than map out the route of the march. At one point two student marches met each other head on. The students made their way to Westminster, though with some on the northern, and some on the southern side of the Thames.

The important result of the unscheduled march was that students had to ask themselves some questions: Do we return to the rally in the park and listen to Norman Willis? (few did); Do we walk this way even though the police told us not to?; Do we walk in the road? Do we go home as the police tell us? It was late on before NUS stewards

started to try and help the police disperse the blockade of parliament (on Victoria Embankment and Westminster Bridge). They were shouted down as 'scabs'. The action was visibly grassroots and not due to the familiar 'alien agitators'.

It was the police, as usual, who made the day what it was. Sending 20 mounted police at full gallop, without warning, into a packed crowd is no novelty for the Met, but it certainly shook the students. People having their legs broken by the police is quite an eye-opener. It



'IS THAT A BIT OF LEAD PIPE, OR ARE YOU JUST POLICED TO SEE ME?'

CAR WARS



On the 9th January workers at the Jaguar factories in Birmingham and Coventry rejected their employers 'last offer' of a 4% per annum pay rise over the next two years. This may seem like a modest act of defiance against the bosses, but it has Britain's ruling class really worried. News of the pay offer rejection, with the possibility of a strike looming, made the lead article on the front page of the *Financial Times*.

The turnout for the ballot was just under eight thousand, out of a manual workforce of 9,000, seventy per cent of whom voted against accepting the company's offer. Discontent has been increasing for over a year at Jaguar because the production line has been speeded up and staffing levels have been gradually reduced. There have been sporadic strikes — see DA 54. Three days before this ballot news came through that Nissan workers in Tyne and Wear had just got a 15% pay rise. This

news no doubt influenced the Jaguar ballot.

Britain's ruling class is almost certainly watching the developments at Jaguar very closely. Jaguar workers have traditionally been some of the better paid workers in the motor industry. Consequently many own their own homes and are no strangers to credit cards or share ownership. But rising interest rates and mortgage repayments are affecting Jaguar workers badly. So Britain's ruling class regard this dispute as the first rebellion of the 'new' type of working class, with implications for many other industries.

You and I know, of course, that there is no such thing as a 'new' working class. Just because one worker is paid more than another does not make your position essentially different. After all, none of us have ultimate control over our workplaces or the profits, unlike the bosses.

certainly helped inflame hatred of the police, who were openly abused as fascist bastards, nor did the police charges serve as an excuse to disperse and disappear. The police were faced either with active attacks or attrition and obstruction, reflecting the levels of police violence. Some normally passive students were later commenting on the usefulness of molotovs and mar-

bles. Solidarity was expressed by local nurses and telecom workers who had seen the police brutality as well as drivers in traffic queues.

People are beginning to see that any act of protest or dissent is seen as treason by the state. Hopefully, they'll see that protest in the street is more a root of our power than the talking game in parliament.

DAM

Yuppie readers of the *Financial Times* probably got a bit of a shock at the end of last year. Tucked away between the reports of zinc up, gold down, Minorca take-over and Abbey Life amalgamates, was a short report of an investment fund manager found buried in concrete. Apparently, shares in Blue Circle are stable. Anyway, we think propping up the M25 is a fine use for Britain's yuppies.

SPOT

NOT TOO KOSHER

The Palestinian Intifada (uprising) in the post-1967 occupied territories, now over a year old, and the brutal repression meted out to Palestinians, has compromised Israel's international position. The US government has threatened to withdraw economic and moral support if no political solution is found to avoid further blatant repression. This is not some sudden application of the USA's selective concern for human rights to the Palestinians, but a reflection of the fact that unless a political solution can be found to break the cycle of uprising and repression, the resultant instability will hamper Israel's usefulness as the USA's Middle East policeman. US financial and military investment in Israel has been massive because, in the words of Ronald Reagan, 'Israel is combat-ready and has a combat-experienced military... a force in the Middle East that is actually of value to the US. If there was no Israel with that force, we'd have to supply our own.'

As in South Africa, and to a lesser extent Ireland, US strategic interests are being threatened by the brutal imperialist nature of its clients, and it prefers a political solution to the instability of uprising and repression. There are limits to the extent it can withdraw support, however, as it has no more stable alternatives. Israel is the last guarantee of US oil interests, because the Arab kingdoms are even more vulnerable. After WWI Britain gained Palestine as a 'mandate' legalising its conquest from the Turkish Ottoman Empire, as well as control of what is now Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, in which it sponsored or set up puppet kingdoms. France gained Syria and Lebanon, but the British government ensured itself the lion's share because, post-war, oil became the key to British naval power.

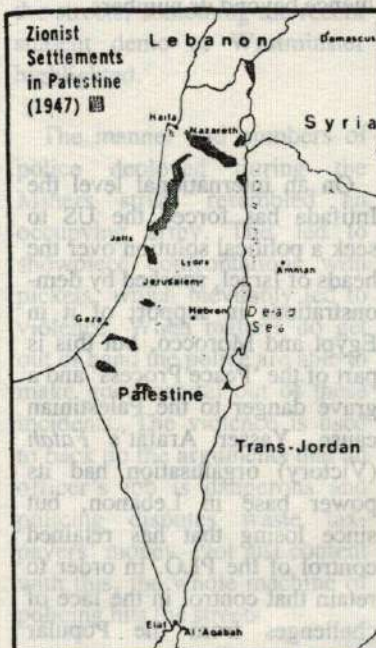
ANTI-SEMITISM

It was during the British mandate in Palestine that Zionists, previously insignificant, became a force in Western Imperialism. Zionism was launched as an organised movement in 1897 at its first International Conference in Basle, Switzerland, as a Jewish nationalist response to anti-semitism. Theodore Herzl, its figure-head, declared that the Jews should have a homeland in Palestine because of their biblical and historical connections to it, arguing that their 'alien' presence in Europe was the cause of anti-semitism. It had little impact in Europe and the USA because Jewish workers owed allegiance to the BUND (the Russian/Polish Jewish socialist movement) or the Anarchist movement, but some young Jews were influenced by it to leave Europe for Palestine.

In 1917 the Balfour Declaration was issued in favour of a Jewish homeland in Palestine West of the Jordan, one of

many, often contradictory carrots dangled by the British to attract wartime allies. The Yishuv, the Zionist's political structure, welcomed this, but the British project among the Arab princes was their main means of securing the oilfields, and was shelved to avoid antagonising them. However, the Palestinian Arabs resented British rule, and associated the Zionists with it. The Palestinians have coexisted peacefully with the small number of indigenous Jews left over from the Diaspora of 60 AD under the Roman Empire, and developed the orange groves and other agriculture for which the Zionists now claim credit. The Zionists had a European culture (Poland was the richest cultural centre of world Jewry) and a colonialist ideology, and the Arabs identified them as enemies.

In 1936 a six-month general strike, followed by guerilla warfare, began a Palestinian rebellion against British rule which lasted until 1939 when the British made cynical noises about Palestinian independence in order to release its massive military commitment for the coming war. The Haganah, the Zionist's militia which had grown out of clashes between Zionists and Palestinians throughout British rule, was semi-officially trained and used as auxiliaries by the British during the rebellion. Throughout the war the Zionists were kept in check as the British generally appeased the Arabs to minimise the chances of rebellions in this vital region. Post-war the situation deteriorated, as illegal immigration from Europe by refugees from new pogroms flooded in. No state would take the refugees and the Zionists manipulated both them and their plight, raising money among British and American Jews in support of a Jewish homeland as a refuge. They also raised US interest as it sought security for its oil interests.



The extent of Jewish settlements in Palestine in 1947 (left), the much larger area which the United Nations proposed as a Jewish state (centre), and the even larger area taken by Israel in the 1948 war (right)

In 1947 the British handed Palestine over to the United Nations for a carve-up. This was partly a response to Zionist terrorism by groups like the Irgun, which blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1946, killing 80. The UN partition plan gave 55% of Palestine to the Jews — 30% of the population who had purchased most of the 6% of the land they then owned from the Arabs. When it was approved, British and American consulates and property were attacked in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. The Zionists realised that they could only take this land by force and prepared for war as the British withdrew in 1948. In April of that year the

This 'war of independence' secured not only the UN-allocated Jewish areas, but also nearly half the Arab ones for Israel. Zionism is expansionist and considers all of Palestine to belong to it, in the 1956 'Suez Crisis' it took Sinai and the Gaza Strip, in 1967 it took the West Bank of the Jordan and the Golan Heights (from Syria). In the 1973 'Yom Kippur' war it defeated the Arab League and held on to its conquests. It was after 1973, when Israel was unable to expand against a united Arab League, in spite of beating off their attacks, that Henry Kissinger started the Peace Process. The Peace Process, which is once again in the news, is des-

the Arab rulers, and Egypt was not the first to abandon them. In 1970 Jordan, mindful of the threat the PLO posed to the ruling class of the Palestinian sub-



jects, launched an offensive against the refugee camps which bloodily expelled the guerrillas and became known as 'Black September'. The PLO base moved to Lebanon, where it built up a base in alliance with left-wing muslim groups against the Israeli-backed Phalangists (ie fascists), who had been set up to rule Lebanon under the French. Israel invaded in 1982, sanctioning measures like the massacre in Sabra and Chatila Palestinian refugee camps carried out by the Phalangists, and civilian bombing. Although Syria intervened against the Israelis, it too saw the Palestinian base as a threat and the Syrian-backed Amal have since succeeded in driving the PLO base from Lebanon, although before the Intifada attacks on refugee camps continued.

RELIGION

Back in Zionist-occupied Palestine the indigenous population have suffered brutal repression, exploitation as cheap labour, and ludicrously exorbitant taxation, including a special one imposed to finance the 'war for



"I DON'T CARE HOW LONG YOU'VE BEEN A MILLWALL FAN, YOU CAN'T GET IN WITHOUT A CARD"

Irgun (led by future prime minister Menachem Begin, whose early admiration for Italian Fascism was dropped when Hitler's anti-semitism became widely known and hated) massacred 240 of the unarmed population of an Arab village called

igned to split the Arab states which support Arab nationalism, and isolate the cutting edge of that nationalism — the Palestinians — thereby securing US interests. It has led to the return of Sinai to Egypt, and the Camp David agreement by which

NOT TOO KOSHER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE



A PROCESSED PEACE

the peace of Galilee' in the Lebanon. Harassment, injury and imprisonment by the Israeli state are facts of life. To maintain this the Jewish population is militarised, with all adults serving a minimum of one month each year in the army. Religious fundamentalism has also grown in recent years, encouraged by the adoption of much of the *Halacha* (Jewish religious law) into Israeli law, and alongside the rise of the right-wing *Likud* party against the mainstream Israeli Labour Party, religious parties see an opportunity for exerting influence. In Israel this has eroded the traditional opposition of the ultra-orthodox Chasidic Jews to the Israeli state (on theological grounds, ie that it is illegitimate until the Messiah comes).

The spark which has ignited the Intifada has been settlement

by colonists in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which is rightly seen as the spearhead of further expansionism by Israel, and is accompanied by a murderous racism on the part of the colonists, backed up by the Israeli Army. The Intifada, which began in December 1987, has been sustained by a high degree of grass roots organisation amounting to virtual autonomy within the limits of military occupation. It has started a process whereby the Zionist consensus among Israeli Jews may begin to crack, a movement called *Yesh Gvul* ('there is a limit/border') has arisen from the revulsion many Israelis feel for the brutalities used in the Lebanon and against the Intifada. It is based among many army reservists, and unlike the better-known 'Peace Now' actually refuses to fight in the occu-

upied (post-'67) territories or Lebanon. Although it avoids the question of Israel's existence, it demands a halt to expansionism, and questions whether occupation is worth the atrocities. Its limits and its base in the army means it avoids the isolation principled anti-Zionist movements face, and it has an influence beyond its numbers.

On an international level the Intifada has forced the US to seek a political solution over the heads of Israel, sparked by demonstrations in support of it in Egypt and Morocco, but this is part of the 'Peace Process' and a grave danger to the Palestinian cause. Yasser Arafat's *Fatah* (Victory) organisation had its power base in Lebanon, but since losing that has retained control of the PLO. In order to retain that control in the face of challenges from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Arafat is becoming part of the 'Peace Process', recognising the state of Israel and seeking a partition between the 1967 and 1948 occupied territories. In return for backing *Fatah*, US imperialism will gain stability through the end of the Intifada, the repression of the PLO left, and a Palestinian state which is nominally independent, under Israeli economic and military domination. The Intifada is often said to be stronger than any leadership, but in reality it is not independent of the PLO, and a settlement would damage its direction and wreck the unity which has been a major factor of its strength. The lessons of the Intifada are not only that mass uprising is stronger than armed struggle, but also that movements not independent of political leaderships are prey to them.

SUSPECT DEVICE

Hooded, machine gun carrying terrorists were spotted in Wood Green, North London, shortly before Christmas. Fortunately the Anti-Terrorist Squad were also there ... but, not surprisingly, they didn't arrest the SAS, just hospital porter Eamonn Wadley. He is yet another Irish worker disappearing onto the conveyor belt of British justice, and probably doesn't know anything about IRA bomb factories.



Back in Ireland the war continues, with the IRA deciding to take retaliatory action against the massive raiding of the anti-unionist ghettos of Belfast in November. The laying siege of housing estates, and the wrecking of homes, in areas which do not accept British rule has been a feature of military occupation since 1969. It is part of a strategy of collective punishment for resistance, especially IRA activities. The intention is to alienate the IRA from the people who support or tolerate it, by punishing them for its continued existence and strength. The ef-

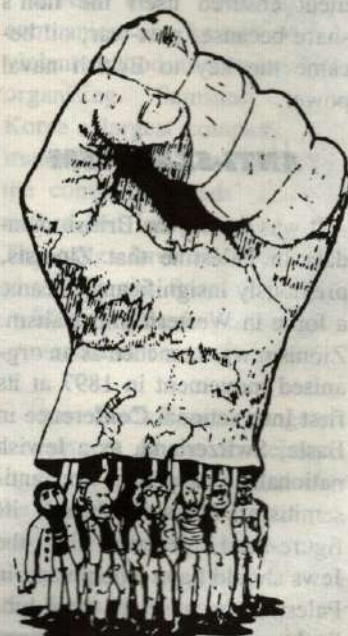
fect is to strengthen that support, and was largely responsible for making IRA activities the best-known area of anti-unionist resistance, which was peaceful in the 60's but was changed by the invasion of the ghettos by the state forces in 1969.

Since the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement and the introduction of similar methods on a wide scale against all 'subversives' by the government of the 26 Counties not occupied by Britain, the raiding and wrecking has got worse in the North. The IRA has matched every escalation of state violence against its community, and British Army estates in Derry and Lisburn were wrecked by three massive car-bombs in November and December. This was in response to the absurd situation where British troops could wreck anti-unionist homes, then return to their own a few miles away undisturbed. The intention is not to harm the families, but to prevent them living in Ireland, leaving married soldiers no respite from the hostility of the Irish. In marked contrast to most bombings where there is a risk of civilian casualties, warnings have been acted on swiftly, and no such casualties have resulted. The response to the raiding has not been solely military however, tenants from the affected areas have formed the Concerned Community Organisation, to publicise the raiding and organise protests.

CITY HEAT

December was a hot month for industrial conflict on the Continent. France's communications system was paralysed with strikes on the metro, railways and buses. On a lesser scale, industrial action also affected postal services, shipping and Air France flights. In Paris, the scabby socialist government arranged 365 army trucks with soldier/drivers to take commuters to work in an effort to break the strike. These strikes rounded off a very busy year in France. There has been some massive strike action, especially in the public sector such as hospitals and the Post Office.

During the first week of December, 350,000 civil servants in Portugal struck for higher pay and a review of the promotion system. At the same time, electricity workers and Lisbon's commuter ferryboat staff struck for higher pay and better conditions. Even the magistrates went on strike: but if they are



anything like British magistrates they can all drop dead of starvation as far as we are concerned.

In Spain, about eight million workers went on strike on December 14th, in protest at the socialist government's backdoor attempt to lower the minimum wage. Virtually the whole country came to a standstill. This was Spain's first general strike since the thirties. A few days afterwards the government gave in and withdrew its proposed policy.



ALL CRACKED UP

TOOLING UP

BOOK REVIEW:
SHOOTING IN THE
DARK by GERRY
NORTHAM

First of all, a warning or two. Despite the publisher's blurb, this book does not contain 'the full text of the secret riot manual' as claimed, although what the author has judged to be the substance of it is reproduced at the relevant points throughout the book. Printing certain details of tactical manoeuvres has also been avoided to duck charges of irresponsibility and giving 'rioters' any secrets. Also Northam is a TV journalist, from *Brass Tacks*, and the style and depth of the book reflects this, ie. don't expect great depth or specialisation, particularly in the context of British police paramilitarisation.

While I wouldn't recommend buying the book, it is worth reading (order it from your local library). It is fairly useful for its outline of the rise of the Association of Chief Police Officers, a body with no legal status, and its assumption with Home Office aid of ultimate responsibility for public order control. The traditional power structure consisted of a pyramid of Local Authorities, Chief Constables, and the Home Secretary. Since the Home Office by-passed the right to supply any police force with plastic bullets the ACPO has assumed unquestioned initiative in policing policy, with backup, but no control, from the government. This illustrates the reality of the ruling classes as a coalition of interests with various power bases, rather than simply the bourgeoisie and its servants. The ACPO is effectively above the law, by the way, and its president is ultra-Catholic James Anderton.

LAW AND ORDER

The guts of the book consists of quotes from the ACPO's Public Order Manual, which is secret from all but its own members, the most significant of which are often the frank statements of the advantages and disadvantages of each tactic, because they allow insight into ACPO thinking. Added to this is the testimony of retired domestic and colonial coppers of the most senior rank who disagree with the paramilitary drift in Britain, so it is possible to draw a picture of the enemy and its likely options. Northam's analysis is rather shallow throughout, but the material is there. Little gems appear like the fact that Anderton made an 'Enemy Within' speech in 1982 — two

years before Thatcher! Ireland is ignored, no reference is made to Kitson's counter-insurgency theories, nor to what significance might be attached to Kenneth Newman's consecutive service as RUC Chief Constable, then Metropolitan Police Commissioner. RUC Federation leader Alan Wright's warnings against the dangers of a paramilitary role (massive casualties in a front line role due to IRA attacks) beg the connection. A paramilitary police force exists to repress social rebellion, and to aid its portrayal as a law and order problem, but it would be a mistake to see it as an import from Ireland, this book, thankfully, concentrates on the internal origins of current ACPO thinking.

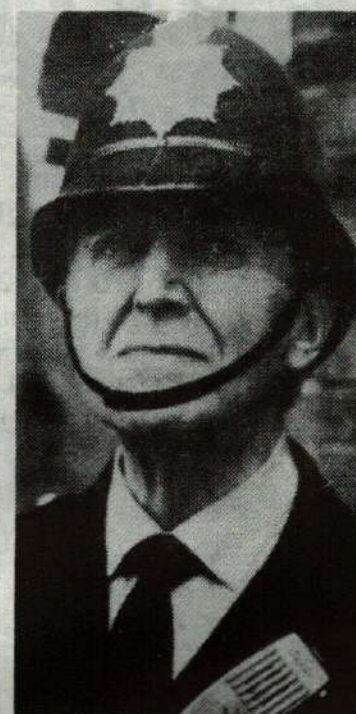
risings gave it impetus and 'justification'. Section Five, paragraph 72 of the Scarman Report on Brixton '81 recommended swift reinforcement capability between forces, better riot-training, riot vans, NATO helmets, flameproof overalls and short shields. In September '81, two months before, the ACPO had already decided to import all this from Hong Kong, and seized upon Scarman to justify it.

By 1984 the training programme initiated by the ACPO in 1981 was completed, and given this timing, Orgreave becomes eminently explicable. Pickets who had done no more than hurl abuse and a few stones got the full treatment, the police

people'. This is supposed to be for after a nuclear attack, but the police were more interested in Grunwick and Warrington, then the miners in '84/85 and Wapping, and 'subversion' seems to consist of attempting to picket effectively. The Irish War and the '81 and '85 uprisings may seem more important, given the colonial origins of the riot tactics, but trade unionists were the original 'enemy within', and they will probably remain the most common target of our paramilitary police.

NR

Shooting In The Dark: Riot Police in Britain by Gerry Northam, Faber & Faber, ISBN 0 571 15090 X, £12.95



A MYTH



"HAVE I GOT EVERYTHING?"

The tactics and equipment are imported, though, direct from the Royal Hong Kong Police, as is the basic organisational unit of the Police Support Unit, into which both the RHKP and all British police forces are trained to re-group. This consists of one inspector, two sergeants, and twenty constables in two transits. The old SPGs common to all police forces handle 'short shield work', ie. the elite riot squad (there are eight Territorial Support Groups in London, comprising 100 men each), firearms officers handle smoke, CS gas, plastic bullets and 'live' firearms (If all else fails they will shoot 'ringleaders' to disperse a 'riot'). All this was in the pipeline when the '80/81 up-

video of the manoeuvres and the ensuing battle as the pickets defended themselves as best they could is used in police riot training nationally. Orgreave served a second purpose too, it was seen by the police as revenge on 'the enemy within' for their defeat at Saltley Gates in the 1972 Coal Dispute. The Police National Computer was established in 1970, the National Reporting Centre in 1972 after Saltley Gates, the idea of Police Support Units was first mentioned in the 1974 Police Manual of Home Defence, which outlines all the 'Special measures to maintain internal security, with particular reference to the detention or restriction of movement of subversive or potentially subversive

UP SHIP CREEK

The recent announcement by the government of the closure of the last Sunderland shipyard came as no surprise and had long been expected. It had been held on ice until after Thatcher returned from Poland, because her cold war posturing over the closure of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk would have been revealed as the propaganda stunt it was if it had coincided with her own closure of North East Shipbuilders Ltd. 2,200 jobs will go in the yards themselves, and several thousand others dependent on the yards will also go.

Industries like shipbuilding don't fit in with the rôle being assigned to Britain in the global capitalist order, and in Thatcherite dogma they are 'lame duck'. The Nissan assembly plant nearby on the other hand is very popular with the Tories, who enthuse over this 'success' story in the North East. Of course, in the Nissan case, no expense was spared to attract the Japanese car company. In fact, so many concessions were offered that Nissan would have been crazy to set up anywhere else. Land was made available at ridiculous

prices, all manner of grants were made available, and of course a pliant trade union was wheeled out to sign a single-union 'sweetheart' contract. Everybody bent over backwards to ensure Nissan set up in the North East rather than anywhere else in Europe.

Britain, birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, now prides itself on being able to attract Nissan to set up a plant to assemble 'kits' (with the only incentives for Nissan being a timid workforce and a foothold in the European market...)

So was there any hope of the Save Our Shipyards (SOS) campaign in Sunderland saving NESL with its petitions and lobbying? Some cynics have said that if the petitions had been in Polish the yards might have been kept open. But basically, whereas the government see the shipyard in Gdansk as a bastion of freedom, they see the shipyard in Sunderland as a bastion of 'restrictive practices', and a 'lame duck'. The only thing that would have saved NESL was a bit of our very own *Solidarity* over here.



WHATEVER HAPPENED TO HARRY ROBERTS?

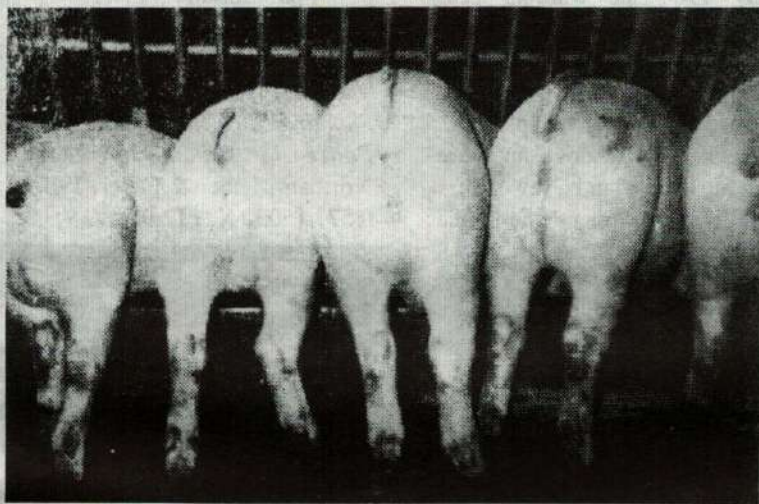
Britain is a police state, but for most people the apparatus is kept out of sight until needed. Beneath the veneer of freedom lies a state security system that already holds more than 1.25 million files on people labelled as a danger to the state. It is not just the expected members of left and right wing groups who have their names and other personal details held, but people in community groups wanting a road crossing, victims of crime, etc.

The state seems to be paranoid when people gather together in a common interest, to improve or protect their environment, neighbourhood or lives. The latest figures for the number of telephones tapped is believed to be in the region of 30,000 (*Observer* 30/10/88), and this figure could expand due to new computer technology. Not only is security gathering done on a mass scale, it goes down to the local police constable on the beat. Every PC is expected to nurture an informant in every street, who in turn passes on details of what the neighbours are up to — the spy in the street.

MI5

The tools of the police state are here and in every day use. Armed police, road-blocks, ID checks, dawn raids, surveillance teams and agent provocateurs are just part of the state's armoury used against the people. The words 'police state' are provocative and easily used as a term of abuse, but if we do look more deeply into our society and the way civil liberties are coming under attack, we may still delude ourselves that the police state couldn't happen here. The 'freedom' of the 60's and 70's is being rolled back by a reactionary Conservative government. State security is meant to be in the 'interests of the people', but is in reality maintaining the status quo, or even worse, used for the sole benefit of the ruling elite to advance their interests.

The Official Secrets Act is a convenient blanket used to keep the British public in the dark. It was the reason given to stop *Spycatcher* being sold in the country even though it was freely available abroad. Peter Wright's book also consolidated a well-known rumour of a planned British coup in the 1970's. Wright, an MI5 officer with a grudge, revealed that with others in MI5, the CIA, and the BOSS (South African Security Service), they were conspirators to carry out a coup if a Wilson led Labour Party won the 1974 General Election. Wright and his cohorts were convinced that Wilson was a Russian mole.



TAPEWORM TENDENCY

Wilson was placed under surveillance and the Labour Party was infiltrated by the security services. Wilson was aware of the undue attention he was receiving and this probably lies behind the victorious Labour Party dropping its socialist programme and Wilson resigning in 1976.

RUSSIAN SPY

The manipulation of the Labour Party, by dropping socialist policies, was not enough for Wright and his friends, as they wished to turn the knife into Wilson. MI5, through its press conduits (*Private Eye*), released rumours of a Russian spy in the cabinet, which suitably discredited Labour. Nor was this behaviour restricted to Wright's faction. Fifty years earlier the Zinoviev letter was another dirty trick used to sabotage the Labour Party at a 'free election'.



Wright's allegations of a right-wing faction in MI5 is alarming, but planning a coup is frightening. The attitude of the Conservative government is also suspicious as they refused to

have an inquiry into Wright's story. If the government were truly concerned with the national good, action should have been taken as soon as the book was published. Instead, the government have spent vast sums of money trying to suppress the book. This is disturbing and

begs the question, what else have they got to hide?

Behind the mask of the Official Secrets Act is the fundamental question, who are the secret services accountable to? The same question can be levelled at the uniformed police, bearing in mind their activities during the '84/85 miners strike. Are they responsible to parliament, or are they free to do as they please? The plot to overthrow Wilson shows that some within the state security service have developed their own political aspirations which are being forwarded within the police and state security services. If the services are accountable for their actions is it just because those within the Conservative Party share the same aims, that the police state just reflects popular consent for its activities and there is nothing to fear?

POLICE STATE

We already have all the ingredients for a police state: a political police force, authoritarian government and social and industrial unrest. The police are organised on a national basis through the National Reporting Centre (NRC). During the miners strike, the NRC co-ordinated the 43 police forces and had targeted 370 likely sites of picketing. The NRC was in daily contact with the Home Office, but denied any political interference. The police, through the NRC, have developed their own chain of command and powers. The criminal police have become subordinate to the political police. The

miners strike showed the police's priorities as a mass exodus left Southern England to occupy the coalfields and break the strike. The miners and supporters had been criminalised and had become a legitimate target for the police.

At the turn of the century during periods of Labour unrest, the army were used. This military backup is no longer required as we now have a paramilitary police force, though there is evidence that the military were on the miners' picket lines. They have their own armoury of guns, rubber bullets, tear gas and AMACs (armed police vehicles, yet to be used), plus intelligence and logistic support. The police have been militarised to respond to the political demands which turns the police force into an offence weapon of the state rather than a protective force for society (some hope).

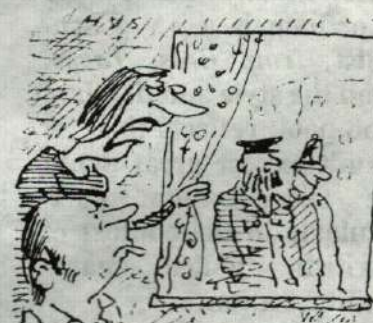


Of course, there is an inbuilt mechanism to police the police, the local police authorities. Though, by the mid 70's they had become little more than police supporter clubs to rubber stamp the force's activities. This situation allowed the police to streamline their operations by dropping mundane tasks to traffic wardens and security firms. This allowed the police to concentrate on industrial disputes and political demonstrations which were redefined as policing problems. The Home Office has been allowed to develop law and order policy independent of government. Political consensus over the issue and the view that law and order

should remain free of 'political' interference allowed the state agencies to place their own definition on law and order. The police could now choose their own policy objectives.

SEDITION

The police had also developed a method of manipulating the law and order agenda. The 70's 'mugging' epidemic was created



"OH NO! JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES!"

by the police to support a campaign for law and order. By the early 80's it was back on the political agenda. Social unrest in the inner cities and the rise of the National Front, saw the police back on the streets in large numbers. Excessive police violence leading to a number of deaths and the inbuilt racism brought about a review of police accountability. This led to the Greater London Council (GLC) setting up its own police monitoring body, and the Scarman Report introduced the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill.

While outside bodies were reviewing the police, the force made a number of 'policy' statements in the late 70's and early 80's which clearly expressed their aims. The first came from the controversial Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, James Anderton, who informed viewers of *Question Time* (BBC1, 16/10/79) that: 'I think from the police point of view that my task in the future, in the ten to fifteen years from now... basic crimes such as theft, burglary, even violent crime will not be a predominant police feature.'



BASKET-CASES



POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

What will be the matter of greatest concern to me will be covert and ultimately overt attempts to overthrow democracy, to subvert authority of the state, in fact, to involve themselves in acts of sedition designed to destroy the parliamentary system and democratic government in this country.'

An alarming message which can be viewed in the context of more recent events. The neighbourhood watch scheme has allowed the police to divert its resources and at the same time, it has stated that they do not have the time to fight petty crime.

PROTESTS

Crime and illegal activity have been redefined, the new threats to society are political (the left and right), and industrial activists and protesters. A senior London police officer in a 1977 field manual advises new recruits to watch out for people who *'although not dishonest in the normal sense, may owing to extreme political views intend to harm the community you have sworn to protect... and continues while there are subtle differences between the types of extremists and thieves, it is difficult to put one's finger on material distinctions'*.

Far from being impartial referees of society, the police over the years have been trying to impose their own aims on society. The bans imposed on fascist marches in the 1930's has, for the most part been used against the left. Since the 1968 anti-Vietnam war street demonstrations, the police have engaged in a long term attempt to destroy the legitimacy of public protests. The Public Order Act now imposes legally-binding advance notice conditions on marches and to extend other legal curbs on routes of marches. The 1986 Public Order Act may not have gone as far as the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) required as their Home Affairs Committee report on 'Law relating to Public Order' in February, 1980 suggests: *'Today the right to*

demonstrate is wildly exploited and marching is the most chosen form of demonstration adopted by protesters. Irrespective of the peaceful nature of the processions the numbers involved bring town centres to a halt, business is severely disrupted and the public bus services thrown out of schedule. In short, a general annoyance is created to the normal process of daily life.'

CIVIL LIBERTIES

While the Public Order Act may not stop demonstrations, the police have been busy putting their own interpretations to the new laws on public order and picketing. The '86/87 printers' strike at Wapping saw legal attempts to ban mass picketing. The most recent attempt has been the P&O strike where the courts have banned the picket

line at Dover. Amazingly, the local police Chief of Kent said the pickets were doing no harm and was then threatened with contempt of court. The statements just go to show that the police and courts are blatantly political. When a ban on a march fails there's always the use of violence to keep protesters off the streets, something the recent student demo at Westminster highlighted.

The manner and numbers of police deployed during the Miners strike resembled an occupying army. This led to showpiece confrontations with pickets, which inevitably led to violence. When matters do get out of hand the police are able to make good capital out of these incidents. The violence is used to back up the arguments that an officer's job is dangerous and policing disputes waste taxpayers' money. Not just content with this, the whole machine of policing hits the streets.

Advances in new technology have made the police's presence more menacing. A protester or striker runs the risk of confronting riot and mounted police in large numbers, support units in side streets, access to roads blocked, surveillance units on roof tops and in the air with cameras and video filming them for their records, and plainclothes officers mingling with the crowds. This is the response to a current right we still have, but are criminalised for. While the police seem concerned about the public's money, the other side of the coin is civil liberties, which they seem quite happy to

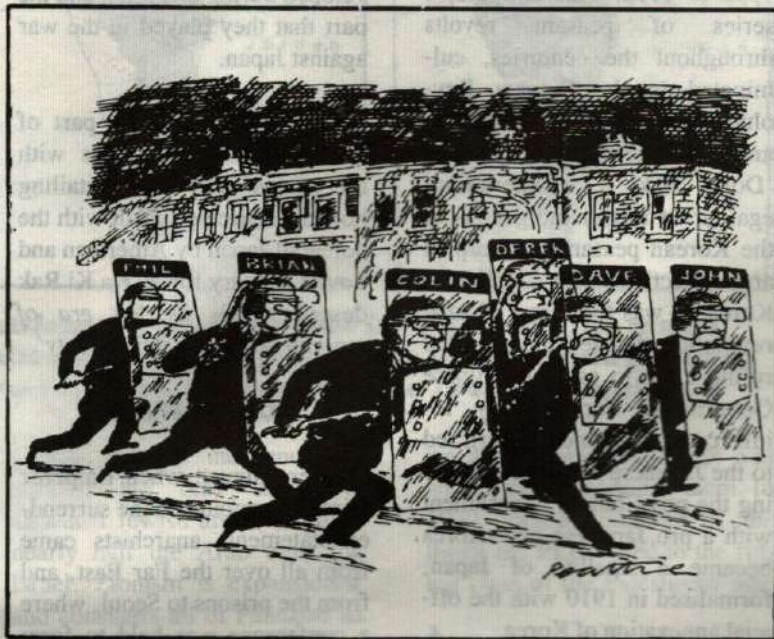
do away with. This just reflects the real role of the police, an instrument of the ruling class, protecting the Conservative Party conference, but used against the people when they want their say about how their lives are run.

SUBVERSIVES

New technology to some extent has made the police state unavoidable, as the police's intelligence gathering machine acts like a giant sponge, collecting all sorts of trivial facts; such as if someone lives in a squat. Even then, much of the information can be just gossip collected by the local PC's informant. This information links up with the

aimed at Football League supporters and under-aged drinkers at first, but it has been suggested that they could be used as a form of proof that you have paid your Poll Tax when using council facilities. West Germany already has ID cards which must be carried at all times. The advantage of this is that the state knows who is demonstrating against them when they stop people on the way to demos and ask for IDs.

To finish off, we'll leave the final words to miner Dave Douglas in his pamphlet *Come Wet This Truncheon*, when 1984 heralded the arrival of Big Brother on the British mainland:

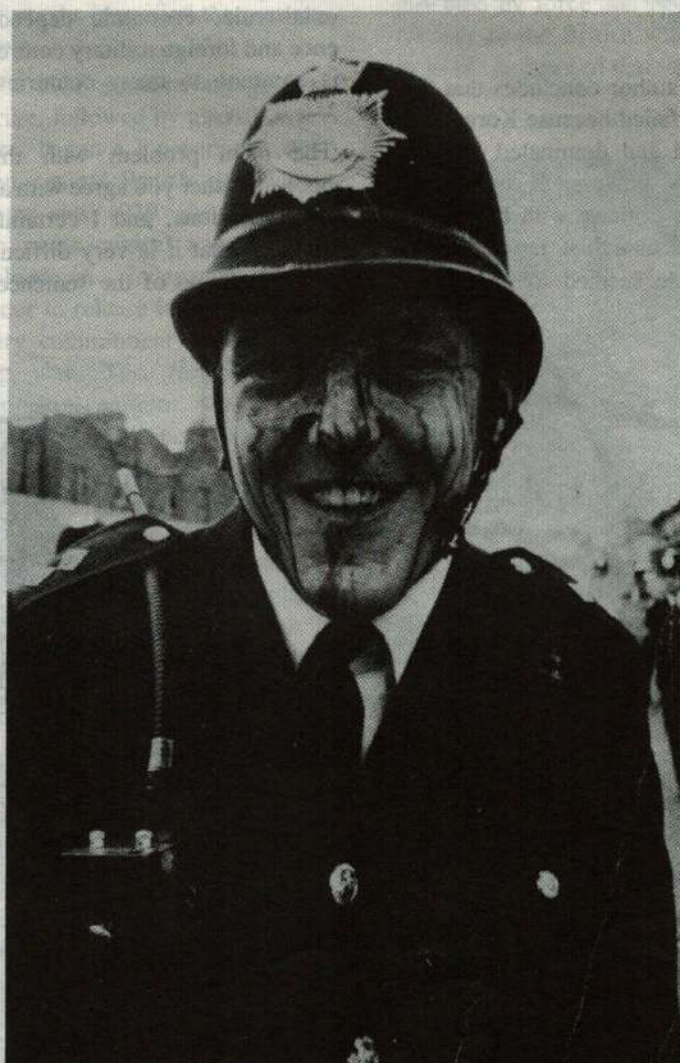


rest of the state's computer records and becomes available to the rest of the security services (MI5). The Miners' strike gives us another instance, when the DVLC was used to identify cars owned by miners and stopped them, in one case at the Blackwall Tunnel (London) from heading to Nottinghamshire. While the other data on computers is available to us, we have no access to state security data. On top of this, information gathering is also carried out by right-wing organisations of which some are in contact with the state. The Economic League (see articles in DA 53 and DA 54) and the Freedom Association are also gathering data on 'subversives', which covers anyone on the left or extreme right.

There is plenty of evidence to show that Britain has turned in to a police state through the state's activities in Northern Ireland, Gibraltar, the Miners' strike, new laws restricting industrial action and protest movements, press censorship, and the threatened next measure of repression — denial of the right to silence in Northern Ireland's courts — which will come to the mainland when the situation arises, and also the spectre of electronic tagging of prisoners has been raised. New technology has allowed the state to become more repressive without being too obvious. Computers, telephone tapping, bugging and mail opening are just as repressive as paramilitary police on the street. ID cards are also in the pipeline,

'Armthorpe village, near Doncaster, has been under police occupation, experiencing some of the worst police violence of the entire dispute. Several witnesses confirm that on August 22nd (1984) during a picket of Markham Main, Armthorpe police:

- *sealed off the village, banned journalists from entering and halted the local bus services;*
- *trapped local pickets between rows of houses and indiscriminately beat anyone not in a police uniform;*
- *broke into houses of miners and non-miners alike, where they damaged property and threatened and injured householders, including elderly and disabled;*
- *forced pickets to lie on the ground before kicking and beating them. There is also evidence once again, that troops were involved in the exercise'*.



THE LIGHT'S ARE ON, THE DOOR'S OPEN, BUT NO-ONE'S AT HOME

DAM

A few years ago a group of three plainclothes policemen in a crowded disco in the Basque region of Spain thought that two other men were acting suspiciously and proceeded to challenge them. The two men were also plainclothes policemen and suspected the first three of being 'ETA terrorists'. Before you could say 'all coppers are bastards' a shoot-out had started and three of the cops had received serious bullet wounds. What a choker.

MARATHON STRUGGLE

History Of The Korean Anarchist Movement by Ha Ki Rak

This book makes an important contribution to the debate concerning the relationship between the nationalist/anti-imperialist movements and the anarchist movement, for the struggle against oppression in Korea was for many years — 1910 to 1945 — a struggle against Japanese Imperialism.

Before the rule of the Japanese government the class war in Korea was between peasant farmers, often landless, and the feudal system under the Lee Dynasty, which lasted from 1392 to 1910. This struggle, a series of peasant revolts throughout the centuries, culminated in the Peasant Revolutionary War of 1894 when an army of farmers, espousing 'Dong Hak' (a libertarian, egalitarian theory indigenous to the Korean peasantry) occupied and collectivised 53 counties of Korea. It was the threat of total revolution that led the defeated ruling class to ask the Chinese Government for military reinforcements, which in turn led to the Japanese invasion, replacing the pro Chinese government with a pro Japanese one. Korea became a satellite of Japan, formalised in 1910 with the official annexation of Korea.

CONFUSION

This was the beginning of the struggle against Japanese Imperialism, and the beginning of the rise of Anarchism which became the predominant movement within that struggle.

In 1919 there was an uprising against Japanese Imperialism in which 7,500 people were killed. As a result of this most of the prominent anarchists fled to China, while the same period saw many students and workers move to Japan.

In China they formed the Korean Anarchist Federation of China in 1924. In Japan, Park Yeoul, an anarchist active until his death in 1974, and others formed an anarchist organisation called Revolt, made up of both Korean and Japanese workers. China at the time was in 'a state of confusion' and the Korean Anarchist Movement there was completely anti-imperialist, putting 'its emphasis on organising a unified joint front in order to attain national independence'. Japan on the other hand had completed its modernisation task and had become an international capitalist power, with an expanding working class movement. The Japanese Anarchist Movement was not only anti-imperialist, but also very much an industrial class struggle movement. In the same period anarchists who had remained in Korea formed underground organisations, culminating in the

Korean Anarcho-Communist Movement, formed in 1929.

The middle section of the book deals with the period up to August 1945, how the KAM developed during this time, and the part that they played in the war against Japan.

The most interesting part of the book however, deals with the period after that, detailing how the anarchists dealt with the defeat of Japan by American and Soviet military force. Ha Ki Rak describes this as 'an era of struggle to build a new society'.

COLD WAR

After August, when Emperor Hirohito announced the surrender statement, anarchists came from all over the Far East, and from the prisons to Seoul, where a conference was held to form the Federation of Free Society Builders (an unwieldy title which may have lost something in the translation). Although the liberation of the Korean people from Japanese imperialism had been the short term aim of Korean anarchists for so long, they were aware that they were no nearer their revolutionary goals than before. Korea was under the rule of two military powers. The anarchists saw that Korea was becoming a battleground of an international cold war, and felt that their primary objective had to be to force the withdrawal of foreign military forces. The FFSB adopted a four point programme which rejected any form of re-

pressive government, and stated their aim of building 'a new society in which farmers own their lands and workers own their factories'.

Anarchists in Korea had not experienced exploitation by a native Korean government, their country for so long having been under direct imperialist rule. It is this fact that led the movement to develop as it did. They believed that imperialism and the inequality of nations, had to be destroyed before the class struggle for revolution, could take place. So their main objective had to be the creation of a united, independent Korea. This led many anarchists to take part in the provisional government set up after the Japanese defeat as they believed that this would result in the withdrawal of foreign military forces. As it turned out, the US military government did not recognise the provisional government.

At the national Anarchist conference in April 1946 it was decided to try and establish an 'autonomous, democratic and united government' of Korea. To this end they formed the Independent Workers and Farmers Party. The Party was 'not so much a party as a revolutionary group'. They campaigned against the South Korean election of 1948 on the grounds that it would 'eternalise the split of both the country and the people' and because it would not 'guarantee the welfare of the working masses, because the smallest number of the privileged class will rule the country'.

The author concludes that the IWFP failed because Korea was divided and dominated by two military powers. It is always easy to criticise with hindsight, but the anarchist movement at the time seemed to have been

aware that the two powers were self-interested. It would seem easy to conclude therefore that they would only allow the formation of governments that would let them remain in control, militarily, and politically.

Shortly after the 1948 election which led to the Lee Seung Man dictatorship, and the formation of the Korean People's Republic in the North, the cold war became a real war on Korean soil. It was during the war that the government of Lee became a dictatorship that was not overthrown until the revolution in



1960. However, a military coup reversed the situation the following year, and all political activity was banned. The activities of the Korean Anarchist Movement were restricted and many activists were thrown in jail. More recently they have been developing the Rural Community Conference Movement, and the City Co-operative Union Movement.

It is interesting to see the development of an anarchist movement that grew up in an environment so different from our own. The situation of Korea is unique, although the experience of colonial rule, economic dependence and foreign military control is common to many countries.

The main problem with this book, whether you agree with all its contentions, and I certainly don't, is that it is very difficult to read. Some of the sentences

suffer comically from the translation, and you can't assume that all of the political phrases and words have got exactly the same meaning as they normally would to us. Having said that, it's worth making the effort.

DF

WORKERS' CLUBS?

Hyundai, the massive South Korean engineering, construction and business company, has been accused of organising violent attacks on workers' union meetings. In December the Hyundai shipyard had a three week strike and several thousand people are still refusing to go to work. In early January a union meeting of about 30 strikers was attacked by what is believed to be a 'save the company squad' wielding clubs and pipes. About 20 strikers were hurt, some seriously.



Last year Hyundai kidnapped a white collar union leader just after he had been in a meeting with management. He was held in a remote village for a week. Eventually, senior Hyundai executives were arrested in connection with this.

Several other South Korean companies are known to use violent methods to prevent union organising. Samsung, South Korea's largest company, bans trade unions and uses the 'save the company squads' to break strikes and intimidate workers. The gangs have also been employed by the Seoul subsidiary of Motorola the huge American semiconductor manufacturer.

These South Korean gangs are reminiscent of the strikebreaking teams used in Japan just after the Second World War to break unions. And, surprise surprise, today's gangs are most active in the South Korean export zone near Seoul where many Japanese firms have located their businesses.

DAM

Magistrate Dudley Reynolds asked Mr. T. Homwe why he had stolen 733 men's shirts, 460 dresses, 403 jackets, 83 pairs of socks and 286 pairs of children's trousers, worth in all about £14,000. His reply — 'I have a large family'.

SPOT



KOREAN STRIKERS DEMONSTRATE

MUJERES LIBRES

On Monday, February 6th at 7:30 pm, Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Road, London SE14 (New Cross and New Cross Gate tubes), there will be a showing of the *Mujeres Libres* video depicting the lives and activities of Women in the Spanish Revolution. There will be a creche. Admission Free.

SUPPORT DIRECT ACTION

Many thanks to the comrades who sent donations to *Direct Action*. The following is a list of all the money banked in December. January's donations will be featured in DA 56.



The people listed here have set a fine example. If you like *Direct Action* put your money where your mouth is and send us a donation.

P, Doncaster £10; Manchester DAM £20; A, Reading £7; J, Cambridge £1.50; A, London EC3 £100; Norwich DAM £50; D, Eltham £10; A, Corby £37; S, Cambridge £5.

DAM AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

1—The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.

2—Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.

3—We are fighting to abolish the state, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need, not profit.

4—In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over on behalf of the workers.

5—We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is by independent organisation in the workplace and the community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers' organisations must be controlled by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all such delegates of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.

6—We are opposed to all states and state institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those states, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.

7—We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and environment.

8—The Direct Action Movement is resolved to initiate, encourage and wholeheartedly support the creation of independent workers' unions based on the principles of anarcho-syndicalism.

9—The Direct Action Movement is a federation of groups and individuals who believe in the principles of anarcho-syndicalism: a system where the workers alone control industry and the community without the dictates of politicians, bureaucrats, bosses and so-called experts.

The DAM was formed in 1979 from the SWF (Syndicalist Workers Federation) and other groups and individuals believing in the principles of anarcho-syndicalism. It is the British section of the International Workers' Association (IWA), the anarcho-syndicalist international, which was formed in 1922 and has sections in France, Spain, Italy, West

Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria, USA, Japan, Australia, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela.



DAM CONTACTS

SOUTH EAST

Brixton DAM — c/o 121 Railton Road, Brixton, London, SE24 0LR.

Cambridge DAM — Box DAM, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge.

Central & North London DAM — c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX.

Deptford DAM — PO Box 574, London, SE4 1DL.

East London DAM — c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX.

Kent DAM — PO Box 574, London, SE4 1DL.

Lambeth DAM — PO Box 761, Camberwell SDO, London, SE5 9JH.

Norwich DAM — Box DAM, The Greenhouse, 48 Bethel Street, Norwich.

Oxford DAM — Box A, EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

For contacts in Hertfordshire, Reading, St. Albans, Salisbury and Southampton, write to South East DAM secretary, c/o Deptford DAM.

Manchester DAM — Box DAM, Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester.

Preston DAM — c/o Black Cat Press, 16-18 Lancaster Road, Preston.

For contacts in Crewe, Cumbria, Lancaster, Rochdale, Salford and Stockport, write to North West DAM secretary, c/o Burnley DAM.

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Doncaster DAM — PO Box 96, Doncaster 4, South Yorkshire.

Leeds DAM — Box DAM, 52 Call Lane, Leeds, LS2.

Teesside DAM — Box DAM, 52 Call Lane, Leeds, LS2.

For contacts in Newcastle, Sheffield and York, write to North East DAM secretary, c/o Leeds DAM.

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh DAM — PO Box 516, South West DO, Edinburgh 10.

Glasgow DAM — Box DAM, c/o Clydeside Press, 37 High Street, Glasgow.

retary, Second Floor, 27 Priory Road, Sheffield, S7 1LW.

INDUSTRIAL

DAM Civil Service Workers — c/o East London DAM.

DAM Council Workers — c/o Doncaster DAM and East London DAM.

DAM Despatch Riders — c/o Deptford DAM.

DAM Education Workers — c/o Bolton DAM.

DAM Healthworkers — c/o Cambridge DAM.

DAM Postal Workers — c/o East London DAM.

DAM Railworkers — c/o Manchester DAM.

CONTACTS

ASP (anarchist publishing group) — BCM Box 3714, London, WC1N 3XX.

Black Flag (anarchist monthly) — BM Hurricane, London, WC1N 3XX.

Ford Workers Group ('The Combine') — c/o 634 Green Lane, Ilford, Essex.

Luton Class War — PO Box 196, Luton, Bedfordshire, LU2.

Nottingham Anarchist Socialist Group — Nottingham ASG, Box 1, Hiziki, 15 Goosegate, Nottingham.

Organise (anarcho-syndicalist group and newspaper based in Ballymena) — c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street, Smithfield, Belfast 1.

NORTH WEST

Bolton DAM — Box DAM, Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester.

Burnley DAM — 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancashire.

Liverpool DAM — Box DAM, 82 Lark Lane, Aigburth, Liverpool 17.

OTHER GROUPS

Bristol DAM — Box DAM, 37 Stokescroft, Bristol 2.

Leamington Spa DAM — c/o Box 123, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.

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For contacts in Corby, Cornwall, Kettering, Nottingham, Swindon and Wolverhampton, write to DAM National Sec-

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Deadline — 17th February

DIRECT ACTION

PINELLI

The Italian state is trying to rewrite the history of events that shook the country nineteen years ago. On December 12th 1969 a bomb exploded in Piazza Fontana, Milan, killing 17 innocent people. The police arrested members of the local 'Ponte della Ghisolfia' anarchist group. Guiseppe Pinelli, an anarcho-syndicalist railway worker, died while being interrogated at Milan police headquarters on December 15th 1969. He was thrown from the fourth floor of the station. Police inspector Calabresi opened the window for him...

The right-wing in Italy had developed a 'strategy of tension', which involved destabilising society with bomb outrages, to pave the way for calls for a strong government and a fascist coup. Piazza Fontana was only one instalment of this campaign. In 1980, the same scum exploded a bomb at Bologna railway station which slaughtered another 80 people. In all this the secret services provided support for the fascist bombers. Highly placed people in the state hierarchy and big business were involved in planning the 'strategy of tension' and in trying to cover it up when the truth began to come out.

In the Piazza Fontana case the anarchists were selected to be the scapegoats and police agents infiltrated anarchist groups. After Pinelli's 'suicide' his comrade Pietro Valpreda was singled out as the supposed anarchist bomber. But the over-

whelming verdict of the people was that Piazza Fontana was a state sponsored outrage, and the case against Valpreda was eventually dropped as a result of this. Even in Britain, the Dario Fo play based on the story, - *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*, has had well-heeled bourgeois audiences in stitches laughing at the bungling (though murderous) police who 'suicided' Pinelli.

MASSACRE

The strategy failed not because Italian 'democracy' stood up to it or any crap like that, but because most working class people realised what was going on behind the scenes and refused to be cowed. At a press conference on December 17th 1969 at the 'Ponte della Ghisolfia' anarchist group's centre they told the world that Valpreda was innocent, Pinelli had been murdered, and Piazza Fontana was a

was killed by persons unknown in 1972. The three have been fingered as a 'penitent', ie a supergrass (they use them in Italy as well as in Ulster). As the anarchist weekly *Umanita Nova* has pointed out, this is ridiculous, since on demonstrations at the time probably hundreds of thousands of people had vowed 'Pinelli, we'll avenge you'. And anyway, the only people who stood to gain from Calabresi leaving the stage when he did were the Right. Calabresi had started a court case against *Lotta Continua* because they had accused him of murder in their paper. But in court, confronted by Pinelli's widow, Calabresi's carefully constructed story of what had happened on December 12th began to fall apart. It served the Right rather than the left that he be silenced...

As if the case against the ex *Lotta Continua* leaders and the



CALABRESI IN COURT

state massacre. Later, the rest of the Italian Left (in some cases very belatedly) came to the same conclusion as the anarchists, and eventually even moderate public opinion came to accept this as the truth.

But in 1988, the state feels confident enough to rewrite history. Three ex-leaders of *Lotta Continua* (maoists) are being accused of complicity in the murder of inspector Calabresi, who

attempted posthumous rehabilitation of poor Calabresi was not enough, the mayor of Milan has said that the plaque in memory of Pinelli in Piazza Fontana is to be removed.

The Italian anarchists have responded with meetings and demonstrations. For them (as for us) the verdict of the people remains that Pinelli was murdered and Piazza Fontana was a state-sponsored outrage.

BURIED ALIVE

Over 700 people demonstrated outside Morecambe town hall on November 4th in opposition to plans to site a national dry store for spent nuclear fuel on land next to Heysham power stations. The Central Electricity Generating Board has plans for a massive building seventeen stories high and covering eight acres. Highly radioactive material would be transported there from all the Advanced Gas-cooled Reactors in the country. The initial proposal is to store up to 840 tons of spent fuel, however the CEGB will be able to expand the site, and are asking for planning permission for 6,000 tons. Fuel will be stored at Heysham before going to the Thorp reprocessing plant at Sellafield, which is still under construction.

Local people are understandably pissed off to be getting this new nuclear eyesore, in addition to the two AGRs already sited at Heysham. These reactors were only commissioned in 1987, twelve years behind schedule. On October 19th 1988 a boiler failure forced an emergency shutdown of the Heysham 1 reactor. 160 tons of radioactive carbon dioxide was released into the atmosphere. The reactor is likely to be shut down for some time — a similar fault at Hartlepool AGR took two years and £100 million to repair.

The CEGB have even tried to claim that the nuclear dump will be a tourist attraction like Sellafield, and bring trade to Heysham. This cuts no ice with the women who are in the forefront of the campaign against the dump. They look at the leukaemia rates in parts of Lancashire and Cumbria of three to eight times the national average and ten times the national average around Sellafield. 'They can take their dump and stick it', said one woman.

The campaign will put much of the anti-nuclear movement, including Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and others, in a difficult position. In October 1987 they adopted a position support-

ing above ground storage of nuclear waste, including spent fuel at the point of production, ie. at the reactor site. This appears to be what the CEGB are planning at Heysham. Those in the anti-nuclear movement who were keen 'not to be seen to be totally negative' and to seek 'responsible and acceptable' solutions in response to NIREX's self-condemning discussion document have been stitched up.

At the time we warned that NIREX planned to turn the tables on the anti-nuclear movement by asking it to choose a 'least worst' option for disposing for nuclear waste. This came after the victories at Elstow, Killingholme, Fulbeck and Bradwell in June 1987 when the government abandoned plans to dump low level nuclear waste at four sites. It needs to be stated categorically — the anti-nuclear movement should play no part in finding 'solutions' to the problem of nuclear waste. There are no 'solutions' which are acceptable, as we have long pointed out. We have nothing to debate or discuss with either the nuclear power industry or the government. The only 'solution' acceptable to us is to close down all nuclear power stations immediately.

Thank God for Religion!

biting satire and incisive wit with our cross-carrying special envoy.....

JESUS SAVES

MOSES INVESTS

TERRY WAITS