

DIRECT ACTION

EAST

ASIA



SEE PAGE 6

The Voice of Anarcho-Syndicalism

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To Hell With The Courts

DON'T CROSS PICKET LINES

The wave of industrial action over pay and negotiating rights is rolling on. NALGO, the biggest local government union, voted 60 to 40 for a month's programme of strikes over the bosses' derisory pay offer. Although the white collar sections of NUPE and GMB (APEX) voted against taking part in the action, many NUPE members are expected not to cross picket lines, and in some areas they are joining NALGO. As NALGO and NUPE's bureaucrats prepare for merger, *real unity* is going to be forged on the picket lines in NALGO's first ever national strike.

In the other major national battle, between the NUR and British Rail, the issues — a cut in real pay and the end of national negotiating rights — are similar to those of the local government officers. In local government the bureaucrats' need to retain national negotiating rights means that they will not accept a pay rise while the strings are still there, and the reliance of workers in areas of high unemployment on the national grading system, combine to unite the 'leadership' and the rank & file. The combination of official and unofficial action on BR, and the London Underground, however, reflects the different priorities of bureaucrats and workers.

The public sector bosses are not going to be able to withstand sustained solid strike action, but the government, particularly Norman Fowler, are not going to let them cave in. Since the reversal of the infamous 'public interest' judgement on the dockers' ballot, the Tories have been making threatening noises about banning public service strikes. The government controls the bosses' options in public sector pay deals, allowing only a 4.8% rise for council workers in the rate support grant, for example.

The union bureaucrats are limiting strikes to 'programmes of industrial action', like one or two days a week in the railways or the six days in three weeks in local government, in order to contain the action. Playing by the bosses' rules will never win, solidarity is our greatest asset, *strikes have got to be all out and indefinite*. If the bureaucrats bow to the law, we have got to defy it. To succeed we'll have to build unity from below, but now we're taking action through which we can build it.

There is only one law — you don't cross picket lines. Would-be or actual scabs have got to be convinced to come out and stay out, but if they won't they have to be dealt with. Under the 1988 Employment Act it is no longer legal to discipline union members for crossing picket lines, even if there is



a 100% yes vote, on 100% turn-out, for strike action. Law or no law, stewards can withdraw recognition from scabs, workers can send them to Coventry. If particular offices, depots or plants scab, they can be boycotted, so can their work.

So the public sector pay strikes are not just about money, they are about taking on the government with all the anti-union laws, and winning. Our strength lies not in our cause and its reasonable demands, but in the inability of the state, the bosses and the bureaucrats to control us. That demands organisation and solidarity, it's up to us to build it.

Direct Action Movement — International Workers Association

ALIVE AND KICKING

On Saturday 3rd of June, Valerie Foran and four of Martin and Valerie's children visited Martin in Frankland prison. He is very ill, and Martin's condition has worsened even more due to his colostomy condition becoming very infected and at present the colostomy wound is severely swollen. Stomach acid is leaving the colostomy wound and falling on to Martin's skin causes blisters and sores. Martin also experiences pain in one eye after having contracted eye cancer. It is hard to convey how serious Martin's condition is at present by writing a letter; yet all supporters must know that Martin is in great pain most of the time and we have to desperately increase the pressure to get Martin released.

On May 27th the colostomy swelling intensified and a nurse demanded that Martin be sent to an outside hospital. It transpires that the main doctor for Frankland Prison, Dr. Flood, has tried to play down the extent of Martin's illness, claiming that he doesn't need help from an outside hospital and has not been giving Martin painkillers, thankfully this day he was not on duty. Martin received permission to visit the nearby Dryburgh hospital but on condition that he wore prison clothes. The problem was that Martin's swelling was so bad that he could not do up his prison trousers or shirt and would also be handcuffed to prison officers. He would there-

Martin is contacting a solicitor and representatives from the Irish Embassy to have photos taken of his body so that a case can be made against Dr. Flood.

CANCER

Valerie and myself talked to the Governor. He claims that Martin will not be moved to Walton Jail hospital wing, and admits that Martin has suffered greatly in the past from being moved around the prison system such a lot so that his medical condition has suffered; on at least two occasions Martin has been moved the day before he was due to attend an appointment with local specialists and

anyone else. He seemed taken aback when Valerie stressed how the prison system had deliberately disrupted his chances of treatment, and also pointed out how quickly Myra Hindley received treatment when she was ill (Lester Piggot was rushed out of prison to hospital after having a heart attack — when Martin had a heart attack, on April 15th this year, the Prison Authorities took no action).

CAMPAIGN

Urgent action is needed to obtain Martin's release. In the Irish Republic Martin's case has received some media attention and recently the press in Northern Ireland started to cover the campaign. Any action taken in Martin's support is welcome — but the need to break into wider media coverage here is crucial. Pressure from the outside has stopped the authorities taking Martin to Walton Jail, so however slow the campaign seems to be moving our activities over the next few weeks can make a difference.

We can't let the state jail someone for a crime they didn't

COURT IN THE ACT

I can remember being told by a representative of the National Council for Civil Liberties that people advocating illegal action against the Poll Tax were a worse enemy than the Tories, because we rely on the upholding of the law for our protection. Well leaflets about the 'Community Charge' (they weren't about the Poll Tax that's for sure!) aside, it looks like the Home Office have been into zealous illegality in upholding the spirit of racist immigration controls for years.



FRANCIS OKANLAMI

A Home Office memorandum leaked to *The Independent* has revealed that immigration officers are exceeding their powers by serving deportation orders on people. Only Home Office officials have the power to serve the orders, but since the 1988 Immigration Act officers have been serving overstayers with orders on the spot, thanks to the limitations on grounds for appeal. The Home Office insists that powers can be delegated, but only to immigration officers of

the rank of inspector, excluding over 80% of all immigration officers. South Manchester Law Centre's Steve Cohen has claimed that 'hundreds of thousands of illegal deportations have taken place over the years'.

Mr Cohen was defending NALGO member Francis Okanlami, who appealed against a deportation order served on him in May 1988, it is believed illegally. At the hearing on 15th May the Home Office pressed for an adjournment to present fresh evidence, but were refused as the case has taken so long to reach this stage. The Home Office lawyer was forced to agree that immigration officers have no powers to deport, but claimed that the officers in this case had telephoned the Home Office for a decision. The hearing was lobbied by Manchester NALGO, and in June the immigration appeals adjudicator ruled in Francis' favour, although the Home Office may appeal. Francis Okanlami's victory gives more strength to the trade union anti-deportation campaigns, after the victories of Marion Gaima, Lisa Huen and Som Raj. It also provides a means of slowing down the rise in deportations since the 1988 Act, where the deportee is able to get advice and support. We still face the task of smashing racist immigration controls, which is going to require stronger and more widespread organisation, and direct action.



fore not be able to do his clothes up properly or keep the wound protected from dirt and dust, and would be handcuffed to prison officers in a public place. An argument occurred between Martin and the Governor with the health officials present taking Martin's side. Martin pointed out the prison rule 38 (1) states: 'A person being taken to or from a prison in custody shall be exposed as little as possible to public observation and proper care shall be taken to protect him from curiosity and insult'.

Martin was allowed to attend the hospital wearing a dressing gown and will return to Dryburgh hospital for further treatment, although the Governor is still trying to make Martin wear prison clothes to his next appointment.

sent to another prison. Whilst at Parkhurst Martin was placed on the waiting list for major surgery at St. Mary's hospital in Newport (Isle of Wight) and then was moved to Frankland. The Governor claims that he has seen how serious Martin's condition is but has to act on Dr. Flood's orders. It also transpired from our conversation that the Governor of a prison can parole a prisoner who is sick. The Governor would not say how Martin's eye cancer would be treated, or if he would recommend that Martin receive long term treatment in an outside hospital.

He also claims that prisoners receive better health care than people on the outside, and that Martin would have to wait his turn on an NHS list the same as

commit and then let them destroy his health and place his life in jeopardy. We must also try to highlight the cases of officers from Walton Jail who brutally assaulted Martin whilst he was an inmate of the hospital wing there; even now they could be attacking other sick prisoners. Inside or out the struggle is the same.

Mike Shankland, Martin Foran Supporters, BCM Foran, London, WC1N 3XX.



HOOLIGANS

The government has short-listed eleven companies to implement its football ID card scheme (see DA 57), which now will be introduced in September 1990, six months behind schedule, in part due to the inquiry surrounding the Hillsborough disaster. All of the proposed ideas involve the use of plastic bar cards or 'smart cards', with the exception of one which would use digitised photos on a book of lottery-style tickets instead.

However, the police have got their own ideas on how to combat football hooliganism. They intend to set up a National Football Intelligence Unit, based at Scotland Yard, which will be networked to all the police constabularies in England and Wales. This was announced by — yes you guessed it — James 'God' Anderton, champion of freedom and democracy.

The unit will supply the divisional commanders with a weekly update of known hooligans likely to be at the match, as well as details of previous violence at the ground concerned. This new scheme has the



"Snag is everyone looks like a soccer hooligan on a passport photograph."

full backing of all the police constabularies throughout the country, and according to Anderton, may be extended to other sports as well. I can just see the riot squad at the Oxford/Cambridge boat race, can't you?

LONDON'S BURNING

Nearly 1,000 people took to the streets of London on Sunday 4th June to march under the auspices of London Against the Poll Tax. Organised is too strong a word for what LAPT did, the people who organised the march were the various local and borough-based anti-Poll Tax groups who brought supporters along. Publicity was minimal — and the wrong starting point for the march was given, and no attempt was made by LAPT to inform any group that it had been changed, it being left up to an SWP member with a megaphone to inform groups as they arrived at the publicised starting point.



After that kind of start the numbers were encouraging, though 15 and 20,000 at marches in Scotland kind of eclipses the London turnout. Things got better when the orange flag bedecked lorry belonging to the Humanist Party failed to start and the initiative was seized by the rebel faction under a banner proclaiming 'Total Non-Cooperation'. The march was one of the most lively and enthusiastic this cynic has been on, with spontaneous sloganeering and an accompaniment of over-sensitive car alarms. Even the Stalinist band played along to the slogans at times.

When the march reached Conway Hall for the rally, the 'organiser' — an incredibly turd-like nonentity named Gary Kent — decided to take control, and the trouble started. Or almost started, as the vast majority of marchers left for the Chinese Embassy at one point or another. Kent announced the speakers — Bernie Grant MP, and Paul Foot, both non-payment; Simon Hughes of the SLD (jeers), the only unadvertised speaker; a christian (uproar); and himself — 'What about someone actually involved in fighting the Poll Tax?' Kent Spoke first, and was constantly heckled by a large section of the rally demanding non-payment and non-implementation, particularly when he asserted that LAPT was open to all groups.

UNITY

In the social democrat's tortured logic non-payment groups

exclude those unwilling to break the law, so LAPT excludes them. Ken droned on about all forms of civil disobedience 'short of violence', tarring the rebels with the 'violent fringe' brush, when none of us has advocated violence. Industrial action and workers' organisation are not on LAPT's agenda. Anyone who believes not in the imagined unity of all those who object, however mildly, to the Poll Tax, but the *real* unity of all those who are prepared to *fight* the Poll Tax, should contact the London Federation of Anti-Poll Tax Groups, a non-registration, non-implementation, non-payment, non-collection organisation, c/o Tottenham Against the Poll Tax, c/o 72 West Green Road, Tottenham, N15. 01-802 9804.

After Kent's speech, and a song all about the Peasant's Revolt (how about the 1915 Glasgow Rent Strike for a change?) and the Poll Tax, most of us rebels went off to the Chinese Embassy (next to the Polish Embassy, and up the road from Auntie Beeb) to demonstrate against the Chinese state's answer to calls for democratisation. The crowd, and the funeral march which arrived later, were overwhelmingly Chinese, most obviously students. There were also a number of left groups there, mostly flogging their papers — the SWP turning out the inside page 'Lessons from China' in a particularly cynical move — but including a small knot of die-hard Maoists demanding the release of Madame Mao and flying red

pennants emblazoned with the hammer and sickle.

COFFINS

The leadership of the demo appeared to be nationalist, the 2,600 dead (latest count at the time) were described as 'patriotic soldiers' and the pre-1949 national anthem was sung for them. There were also references to the pre-communist period as if it was wonderful and free — I'm no expert on Chinese history, but Chiang Kaishek could hardly be described as a champion of democracy, look at his fiefdom of Taiwan. With the arrival of the funeral march there were up to 10,000 people outside the Embassy, and the organisers tried to get the Embassy to accept two coffins representing the 2,600 dead. The police refused, having presumably consulted with the Embassy staff, and there was a long argument about this, with the police eventually allowing a statement to be taken through their lines. The Embassy door did not open for a long while, after much chanting by the crowd the door opened to refuse the statement, and closed again to a great deal of anger.

We felt the both the police and the Embassy had made serious tactical errors, which seemed to be borne out by the attitude of the crowd, demanding the Embassy open its doors again and accept the coffins. The police were vastly outnumbered, and the appearance of riot police at this time might have drawn too close a parallel with events in Tian-

amen Square the previous evening. A copper was overheard later to remark that he and his colleagues were knackered and in a very dodgy position. A vote was taken, we thought on storming the Embassy, but actually decided on moving forwards with linked arms (which might well have resulted in the same thing), which was overwhelmingly carried. At this point, while the lefties were still flogging their papers, the DAM members present started helping break through barriers and move forward, with the crowd, for action.

SOLIDARITY

At this point the organisers started to show their limitations. Having declared that they had no quarrel with the British police earlier, they kept the crowd under control for them, and when it looked like the crowd was going to cross the last half

of the road and reach the Embassy, the police let the traffic through. The crowd accepted this on the recommendation of the organisers, and all potential for effective solidarity action was lost. Capitalism is a world system, the British police are as much a representative of it as the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Bush and Thatcher are concerned only that the events since the night of June 3rd will damage their business interests in China. Nationalism has nothing to offer the Chinese people, only an internationalist response — storming the Embassy — can have an impact on the Chinese regime and its British counterparts. The burning down of the British Embassy in Dublin after Bloody Sunday in 1972 had a far greater impact than all the protests or car bombs. Next time, wherever capitalism strikes, we must be prepared to respond effectively to its massacres.

ROADBLOCK

Following the death of seven year old Alan Campling, who was knocked down by a car, residents of the Larkman Estate, Norwich took to the streets in protest and to ensure that the traffic slowed down. Continuing their action on Motum Road, ignoring 'requests' by both the police and the council to calm down and forget bout it ('til the next time?), the residents within a week of Alan's death ensured that they would gain changes from the council making their estate safer; particularly for children, changes that otherwise would never occur.

tate's residents on what they regard as problems, erect special street signs warning motorists that children play in the streets, and even the opening of school playing grounds in the evenings is on the cards.

Whilst the council boast of a 'determination to tackle traffic problems' the fact remains that had the Larkman Estate residents not taken direct action, but resorted to letter-writing and lobbying comatose bureaucrats and MPs, the changes now happening (albeit too late for Alan, his family and friends) would



Remarkably planners have prioritised narrowing Motum Road and are to consult the es-

have taken years (if ever). The message from their example is clear.

UNDER THE HAMMER

In Scotland the Poll Tax campaign has stepped up in recent months. While the CCRO (Community Charge Registration Officers) are continuing to encounter problems in the enforcement of Poll Tax payment, the anti-Poll Tax campaign has gone on the attack.

A huge backlog has developed in Scotland. Not only has registration not been processed but the CCRO cannot cope with the amount of rebate applications. A situation helped by some anti-Poll Tax activists who have sent hundreds of fictional rebate forms. Faced with this situation no action will be taken against non-payers until September at the earliest. The non-payment movement is gathering momentum, 46% of the 650,000 registered in Lothian have failed to pay by mid-May, while an even higher figure was reached in Tayside in the first month, 60% had failed to pay by the end of April.

In mid-May *The Scotsman* was reporting that a group of computer hackers had successfully introduced a virus into the programs used by the councils. The group claim that the virus introduced removes a name every fifteen minutes from the list of those that have to pay the tax, and replaces it with the name of someone who has recently died. It was further claimed that 'The virus was prepared in such a way that any attempt to disarm it will result in the entire programme being ruined'. The virus was prepared by a network of people involved in different organisations throughout Scotland and was written in Turbo C. This claim has been confirmed by an employee of Lothian Regional

WARRANT SALES

On the 6th June a group of anti-Poll Tax campaigners occupied Gray & Scott, who are the appointed Sheriff Officers for Lothian Regional Council. Around 40 activists went in to serve a summary warrant on them, while a banner was held outside in order to gather support for the action. Many of the office's goods were poinded and notes valuing the goods were pinned on them. These were for the sum of £392 (Edinburgh's level of Poll Tax). A mock auction took place as well as the usual anti-Poll Tax songs. The police turned up with an annoyed Sheriff Officer, ignored the banner holders and knocked on the door which remained closed. After a few minutes, while the police were getting reinforcement, the protesters came out and the action finished peacefully.

The demonstration was to show the Sheriff Officers what we thought of them and to show that the anti-Poll Tax campaigners will retaliate if they carry out warrant sales against non-payers.

In Edinburgh, one of the people who got some of his goods poinded has not had to go through a warrant sale even though the Federation was ready to give its support. They proceeded with a bank arrest-

ment of the Poll Tax — the picket obviously worked.

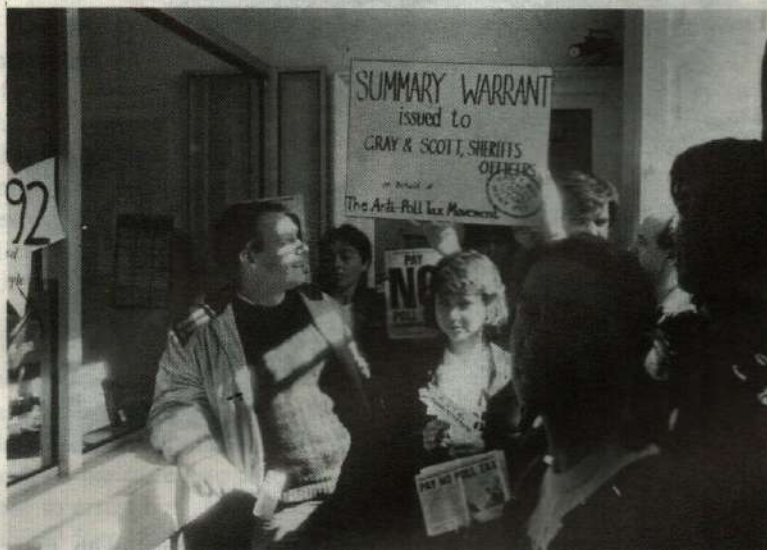
REGISTRATION

We have also received news from Aberdeen where, as in the rest of Scotland, hundreds of people have been registered without filling in registration forms. The CCRO has targeted a relatively small number of people who have not registered.

Sun!). After a halfhearted attempt to 'do their duty' the Sheriff Officers scurried off, accompanied by loud cheers from the occupants of the flat.

ARRESTMENT

The next day the four councillors phoned the Sheriff's Office and asked when they were going to stop terrorising their constituents. This tem-



Sheriff Officers have been running amok throughout the city. Their strong arm tactics have borne results. For example, some people have been told that if they don't pay up within two days their furniture will be removed for auction. There are other cases where the CCRO has offered to waive all fines if the debtor signs the registration form.

Cloning to the rest of the population The heavy tactics employed are also used to humiliate those who, despite their opposition, have been registered anyway.

Aberdeen Against the Poll Tax decided that they would defend those faced with poindings. They firstly put together a telephone contact list of about 40 names who were prepared to attend any poindings. It so happened that they were called by a single parent who was not prepared to suffer in silence. Before she contacted AAPT she had been visited about fifteen times by Sheriff Officers. She avoided them by various means — getting her neighbour to answer the door, not answering, etc. Then she decided that it would be better for her to decide when they arrived. So after contacting them she arranged a time for their visit. She filled her flat with 70 people and when the sheriff Officers arrived they couldn't get through the hallway. Among those present were four councillors and the local radio station (and a freelance photographer from *The*

porarily stopped the visits. However, last Tuesday, they turned up again at 7pm. This time they got in by pushing aside her neighbour who answered the door. When they tried to poind the goods the woman told them to get out, at which point they left to call the police. This gave enough time to deploy the contact list. Unfortunately most people were on their way to an AAPT meeting, and only a dozen people showed up, including a regional councillor, and again, local radio. When the police arrived and discovered that the problem involved the Poll Tax they cleared off. The councillor told the Sheriff Officer that they were out of order in using poinding as a first resort. With the reporter's tape running they politely thought that the drift of his argument warranted consideration. They too cleared off.

The present state of play is that a sympathetic local solicitor (one of the two in the city who won't be paying the Poll Tax)

STOP!
DON'T GIVE WAY TO
THE
COMMUNITY
CHARGE

has written a letter to the Registration Officer emphasising that his client has no money, no poindable goods and is pregnant. He further pointed out that arrestment of income support is surely a less Neanderthal solution — incidentally, the mechanism for doing this isn't in place in Aberdeen yet! Finally he suggested that in future if Sheriff Officers were interested in seeing her they should make an appointment. The welcoming committee is consequently on

full alert. By the way, the solicitor threatened legal action in response to any heavy handed behaviour by Sheriff Officers.

The campaign continues.

FIGHT BACK

On January 15th two black students were attacked in the Cowgate, Edinburgh by a large group of white youths. One student, Ahmed Shek, died despite two emergency operations. Only one local paper carried the story.

Lothian Black Forum was formed after the news of the attack filtered through the community. The founding meeting in February had over 200 people there. It was proposed and agreed to start monitoring attacks on black people and organise a demonstration.

Last month, two youths arrested at the scene of the stabbing were tried in the High court for murder. One was acquitted, the other was found guilty of repeatedly punching Mr. Shek and possession of an offensive weapon, but not of murder. Again, the press missed the story.

On June 3rd more than 1,500 people took part in the demonstration called by Lothian Black Forum in Edinburgh. The march was treated to heavy handed policing. It was delayed by the police objecting to the T&G banner portraying James Connolly; two stewards had collection tins confiscated and another steward was threatened with arrest for using a loudhailer. Flowers and tributes were laid as marchers filed past the site of Mr. Shek's murder.

At the rally after the march Black Forum chair, Ms. Macrami McCrum, called for a public collection from the platform in defiance of the police. 'We are so noticeable when we collect money, but they don't see us when we are being kicked in the street', she said.



Council who said that the council was 'experiencing serious problems with the Poll Tax programme'.

So far the CCRO have not confirmed the report, however there have been instances of dead people receiving Poll Tax bills which have been reported in the press and would confirm the hackers' claims.

ment which didn't bother him as he is constantly overdrawn. The next move will be to go for a wage arrestment but as we go to press we have no news of this.

The management of Sava-centre (part of the Sainsbury group) in Edinburgh have also backed down on their threat to sack employees (see DA 58) who get a wage arrestment for non-

CAUGHT RED-HANDED

The political indicators in southern Ireland are showing ominous signs of hardening loyalism. The Local Government elections in May were marked by a dramatic dip in support for the Democratic Unionist Party, led by Ian Paisley. The DUP is the more hard-line of the two Unionist parties, though the Official Unionists are hardly moderates. This did not take the form of a switch in support to the more law and order orientated OUP, but of a stay-away from the polls by DUP supporters. This suggests not a reaction against the involvement of the party leadership in the paramilitary group Ulster Resistance, but a dissatisfaction with their attempts to distance themselves from it in the wake of the South African arms scandal (see below).

VIOLENCE

Paisley has for years played a game of brinkmanship, trying to impose himself as a leader on the 1974 Ulster Workers' Council strike, calling less successful paramilitary strikes, and being

at the forefront of opposition to the 1985 Hillsborough Agreement. At the same time he has always managed to arrange convenient trips out of the country at key moments when the violence could go wrong, only to return in time to impose himself as the figurehead of successful movements. Paisley's rural support, based on the membership of his Free Presbyterian Church, is deeply conservative and his ability to dissociate himself from attacks on RUC personnel by loyalists after the Hillsborough Agreement won a challenge by his deputy, Peter Robinson, for leadership based on hard, urban working class loyalism. The paramilitaries regard him as the 'Grand Old Duke of York', stirring up movements whose violence he pulls out of at the last minute.

The Ulster Resistance Movement was launched in November 1986 with the DUP providing the political leadership, and was explicitly declared to be for training and arming loyalists for a 'Doomsday' situation, i.e., British withdrawal or a similar serious blow to loyalist privileges. This took the form of buying modern weapons, which the loyalists have lacked in any quantity (the IRA are believed to have stockpiles of heavy weapons to defend anti-unionist areas in any repeat of 1969, and definitely have plans for such a situation), in collaboration with

the UDA and UVF. In January 1988 a UDA arms shipment was seized by the RUC, including 61 P58 assault rifles, 30 Browning automatics (of the type used by Michael Stone at Milltown Cemetery), and 150 fragmentation grenades. The shipment was linked to an armed robbery believed to have been carried out by the URM, and the phone number of Noel Little, one of those arrested in Paris in April, was written on the hand of one of the UDA men.

DENIALS

Sammy Stevenson, one of the 1969 UVF bombers, was the first, John McKeague, first Chairman of the UDA and founder of the Red Hand Commandos (among other things), the most prominent, and William McGrath, leader of



TARA, who was at the centre of the Kinvara Boys' Home scandal, the strangest.

So, when French police arrested three prominent members of the URM at the Paris Hilton in the company of an American arms dealer and a South African diplomat on 21st April, the denials were even more hollow. As well as Little, who was pictured in the company of Peter Robinson at a 1986 URM rally, James King is a long-standing Paisley associate, and Samuel Quinn was a missile instructor in the Territorial Army. To cap the British Government's embarrassment the loyalists had blueprints and parts of Shorts' Blowpipe and Javelin missiles, stolen from Quinn's barracks and Shorts' factory in East Belfast. Paisley's attempts to dissociate himself from URM did not prevent him trying to see two of the loyalists to tend to their 'spiritual needs' as members of his church, protesting loudly when this was refused.

FRUSTRATION

The arrests not only revealed that the organised loyalist presence in the TA and UDR and Shorts' workforce, all flourishing in conditions created by British imperialism and tolerated it, was selling embargoed missile technology to the South Africans. Nor simply that there is no barrier between constitutional and paramilitary unionist politics. In the light of the election results it indicates that loyalist opinion, in the wake of the failure of opposition to the Hillsborough Agreement, is increasingly prepared to sanction

desperate measures, and is stockpiling and using modern weapons for this purpose. The assassination campaign of the UDA's flag of convenience, Ulster Freedom Fighters, has been armed by the South Africans through URM's activities.

Loyalist violence has increased recently around the May Local Government and June European elections, to try and discourage and harass Sinn Fein's base of support. It is also probably fueled by frustration at the British Army's inability to control the IRA, and is sometimes guided by information passed on by the RUC Special Branch in the hope of taking out IRA militants. As well as murder attacks on random Catholic targets, Sinn Fein election workers have been attacked, and

most spectacularly the Sinn Fein advice centre in Ardoyne, North Belfast, was subject to a gun and rocket attack on Monday 15th May. The area was completely sealed off by the British Army at the time of the attack, evidence of collusion, but the loyalists are not simply 'plausibly deniable' agents, or British auxiliaries.

WITHDRAWAL

Although its intention, and its result, was to strengthen partition, the 1985 Hillsborough Agreement showed the loyalists that their interests and wishes come second to British strategic interests. Combined with the IRA's successes, this has had the effect of increasing the insecurity of loyalists, resulting in a lack of faith in any establishment solutions and increased sectarian violence. The war can only be ended by British withdrawal, but if this is achieved by military means alone the signs do not point towards peaceful resignation on the part of the Unionists. Sinn Fein has accepted the need for a 32 County mass movement against partition, but proposes one on the basis of maximum support, i.e., not upsetting too many established interests or putting 'premature' demands like socialist ones. This is hardly likely to appeal to the most alienated, desperate section of the Unionist alliance, the Protestant working class, who have little faith in any constitutional solutions. A class-based movement might have a better chance of breaking through to channel some of their anger away from sectarian violence, as well as drawing together the basis of a social revolutionary movement.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

Thatcher's tenth anniversary as Prime Minister was celebrated in style by locals in a part of the UK where all the people who consider themselves British wear uniforms to prove it. The IRA in South Armagh launched a four day offensive starting on the evening of 3rd May against some of the hundreds of British troops drafted in to cover the re-fortification of spy-posts along the border. The British army admitted casualties of one dead and thirteen injured, but the attacks went virtually unreported in the British and 26 County media. The re-fortification was obviously not good enough, as on Friday 2nd June the IRA were able to set up a number of heavy machine guns around Crievekeeran tower, near Crossmaglen, blast the hell out of it for 15 minutes, and withdraw safely despite the masses of sophisticated surveillance equipment. No casualties were reported, but the embarrassment to British Army commanders must be enormous — the Provos were even able to warn all the people living locally to stay indoors beforehand.

In Belfast the outgoing Royal Anglian Regiment and the recently-arrived Parachute Regiment — who brought Ireland its first rubber bullet death with a torch battery, and Bloody Sunday, respectively — have been vying with each other in brutality. Beatings and plastic bullet attacks have occurred with a sickening frequency. Early on Sunday 4th June two members of the Royal Anglians, armed and in civilian clothes, hijacked a car but were arrested. When they appeared in court on the Monday they were charged with hijacking the car, and attempting to hijack another, (not possession of weapons) and bailed to Palace Barracks, Hollywood, near Belfast. This is seen locally as an attempt by soldiers to carry out some of their death threats to local anti-unionists.

Finally, the Ulster Defence Regiment, successor to the B Specials as an Orange militia, is to be issued with plastic bullets. The regiment has a substantial joint membership with the UDA and UVF and a number of sectarian murders to its name. The issue of plastic bullets to its members will certainly increase the deaths and injuries from these 'riot control' weapons, which are used to shoot anti-unionists off their own streets without the publicity of 'live' bullets.



SHOOTING PARTY

Recent events in China have demonstrated vividly the inherent dangers when an autocratic authoritarian state introduces limited reforms, economic or political. It has also shown how easy it is for peaceful demonstrations for reform to become so great a threat as to provoke a violent response by the state.

OPPRESSED

The brutal attack on the students of Beijing by the so-called 'People's Army' have sparked off protests and demonstrations in many other Chinese cities, including Shanghai, the largest. Students have been joined by workers as barricades are erected, police and army attacked and there are the stirrings of independent unions being formed.

Of course, the calls for democracy and freedom by the Chinese students and workers have been interpreted by the West in its own peculiar way. *The Guardian* for example talked of the 'shaky steps to capitalism' as if democracy and freedom are equated with capitalism. Another interpretation could see an oppressed people



fighting, however unsure and unfocused their ideas might be, for some control over their own lives, some autonomy of action, separate from the dead hand of the faceless, bureaucratic class that rule them.

The hard line taken by the state indicates that the conservatives have won the power struggle inside the Communist Party, at least for the time being. This has also been reflected in the army with some regiments refusing to be deployed and some evidence that some officers have been executed.

It must be becoming more obvious that fundamental change cannot come about with peaceful protest and petitions. Unable to absorb reforms the Chinese leadership may have precipitated revolution or at least initiated the

process that could give rise to a revolutionary movement.

REFORMS

The howls of protest from the West do ring a bit hollow. For



example, the peaceful protests in Northern Ireland twenty years ago resulted in the use of troops by the British government. There can be no doubt that any state will respond with violence and repression if it perceives itself as threatened as the Chinese state obviously did.

A crucial factor that has not yet entered the scene is the peasantry. At present there seems to be little or no links between them and the students or workers. Unrest has been centred in the major cities while, much to the relief of the Communist Party leadership, the countryside has remained quiet.

State propaganda has played its part in presenting events as the work of 'counter-revolutionaries and criminal

elements'. But also the recent economic reforms and liberalisation have been enough in forestalling any similar movements developing. This could change however and the Chinese leaders know it.

To go forward the student/worker movements have to try to maintain and establish their independent unions that are still in their infancy. They also have to build links between themselves and the peasantry. If China's economy can be disrupted and sections of the army won over there is no reason why the movement cannot spread. Any reversal in economic reforms would soon spread discontent in the countryside. As present change is seen to be heading down a dead end the road to revolution remains wide open.

ENTRANCE FEE

Despite all its formal protestation of horror the main concern of the British Government during the unrest in China has been the position of Hong Kong. More precisely, how to avoid a mass exodus of British passport holders from the colony before 1997.

That is the date when Hong Kong is due to be handed over to the Chinese state. A deal was struck concerning the future between the British and Chinese governments and the Tories are determined that nothing shall change.

Calls have been made to enable all those holding British passports to come to this country. This is exactly the scenario that helped shape the decision a few years ago to have two classes of British citizenship. Basically, any non-whites would find extreme difficulty in emigrating to this country, passport or no passport.

The effect of an influx of Hong Kong Chinese would be to double the ethnic population of

Britain. The Tories' credibility with their right wing would certainly suffer, affording the possibility of losses to other racist and fascist groups.

Once again the colonial chickens are coming home to roost as Britain's imperialist past catches up with it.

Hong Kong came under British rule in 1841 during the Opium War. This came about



after the Chinese had seized a quantity of opium at Canton that belonged to British merchants. Britain, at this time, was busy destabilising China to gain more influence. Opium was just one of the weapons used.

The colony was rapidly developed as a naval base but more

importantly as a way of importing goods, including vast quantities of opium, into China. In 1898 a 99 year lease was taken out and it is this that expires in 1997.

Any pretence of democracy in Hong Kong was unknown until recently. Now it seems the process will be speeded up as the transfer to China comes closer.

Of course, although there is no chance for all the British passport holders to leave, the Tories have indicated that the immigration laws can be made 'flexible'. In essence this means that non-whites who can produce enough money or who are government officials can come, everyone else stays.

The present attitude of the British government contrasts sharply with the approach a few years back concerning a certain small group of islands in the South Atlantic. Then, the wishes of the islanders was paramount. Now, in the defence of 'freedom and democracy', it is clear to see two factors are paramount. Firstly, the colour of your skin, and secondly, the colour of your money.

MOTOROVERED

Despite the workers at Motorola's electronics plants in Korea winning union rights (see DA 58), Motorola are now attempting to undermine them. They have conceded, in line with Korean law, to allow a union building on the premises but have also set up their own 'counselling' service to counteract this. It is aimed at dissuading employees from joining the union, and is especially being aimed at women workers at the plant. Whenever a worker wants to see the union about anything, he/she is taken up to the management to try and smooth the situation over, thus preventing the union from taking matters any further. The management have also refused to allow an official of the International Metalworkers' Union Federation, the workers' union, into the plant to talk to the workers to help them organise.

Lee Kang-yuk, one of the workers who was set fire to by a manager at the plant has been offered \$1,500 compensation by Motorola for the injuries he has suffered, but has refused this 'generous' sum because Motorola won't reinstate the union president who was sacked dur-

ing the dispute. Motorola has been putting pressure on Lee to leave the burns unit where he is



KOREAN BURNS VICTIM
KANG LEE-YUK

still receiving treatment in preparation for skin grafts in order to cut down the publicity surrounding him.

Meanwhile, in Malaysia, Motorola, along with other electronics companies, are facing industrial action from workers over the government's refusal to allow the formation of independent unions. Watch this space.

DOCKERS UNDER ATTACK IN ITALY TOO

At the same time as the dockers in Britain are under threat, the dockers in Italy also face severe problems. The following article is a translation from *Lotta Di Classe*, the paper of the USI, the Italian section of the International Workers Association.

We are 'surprised' by the belligerence emanating from the government parties and their trade union appendages, the CISL and the UIL, and to a lesser extent from the CGIL and the Communist Party, in their desire to condemn the dockers' experience of workplace self-management over half a century. The dockers won this from the partisan struggle, forcing the first post-1945 governments of the Republic (which was born out of the Resistance) to institute bodies termed 'Companies' of dockers (CULMV) run along co-operative lines by the dockers themselves. The labour force in the ports has until now always been regulated by the CULMV, acting as autonomous labour offices. This was legally enshrined by successive governments. The attack on the dockers' 'companies' began a decade ago with the launch by a

their dependents who gave vent to their frustration against the dockers by aligning themselves with the chorus of the shipping companies and the government, and by organising anti-docker marches in Genova).

The third component consists of the shipping companies, which have grown rich and built empires, often at public expense, with the state financing to the tune of 80% and sometimes more, the costs of buying, refurbishing and fitting out merchant ships. The shipping companies and their lobby in government circles have mounted the anti-docker public opinion campaign in order to win absolute control in the docks. Behind this lie plans to introduce greater exploitation of port workers who would lose union bargaining rights and guarantees on safety and work organisation.

and unloading in Italian ports, for the sole profit of the shipping companies.

We autonomous and libertarian syndicalists express our solidarity with the dockers, and will stand beside them even if government ministers seek to drag them into a long drawn-out 'civil war'.

Dockers organised in the International Workers Association will of course be disposed to agree with the dockers in Genova, Livorno, etc., initiatives and blacking in various ports in the world against the ships of the companies which want to destroy the power of dockers in Italy.

ROCK BOTTOM

Bilston Glen closed its gates on June 2nd leaving Scotland with only two coal mines: Longannet in Fife and Monktonhall in Lothian.

The colliery provided industrial and domestic, as well as power station, coal. When it was opened the NCB stated that the pit would be producing high grade coal over the next 100 years. This is not a case of closing a pit that was worked out — it is a purely political act that makes no sense.

The workforce, with an average age of 30, will not qualify for high redundancy payments but most have accepted this rather than the empty hope of employment in other pits. The SSEB's decision to buy any coal as long as it wasn't British (South African, Chinese, Polish and Australian coal has been brought in during the last year) was with the sole intention of breaking morale and ultimately closing down Bilston Glen.

Of course, with all these nice safe nuclear installations Scotland doesn't need coal — smokeless, green or otherwise. Scotland has such a great overcapacity in generation now that Torness is on stream they don't know what to do with it. Better close down some more coal pits, I suppose.

Management's parting shot to Bilston workers was to ban alcohol at a farewell party in the canteen. Redundancy money, they were told, was at stake.

The annual Miners' Gala in Edinburgh — and probably the last one — passed off quietly. It was a low-key event. Eric Clark, NUM, asked for no donations to be made. With the future of Monktonhall far from secure (they face a similar situation as at Bilston) the Scottish mining industry looks on its last legs.

STEEL FIGHTING

Hundreds of people took part in a noisy anti-Poll Tax demonstration through the city centre of Sheffield on June 10th. Represented on the demo were the many local groups that have sprung up in Sheffield to oppose this unfair tax. It was good to see that the vast majority of marchers were backing a mass campaign to frustrate the government's plans through non-registration, non-cooperation, and mass non-payment. It was also good to hear a refreshing lack of politicking from the plat-

A huge cheer went up as members of anti-Poll Tax groups and local anarchists publicly burnt their registration forms in a show of defiance. When it was discovered that a Sheffield fascist leader was present in the crowd the creep was quickly chased off, being left in no doubt as to ordinary people's attitude towards fascism.

Overall, it was a good demo, but a better turnout would have been more encouraging. Anti-Poll Tax groups are now con-



form at the rally with speakers from local anti-Poll Tax groups and Sheffield NALGO. The marchers also gave warm support to two Chinese students from the Chinese Solidarity Campaign who urged people to protest against the bloody repression against the movement for greater freedom in China initiated by the brutal Stalinist regime. The students said that we shared common goals with the Chinese protesters in fighting for freedom, equality and justice.

centrating on publicising and disrupting the registration process. They are also trying to build support for a big, noisy, non-payment contingent on the TUC anti-Poll Tax demo in Manchester on July 1st. Contact your local anti-Poll Tax groups or Trades Council for details of transport. National Anti-Poll Tax Demo, Manchester, Saturday July 1st. Assemble 11.45-12.45 Lower Mosely Street Car Park — march to Platt Fields.

RUBBER BAND

Never mind Victorian Values, the loony right has far more exciting things to offer. The fascists you can understand being in the Tory Party, but there are some really gorgeous creatures about nowadays. Ron Aitken, Haringey's first openly gay Tory Councillor looks set to break new barriers in poor taste (and I don't mean the tartan sneakers!). Declaring that 'the Tories are going to finally come out of the Green closet', our Ron has formed a group called Conservatives Opposed to New Developments Of Motorways — CONDOM for short.

This is because the new roads schemes seriously threaten both Ron's ward, and the parliamentary constituency of MP Sir Hugh Rossi, whose 1,200-odd majority hat to be gerrymandered by shifting a working class ward into Bernie Grant's Tottenham constituency. The Tories have discovered that many of their supporters are opposed to the new roads, which is hardly surprising, seeing as how they would either plough through their homes or reduce the value of the property considerably. About 4,000 people marched through London on Sunday 4th June in protest at the road schemes, and the Tories are scared they will lose support if the roads get built, or Labour gets the credit for opposing them. The North London Borough's Tory leader thought that the scheme was a good idea, but 'I think the name for the group is a little bit extreme'.



Socialist minister of the Transport Reform Act designed to favour profiteers.

Il Manifesto showed in March what the causes of the high sea transport costs in Italy are. A primary cause is the high customs costs. For example, an operation to clear goods through customs costs 30,000 lire in the main European ports, while the cost in Genova, Livorno or Mestre is 100,000 lire — an increase of more than 300%. These costs are tariffs imposed by the state, not the dockers. They go to fill the coffers of the state and to prop up the shambles that is the customs system.

EXPLOITATION

Another cause which raises transport costs enormously is the middleman role of a myriad of transport companies, which run their own fleets of lorries or sub-contract lorry-owners. These transport companies are all failing, because manufacturers now realise that the high cost of transport is mostly due to these middlemen, and so they organise their own transport (it was these haulage companies and

Cases of modern slavery like the one at Ravenna, where thirteen casual workers died after being suffocated in a ship's hold will certainly become more frequent.

INEFFICIENT

So, if loading costs which can be ascribed to the dockers amount to only seven or eight per cent of the total costs (and are 50% less than those in US ports), whose fault is it that docking costs in Italian ports are three times higher than in European ports? It's certainly not the fault of the Italian dockers, but rather of the inefficient state customs, blood-sucking haulage companies, and the shipping companies which blame the dockers' companies instead of the customs for delays in port.

But they know what they're doing. They want to destroy the power of the CULMV so that they can then force through all manner of commercial idiocies at the expense of working conditions and also environmental conditions (as for example in the Karin B case). They want in fact to have total control of loading

FRENCH LESSONS

CONTINUED

FROM BACK PAGE

excluded from civil society) would obtain. It adopted economic liberalism, rejecting a fair distribution of wealth.

In the struggle for power that took place the forerunners of the revolutionary socialist politics of today were determine events. These were the Jacobins, the Sans Culottes and the Enrages. As often happens, each group took its name from terms of abuse used against them.

The Jacobins were recruited from the professional elements, mainly lawyers, doctors and businessmen who had grown in importance socially, but had been kept behind politically. They saw themselves as the natural leaders of the Third Estate. Their societies or clubs were initially exclusive as they believed in the strong leadership of the Third Estate which naturally they would control. They did not see other poorer sections as having any say politically.

poorer workers were admitted, but they exerted pressure on the state by taking direct action, often in the form of organised riots and once by their direct invasion of the National Assembly.

The Sans Culottes' belief in direct democracy meant they had completely different ideas about sovereignty than the bourgeoisie. They in fact demanded delegates, not representatives, referring to those in the National Assembly as 'mandatures', ie., holders of a mandate only, accountable and subject to instant recall.

Related to the Sans Culottes were the Enrages. They too stood for a politically active population and direct democracy. The slum priest Jacques Roux and the journalist Jean Leclerc articulated the demands of the Enrages who stood for the most radical social revolution yet. Basic to them was the idea that above all the people and their army must be fed. They sought real equality, not the legal equality, or equality of opportunity, of the Jacobins. They believed in the equal distribution of resources, the ultimate right of insurrection and the basic solidarity of the people, denouncing the ballot (secret vote) as a



It is obvious that the political descendants of the Jacobins are the Leninists. Although Marx incorporated some of their ideas on organisation and leadership, it was Lenin, who declared himself a Jacobin, who used their politics to promote his notion of a political vanguard, exclusive and the only leaders of the working class.

Initially allied to the Jacobins were the Sans Culottes. They were drawn from the lower sections of the Third Estate, from artisans and wage earners. Although they supported many of the basic aims of the revolution, they were often used by the Jacobins to further their own ends.

The Sans Culottes stood for direct, not representative, democracy which required everyone to be involved in a positive way in the politics of society. They represented an assimilation of political, economic and moral virtues that was rooted in the lives of the urban poor. There was no formal organisation as they used the Jacobin clubs after

coward's trick.

The Enrages and the Sans Culottes really were one of the origins of libertarian socialism that was to develop into anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. Their belief in political activity, direct democracy and direct action, basic solidarity and their distrust of professional politicians mark them out from the Jacobins, with their ideas of strong leadership and exclusive clubs.

For the 200 years since the French Revolution the two traditions of socialism, libertarian and authoritarian, have developed. They have worked together, but have never lost the suspicion and distrust that began with the Jacobin-Sans Culotte-Enrage struggle. In subsequent revolutions and revolutionary situations those descendants of the Jacobins, the so-called vanguard, have used the revolutionary instincts of the working class to advance their own political position at the expense of social revolution.

RUFF RUFF JUSTICE

Recently a Teesside court called for a psychiatric report on a young SS fanatic with an Adolf Hitler haircut, Klaus Hoffman, 20. His real name is Andrew Waines — he took the name Hoffman from a nazi death camp doctor who was executed for his war crimes.

The court heard how Hoffman had fallen under the influence of a family who are members of the National Front. Hoffman sold all his possessions to buy an SS uniform and weapons. He appeared in court wearing a bandolier of .303 cartridges over combat dress.

Hoffman stole two tins of dog food for his dobermans Otto and Ingrid, and his Rottweiler Helga, and then pulled a sheath knife on the store detective who tried to arrest him. He was traced and found because of his unusual appearance...

DANISH BLUES

On the 14th of April the Danish nazi leader Poul Heinrich Riis Knudsen was invited to speak on an 'entertainment' program on a national TV station. But the unsavoury interest in nazi politics and higher TV ratings was interrupted by approximately 200 masked demonstrators shouting 'child-murderer' as the nazi was saying that diabetics should not be allowed to have children. Then the program was cut off, the lights went out and Riis Knudsen, also head of the World Union of National Socialists, had to beat an ignominious retreat left alone by his nazi bodyguard who had left him sitting.

The transmission wasn't resumed. Unfortunately many young people are influenced by the liberal view that everybody has a right to spread their poisoned opinions in the media — the more distorted minds, the more transmission time.

The way to beat the nazis before they get too strong is not to let them become vocal, but by hitting them real hard before they crawl out of their holes.

A representative from the People's Movement against Nazism who had accepted an invitation to talk with the nazi on the programme boasted to the media afterwards that 'I saved his life' — liberalism or what!

Hoffman pleaded guilty to shoplifting, assault with intent to resist arrest and possession of an offensive weapon. Teesside magistrates remanded him on bail for six weeks pending a psychiatric report.

Source: *Strike!*, c/o Box DAM, 52 Call Lane, Leeds, LS1 6DT.



SPOT THE BALL

ONE BILL TOO MANY

Somebody in the Eastern Electricity Board must be in the same masonic lodge as senior Old Bill in Haringey. First we have them conspiring together with the Housing Department to evict squatters without messy court proceedings (see DA 57), now a bizarre incident in Crouch End. North Londoners passing Middle Lane one morning at the end of May wondered what four panda cars, a dog section van, and a riot van were doing outside one house. Were they arresting a violent criminal? Had the Anti-Terrorist Squad selected another Irish worker to join Eamonn Wadley as an 'IRA' frame-up victim? Was Tory Councillor Ron Aitken's tartan fetish causing a breach of the peace?

Actually, the fifteen coppers and the dog were supporting the electricity board in their attempts to disconnect a pensioner who is disputing the amount of her bill. The pensioner's son, who had overslept, rather than his mother, who is ill, confronted the police and managed to turn them away by pledging to pay the full amount, when the dispute over the amount is settled. Nice to know that, now poverty has been officially abolished by the Tories, we live in a free society where the electricity board can enlist the police to intimidate pensioners into paying bills they dispute. Or maybe Hornsey police are jealous of their colleagues in Tottenham who, judging by the number of complaints, are trying to knock Stoke Newington off the top of the league.



IN OUT, IN OUT, SHAKE IT ALL ABOUT



P & O STRIKE

The epic battle between members of the National Union of Seafarers and P&O Ferries ended last month, having started over 'flexible working' and health and safety in February 1988. The credit for staying out so long, and costing P&O many millions, must go to the strikers themselves and their supporters,

not to useless union leaders like McCluskie and Willis. P&O is a huge multinational, and only massive solidarity — at least a national ferry strike — could have beaten them.

Don't rely on 'fighting talk' from union bureaucrats, if you want solidarity you're going to have to organise it yourselves — from below. Like Wapping showed, there are no 'good' bosses, boycott campaigns don't work. DA salutes the strikers and their supporters, and hopes everyone learns the lessons.

Many thanks to the comrades who sent donations to *Direct Action*. The following is a list of the money banked in May. June's donations will be featured in DA 60.



Doncaster DAM, £10; D, Eton, £30; A, Corby, £2; Cambridge DAM, £20; Preston DAM, £10.50; Teesside DAM, £1.23; R, York, £3.50; S, Swindon, £10.

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

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DAM Healthworkers — c/o Sheffield 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.

Anti-Nuclear Network — Box 30, 187 High Road, London, N22.

Haringey Direct Action Group — Box 30, 187 High Road, London, N22.

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

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.



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Deadline — 24th July

DIRECT ACTION

Kurdish Refugees Demo
Saturday 29th July
Clissold Park, Green Lane,
London, N16
Organised by the Kurdish
Refugees Support Group

FRENCH LESSONS

As most of you will know by now, July 14th marks the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. This day has been regarded as the French national holiday as it recalls the storming of the Bastille in 1789.

This event was entirely symbolic as no political prisoners were in the Bastille, but it did mark the entry of the ordinary people into the political process of the revolution that had begun two years earlier.

The French Revolution is one history's turning points. It was to dictate the pattern of politics for 150 years until the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Ancien Regime was politically, economically and administratively bankrupt. Its own gross inefficiency had undermined its power in society. A financial crisis in 1786 led to bankruptcy a year later. France had been at war for 23 of the previous 40 years. The absolutist state was centrally run and unable to adapt.

After failure to raise taxes the

wealth, land and influence. The ordinary parish priests, by contrast, were very poor, and it was these who broke ranks to join the Third Estate in the National Assembly.

The Second Estate consisted of the 400,000 nobles, the crucial pillar of the crown. This was divided culturally, socially and ideologically, as many of the new nobility were involved in commerce and were not dependent on the large estates of the old nobility.

Most important, as far as the future was concerned, was the Third Estate. This consisted of the rest of society, the remaining 98% of the population. It was divided into at least three categories. The bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the urban poor. 80% of the population were peasants. They bore the brunt of taxes and rents and are important in that, although they remained outside the political manoeuvres for state control, it was their pressure based on their traditional demands of cheap food and low taxes that played a vital role in the initial stages of the revolution.

Originally the word *bourgeois* was applied simply to all those who lived in the towns. By this time, however, it had come to refer to those successful businessmen and craftsmen who used their money to acquire a profit in land, stock, trade or industry. Many were also classed as part of the nobility, and many were lawyers aspiring to a title.

The urban poor who constituted the remainder of the Third Estate were regarded by the *Ancien Regime* primarily as a threat to public order. They were restrained by a mixture of cheap food and police surveillance. During the revolution they exerted a vital influence on the course of events, and in doing so gave birth to many of the roots of working class politics that are evident today.

It was the Third Estate that was to constitute itself as a Constitutional Assembly, and effectively begin the revolution.

On June 17th 1789 they met and, supported by the poor clergy and a few nobles, voted to call themselves the National Assembly, and in taking the 'Tennis Court Oath' became the *de facto* ruling body of France.

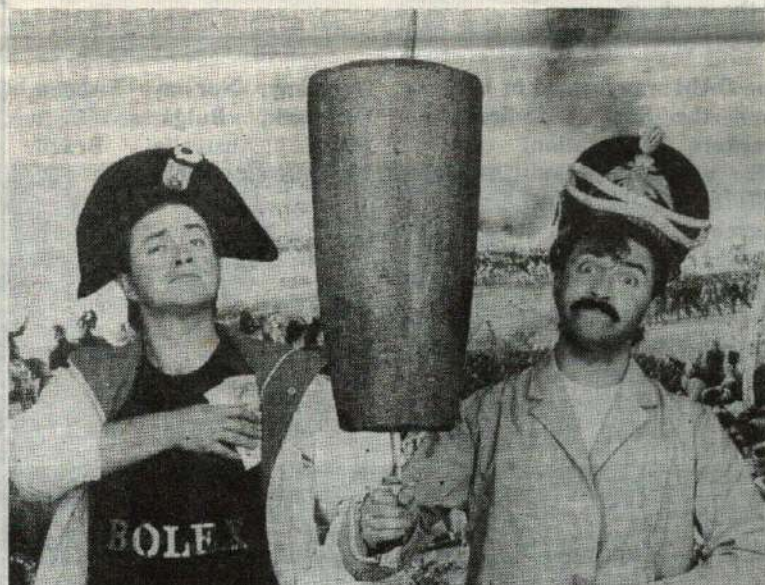
This was the beginning of a chain of events that were to go through many stages over the next decade until Napoleon's seizure of power. These events are well documented, but what is fascinating is how some of today's political ideas can be seen developing 200 years ago.

Obviously it is within the Third Estate that most of today's political and economic ideas originated. The various strands of capitalist theory emanated from the bourgeoisie of the time, who were also influenced by the economic experience of Britain.

Socialist ideals were also born in the struggle of the oppressed to have a voice in the running of society. As the revolution progressed the poor, both the peasantry and the urban workers, began to make their demands on the French state.

Initially, the revolution was under the control of the bourgeoisie. They established a state that was distinguished by several features. Firstly, it was non-aristocratic in that the titled elite were stripped of their power. It was republican, although at that time this did not necessarily mean there was no monarch. It was egalitarian in law, but still wealth determined what level of citizenship a man (women were

continued on page 8.



Its importance should not be underestimated, both the left and the right of the political spectrum trace many of their ideals back to this event, and it marks the beginning of many of the struggles that take place today.

200 years ago France was a decaying absolutist state. The rise of England economically through the Industrial Revolution, and politically through the events of the previous century, had seriously weakened the French state's position as a major power. The French ruling class, however, continued to live as before, consequently the burden fell upon those outside the ruling aristocracy, those devoid of political power.

The beginnings of the revolution date from 1787. The *An-*

king — Louis XVI — had to resort to calling the 'Estates General', who were said to represent all sections of society. This was a gamble as the Estates General had not met for 175 years, and the changes that had taken place during this interval meant that its mood was very different.

If the composition of the three estates that made up the Estates General are examined, it soon becomes clear how different the *Ancien Regime* was to modern day society.

The First Estate was made up of the clergy. The Catholic Church had much influence in France and had its own internal structure. This meant the First Estate had some cohesion. However, the clergy were split. The high-ranking bishops were drawn from the nobility, had

