

DIRECT ACTION

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NO WAR



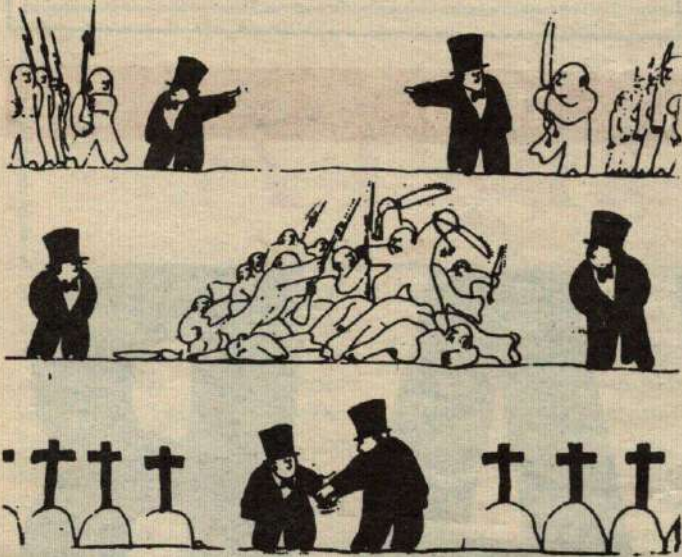
BUT THE CLASS WAR!

Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association

Editorial:

In the light of the collapse of the State Socialist regimes, President Bush has promised that the outcome of the Gulf conflict will be a "new world order". Other commentators have gone so far as to talk about the "End of History" - meaning that human beings have finally attained the ideal society (no joke!).

The Gulf conflict itself, not to mention the welfare cuts being imposed in the US, the creation overnight of mass unemployment in East Germany and the Poll Tax here, tells us that this "new world order" just means more of the same as far as the working class of this world is concerned: the barbarity of war and economic exploitation.



We anarcho-syndicalists have a vision of a genuinely "new world". A world where we are dictated to neither by the State nor by the capitalist market, but have control over our own lives and destinies, organising together and sharing the world's wealth for the good of all.

By coming together in our workplaces and "communities" to defend ourselves against the attacks of the ruling class, we can, if the will is there, start to move from the defensive to the offensive, to build our "new world order" within the shell of the old. That is the aim of anarcho-syndicalist revolutionary unionism.

That is why we say, once again: NO WAR BUT THE CLASS WAR!

DA Editorial Collective



Tory Poll Tax Tactics

In an article in the *Local Government Chronicle* - a management paper - some of the bosses' plans to try and beat resistance to the Poll Tax were revealed.

Many people are bewitched by their ability to obstruct court proceedings by the use of McKenzie's Friends, and hold up a large proportion of the cases of the minority of defaulters who turn up at court. The bosses, though, are moving towards the outlawing of the Friends in Poll Tax cases and are looking for ways to streamline the unwieldy debt-collection mechanisms which cannot cope with the massive extra burden of Poll Tax non-payment.

INTIMIDATION

Since allowing a friend is discretionary, and not automatic, it is likely that any outlawing of them will not be by statute, but by a policy decision of the Magistrates Association.

Some Community Charge Registration Officers (CCROs) are already trying to intimidate people out of going to court by sending out leaflets setting out allowable defences and hinting at punishment for contempt of court for making other objections. The article suggests that this should be done by Clerks of Court with all summonses.

CLEARING HOUSE

The CBI - the bosses' organisation - has suggested that there be a central clearing house for attachment of earnings (ie

wage arrestment) orders for Poll Tax non-payment, to be funded by an increase in the charges to defaulters. This would involve setting up a database containing the names of all workers affected - a gift to blacklisting agencies like the Economic League. There were considerable objections to such a clearing house for student registrations on similar grounds, but this

different rates charged, and the diversity of computer equipment used by those authorities made the whole thing impossible to set up.

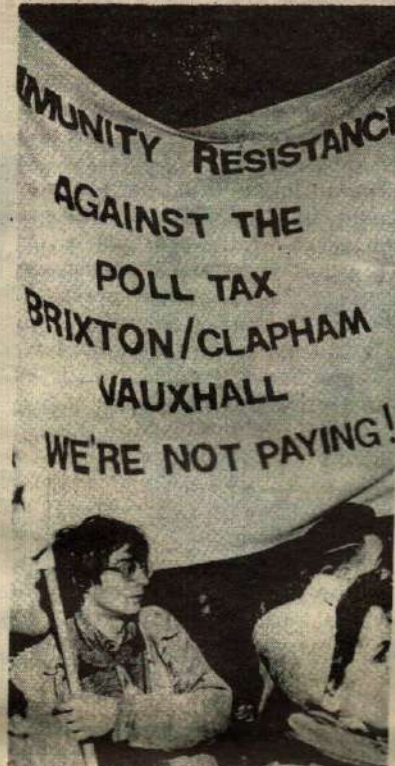
Besides this, few bosses are happy about the problems wage arrestments may cause them with their workers, and ultimately they know that it is they who are going to meet the costs through sabotage or increased wage demands.

GOVERNMENT

On 17th August the Department of the Environment issued drafts of a new bill to CCROs for comments. The consultation period ended on 28th September and it will be interesting to see if the government goes ahead with a new bill, and what measures would be proposed to beat mass non-payment. What is certain is that the government is learning its lessons and developing its strategy. The anti-Poll Tax movement has to do the same.

Legal loopholes and irregularities will almost certainly be denied the movement in future. This means that there will be no "civil disobedience" options to keep the campaign a "single issue". Direct action and workplace organisation will become vital. The shortcomings of the existing Militant-dominated structures are well known. If the movement doesn't face up to new realities those resisting change will almost certainly be responsible for a split.

NR, Hornsey APT



Anti-Poll Tax groups have so far been successful in obstructing court proceedings against defaulters.

concern for citizens' rights masks practical problems.

A pilot scheme at a national corporation to set up direct deduction of Poll Tax from earnings never got past the proposal stage. The reason being that the sheer number of authorities involved, the

JOIN THE PROFESSIONALS

The British Army likes to paint an image of itself as a simple provider of interesting travel and useful skills. What you end up with is skills in drug dealing, armed robbery, rape and murder - judging by the number of former and serving soldiers appearing regularly before court on such charges.

You also have to put up with the fact that the generals run the army and the generals are the envy of NATO's officer corps as they have their very own guerilla war in Ireland to play with. Generals do not, of course, end up on patrol in West

Belfast, Derry, or South Armagh stoned out of their brains, armed to the teeth and wondering why everyone hates them.

CHAMPION

The generals, at the request of that well-known champion of the rights of small nations, Margaret Thatcher, have just provided a load of squaddies stationed for years in damp cold north Germany with a winter sun holiday in Saudi Arabia.

Unfortunately for the squaddies, this is just a reprieve from redundancy as a result of the New World

Order which allows East Berlin anarchists to fight West German riot cops protecting Greater German nazis, Michael Gorbachev to smile, and the rest of us to drink vodka made somewhere more exotic than Warrington. This means they have lost their long term usefulness and hence their bargaining power.

CREATURES

The net result of all this is that once established defending one set of creatures of US/British imperialism (the feudal arab states) from another (Saddam's Iraq), their pay

has been cut. This is because the cost of living in Saudi Arabia is much lower than in West Germany, so the army reckons they need less money. All the



other 'allied' forces in the region have received bonuses for being in a combat zone. Aside from bringing a new meaning to 'the Gulf', this

has been compounded with summonses for non payment of the poll tax.

Back here at home, revolutionary defeatism has been corrupted by the left to meaning supporting the OTHER fascist dictator. Whether this is in the hope of WRP-style hand-outs (ie support a dictator and you too can have a daily paper) or sheer irrelevance (Lying Marxism, anyone?) is immaterial. We seem to remember something about shooting your officers and coming home to start the revolution - how about it?

NR, N London DAM

The Road to Nowhere

On Sunday 20 September around 1,000 people marched to Alexandra Park in Glasgow. They accompanied 25 people on the first part of the 400 mile Peoples March Against the Poll Tax to London. As well as these marchers, 25 people will also march from both Liverpool and Swansea to arrive in London on 20 October.

Undoubtedly the need to get the facts about the poll tax to working class people across the country is essential and a march can be an opportunity to do this. But an honest appraisal of the march, its ideas and method must be done in order to aid the discussion within, and development of, the anti poll tax struggle.

HUNGER MARCHES

The people's march has been compared to the Hunger Marches of the 1930s. Indeed, it could be said that today's marchers will be treading in their

at the time of the marches) said "everybody felt the urge to join the threadbare horde on the great trek to London.

Aldred went against the stream in condemning this exploit. It was a ruse of the leaders to confirm their alleged leadership and advance their careers. They were ~~mis~~-leading the workers. To march to London was to acknowledge the authority of London. To stand and shiver in rags before the House of Commons, begging for work, was to accept and affirm their status as wage slaves. Aldred wanted places to be set aside in the parks where people gather and discuss social problems and gather strength to deny their exploiters."

FRIGHTENED

The question is how do you change things for the better? The strength of the NUWM was not the Hunger Marches but the organising of thousands of unemployed

above and not through its own actions) the working class must organise itself and fight where it is strongest; in the housing schemes and workplaces. Any demonstrations which call upon 'leaders' to fight for us (or the ruling class not to exploit us) puts back our struggles.

STRANGLE-HOLD

The Peoples' March cannot be taken out of context. Ever since the poll tax riots of 31 March, the underlying Labourism/reformism of self-appointed leaders such as Militant has come to the fore. In an attempt to appear 'respectable' and not get totally expelled from the Labour Party, Militant, through its strangle-hold over the anti poll tax Federation, has been attempting to show the powers that be in the Labour Party (and elsewhere) that the anti poll tax struggle will remain in the realm of 'democratic' civil disobedience and not venture into the class struggle.

finally, not to deduct money from benefits. These pleas have all been ignored. The fight against the poll tax is as much against Labour as it is against the Tories. The sooner people realise this the better.

SCAB MENTALITY

At the time of the hunger-protest by members of Militant in July of this year, a leaflet handed out by the Glasgow Anarchist Group said "while [we] admire the dedication and sincerity of those involved, we feel that it tends to encourage 'sympathy and pity' as opposed to 'solidarity and support' which is the backbone of the anti poll tax movement."

The same can be said for the Peoples March. The leaflet also gave its alternative to 'appealing' to the council as building "resistance in our communities and workplaces to by-pass the inactivity and scab mentality of 'our' Labour council."

Again, the same conclusion can be drawn. At the present time, with pointings around the corner, could not the energy, work and money (over £40,000) that has been put into the Peoples March been used in a more productive way in the housing estates and workplaces of Britain to strengthen the organisation and influence of the anti poll tax movement?

INCREASED PASSIVITY

The Peoples March is seen as a way to get the anti poll tax message across to workers (as the media fails to do) but such a mobilisation as the Peoples March does not solve this problem.

Instead of building an effective communication

network which can give the real facts of working class struggle at all times, the Peoples March will only do this during the six weeks of its existence and would not draw in more people than any other meeting tour or organising drive. Indeed, it could be argued that such spectacular acts as the Peoples March could increase passivity and promote a 'they'll do it for us' attitude which would kill the anti poll tax movement.

Fighting working class organisations are not built, nor survive on, 'peoples marches' any more than petitions or appeals. They are created through direct action, struggle and self organisation. We must learn the lessons of history and trust our own class experiences. The poll tax will be defeated by mass non payment and industrial action, not by symbolic gestures.

Iain, Pollokshields



footsteps. And, as is the case now with the poll tax struggle, the TUC actively worked against the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM) and the Hunger Marches. And the police attacked their rallies in London.

The NUWM and the Hunger Marches did have an effect on the people involved as well as the country as a whole, but what sort? John Taylor Caldwell, the biographer of Guy Aldred (an anarchist active in Glasgow

workers. The ruling class was frightened by the prospect of them being in an organised position to discuss their problems and act to change them in a more direct way than on the Hunger Marches (which, like the unemployed marches in the early 80s had **cross-class** support).

Instead of appealing to or petitioning the state (be it Parliament or the local council, which accustoms the working class to believe that salvation comes from

In order to be in a position to work within the Labour Party as a 'left-wing' alternative, it cannot criticise that party's inherent capitalist nature or the role of the council in the state. Instead, they keep to slagging off the right wing leadership (and thus building illusions in both of these).

All through this campaign the Federation has appealed to the councils not to, firstly, introduce the poll tax, use warrant sales and

BAILIFF COMPANIES WITH POLL TAX INTERESTS

Madagans plc - one of the largest private bailiffs' companies, it has poll tax contracts with 160 local authorities including Northampton and Wandsworth. The company is Croydon based but operates nationwide from a network of 11 offices.

John Crilley & Son - Birmingham based with a network of 11 offices nationwide.

Gaults - a large Kent-based firm operating mainly in the

south of England but with a national network of regional offices. Contracts include Wandsworth council.

Rayner Ferrar & Co - based in Iver, Bucks. Contracts include Hackney council.

Rossendale CB Ltd - based in Rossendale, Lancs, and with contracts mainly in the Lancashire region and north west of England.

Bristow and Suter - based in Redditch and with contracts throughout Hereford and

Worcester.

Julius & Co - has contracts in South Yorks, Lincolnshire and Notts.

Roche & Co - Bristol based. Contracts include Taunton Deane and Barry councils.

Rosan Heims Ltd - Croydon based.

Jefferies & Pennicott Ltd - London based.

P R Baker & Co - Reading based.

Source: Labour Research

WHY VOTE?

Council officials in Rotherham, South Yorkshire have revealed that 40,000 residents have so far failed to put themselves on the electoral register, in an effort to dodge the Poll Tax.

Council Leader, Sir Jack Leyden said that people will need their votes if they want to get rid of the Poll Tax: "The best way to change things in a democracy is through the ballot box". It would appear that a large number of people are no

longer falling for that one. The Poll Tax itself makes voting in local elections a particular waste of time. Its a case of choosing between cuts...and cuts!

The Poll Tax will be defeated by mass organisation and direct action - which are the only things that have ever got our class anywhere - not by taking part in the electoral circus, choosing between Tweedledum and Tweedledee!

PN, S.Yorks DAM



Free Women ~ Mujeres Libres ~ Femmes Libres

The first international meeting of a growing network of anarchist women's groups took place in August in Bordeaux.

Many of us had previously met during the CNT (Spanish section of the IWA) Congress in April, where we decided to form the network and produce a regular bulletin. The latest issue includes information from many of the member groups and a report of the meeting.

NON-SECTARIAN

The Network is independent from any political organisation, though we accept anarchosyndicalism as a basic strategy. Our approach is non sectarian. Groups already work with other anarchist and women's groups on issues such as abortion and employment rights and we feel that joint action and discussion within a wider working class movement is vital. Men are



welcome to participate in network meetings, though decisions will ultimately be made by women.

There are groups and individual members from France, Spain, Chile (in

exile), England, Australia and Germany and also contacts in Switzerland, Belgium and Italy. At present translation facilities are limited and help is needed, particularly with Spanish and French.

SUMMARY OF AIMS & PRINCIPLES

Aims:

- * to construct a libertarian society without class or state, economic or moral coercion.
- * to fight ignorance, religion and dogma.
- * to promote freedom of sexuality and resist prejudice.
- * internationalism, breaking the barriers to communication and mutual aid.
- * anarchosyndicalism, direct workers' and community control based on federalism and mutual aid.
- * anti-militarism, to resist the war machine that serves the ruling class.
- * anti-statism, non-participation in electoral politics.

Areas of struggle:

- * prisons, asylums and any places of incarceration such as the family and sweatshops.
- * racism.
- * sexism, repression of

homosexuality, prostitution.
* all forms of repression.
* submission to power and its effects.

Methods:

- * promoting libertarian education.
- * affirming equal rights and challenging sexist attitudes and behaviour.
- * fighting indoctrination.
- * mutual aid and solidarity within the Network and other organisations sharing our aims.
- * forming a dynamic international organisation to promote our aims through meetings and propaganda, studying esperanto and sharing a logo.

For more information and input into the Network, please get in touch c/o Deptford DAM.

An anarchosyndicalist women's conference is being planned for early next year, probably in London, with the aim of forming a group. More details to follow.

Ashleigh, Deptford DAM

NEWS FROM FINLAND

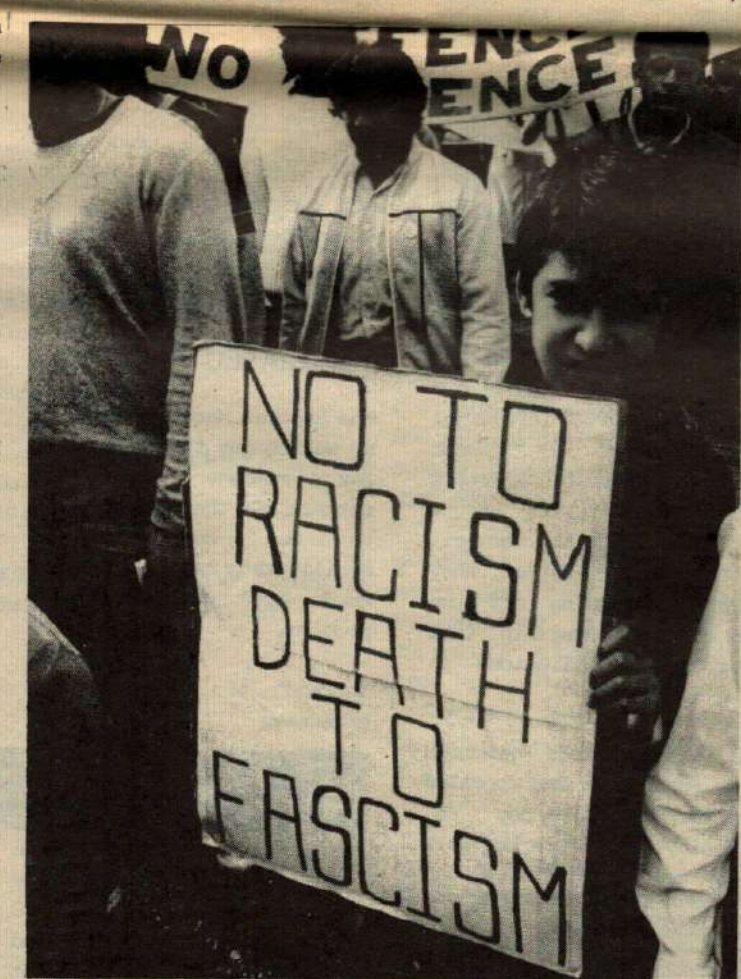
The following is a news item sent to us by the SAL, the provisional IWA section in Finland:

In August an anti-racist festival was organised in Helsinki by several peace and other progressive groups including ourselves. This festival consisted of rock concerts, photo exhibitions and public debates. It attracted over 5000 people.

There has been a rise in racism in Finland for several years, especially against refugees. Finland has traditionally been isolated from the rest of the world by the authorities and therefore Finland has received only a tiny fraction of refugees compared to other Nordic countries.

Now as the rest of Europe is closing doors the number of those trying to get refugee status has risen rapidly. The authorities are deliberately hindering this kind of progress and police have given illegal expelling orders.

There is even a racist political party in Finland which until only recently was in the Government! There are also a few minor nazi groups. Most of their members are skinheads.



Recently 4 skinheads beat up the chauffeur of the South Korean ambassador in broad daylight.

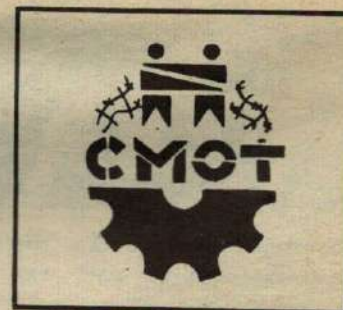
As anarchists we naturally are against all kinds of racism and so we decided to take part in this festival. We had a good opportunity to get experience of cooperating with other organisations.

Our involvement was a humble one but nevertheless we were noticed. Some of the co-organisers didn't even know there were anarchists in Finland and had a reserved attitude toward us. But afterwards this attitude faded and we were trusted. Taking part in this event was a victory to SAL-AIT in the sense of public relations.

SMOT Victory

A couple of months ago, worrying news about a comrade in the USSR came to us. Victor Kassatkin, a member of the SMOT (an independent union federation formed in 1978) was discharged from his place of work for having organised an independent trade union.

Losing his job at the railway depot in Leningrad basically meant homelessness and starvation as both Kassatkins' flat and his ration card were provided by the state railway. Thus being left without work, home and food, he started a hunger strike in early August.



Recently, we received the happy news that Kassatkin was successful in his hunger strike and has now been reinstated. Though we have no details at the moment of his activities, we are sure he and his comrades in the SMOT are continuing the fight for independent workers organisations in the Soviet Union.

SLAVERY!

A flower grower, Edwin Ives and four of his overseers were arrested north of Los Angeles and charged with enslavement of some 150 Mexican farm workers. A federal prosecutor said Ives sent smugglers into Mexico to recruit workers and to transport them illegally into the US. Upon arrival at his flower farm, the workers were stripped of their possessions and forced to

work 16 hours a day, 6 days a week picking flowers and preparing them for shipment. The workers had to buy blankets, pots and pans and work tools from the company store. The workers were kept on the ranch by threat of physical harm and by intimidation and the farm gates were locked and guarded at night.

Source: "Industrial Worker"

VERY DANGEROUS TOYS

Despite overwhelming evidence confirming the dangers of Video Display Terminals a CAL-OSHA (California Occupational Health and Safety Administration) report issued last year only concluded that "more research is needed".

As a counterpoint to the CAL-OSHA study, a report issued by Kaiser Permanente (one of California's largest health care providers) concluded that pregnant women who work with VDTs are 50% more likely to suffer miscarriages than non-VDT workers.

Previous studies have shown that eye strain, headaches, and extreme stress can result from working with VDTs, which produce a steady stream of low-level radiation.

The technology exists to reduce or eliminate dangerous emissions from VDTs. The reason the use of this technology is not made mandatory is that big business is able to exert a lot of power within government agencies such as CAL-OSHA.

As an example, the committee conducting the study on VDT hazards included 3 representatives from IBM, 2 from Hewlett Packard, 2 from the military and only 2 representatives from organised labour.

The outcome of the study was a foregone conclusion. In the meantime, pregnant workers will continue to miscarry, other workers will suffer unnecessary headaches and the corporations will reap high profits.

* Immediate installation of state-of-the-art protective devices on all VDT screens.

* Alternate assignments (safety devices or not) for all pregnant workers.

* Frequent breaks for all VDT operators (15 minutes off for every 30 minutes on).

Failing the implementation of these recommendations, direct action (in the form of sabotage) should be used to disable ALL VDTs in the workplace.

Only by organised resistance can the above recommendations and actions be implemented. Even a minority group within a large company can carry out the last recommended action.

OFFICE WORKERS UNITED

PO Box 210095

San Francisco, CA 121-0095

SOCIAL WORKERS AT RISK

Recently the NSPCC have issued new, controversial guidelines to its social workers who experience violence when visiting families in their homes. Besides the usual 'keep yourself between the door and the client', it advises social workers who are attacked on how to 'hit and run'.

A related issue on the welfare of staff concerns attacks by teenagers in residential homes. These have also been increasing in both frequency and severity and are a direct consequence of the new 'community care' policy of the government and the cuts imposed on social services due to the poll tax.

who are in local authority care who need specialist input have been brought back in to regular residential care.

VOLATILE MIX

The direct consequence of these two policies is that the type of children in residential units are no longer the same as they were, with abused children being placed together with other, very disturbed, and potentially violent children in the same building, often having to share rooms. Cuts have meant that staffing levels have suffered and so there is a very volatile mix.

Staff are often confronted by children with whom they have little or no experience in handling. Situations can easily get out of hand with neither the children or the staff to blame but in which both can be in some danger.

At the present time both the Tory and the Labour parties are making a big issue of the family. Thatcher was recently in New York talking hypocritical nonsense about the plight of the world's children. Yet when resources are cut it is always those most in need that suffer. Sooner or later there will be a death in a children's residential home, child or carer, and of course it will be the worker who is to blame instead of the state which chooses to treat the most vulnerable in society in such a fashion.

ST, Manchester DAM



It goes on to say that umbrellas are useful, that women in long skirts should not try to kick attackers and generally gives pointers to the most effective methods of self defence.

This has caused some amusement as it goes against the traditional view of social workers. However, it does highlight the concern that is being expressed over the increasing number of attacks on staff within the social services.

On the one hand this has meant that preventative work has been stepped up with attempts to stabilise home situations before they breakdown, or to place children with relatives. It has also meant a greater emphasis on foster care. But in both these areas resources are being stretched to the limit.

At the same time specialist placements in a therapeutic environment have been cut to a minimum in an effort to save money. Many children

GOOD MANNERS

We learn from the October issue of *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, the paper of the CNT (French section of the IWA) that the class struggle in South-east Asia has recently taken a new twist.

Companies firstly in South Korea and now in the rest of SE Asia have initiated a process of decentralisation of production into the countryside. The purpose? As ever, to be able to pay as little for labour as possible. What is remarkable is the way that Japanese and South Korean have overcome the weight of the past and are struggling together against their common exploiters.

The struggles that have been taking place have involved strikes, factory

occupations, hunger strikes and negotiations, but our asian comrades have added a personal touch to the class struggle: at the end of conflicts, they demand a letter of apology from the bosses! Here's an example:

"15th January 1990

To the officials of the workers union of AZIA SWANY When I closed down the company I broke the contract between the company and the union and I inflicted sufferings on 217 workers. I assume full responsibility, and with all my heart I beg pardon from the workers of AZIA SWANY and the South Korean nation.

As of now, I will respect agreements, I will continue negotiations sincerely and I undertake to resolve this conflict.

Director of AZIA SWANY"



"Now. About that apology, boss."

The Courier's Quid

It is illegal for a self-employed courier to do a collection and delivery for less than a pound (even for multi-drops) according to a 1981 Amendment to the Post Office Act.

This opens up a whole can of worms because many firms give their riders/drivers less than a pound a drop. You might say that your boss charges the customer more than a pound and therefore gets around the law. But it becomes illegal if you are self-employed and the boss is giving you less than a pound, because you are independantly sub-contracted to do the job.

So, if your firm pays less than a pound a drop, there are several things you should do. Firstly, tell all your workmates and try to get a meeting together to discuss a plan of action.

Secondly, as a group tell your boss that the rates are too low and illegal. Thirdly, if your boss won't improve the rates then a strike could be necessary to bring him/her round. Fourthly, at any stage don't hesitate to contact the Union if you want advice or assistance.

The Post Office Act is one of the few laws that can actually help the most poorly paid workers in the despatch industry. And cowboy firms that pay less than a pound a drop should not only be up against the law but could also find a mob of flying pickets from the DIWU and the postal workers union on their doorstep.

From: 'Despatches', the paper of the Despatch Industry Workers Union (PO Box 574, London SE4)

Syndicalist Revolt 1910-12

The following is the first in a series of articles concerning the Syndicalist Revolt that took place in Britain between 1910 and 1912. Faced with the present bankruptcy of both reformist socialism/trades unionism and of Marxist State Socialism, the members of the Direct Action Movement are amongst those striving to establish a new, revolutionary union movement. It seems an appropriate time, then, to take another look at this country's original Syndicalist movement, in the hope that we can learn from the history of our class. It is in that spirit and not for mere historical interest that this series has been written.

Eighty years ago this country witnessed a wave of working class militancy that shook it to its very foundations. After ten years of industrial peace and working class quiescence an explosion of militant strike action spread throughout Britain leaving no major industry untouched.

The period became known as the 'Labour Unrest' but was also named the 'Syndicalist Revolt'. This is due to the fact that syndicalism was the predominant political force within the working class and even those workers who were not conscious syndicalists adopted the same methods of action, rejecting the Labour Party and parliamentary action, as well as the established marxist parties.

PERVERSE

Then, as now, syndicalism was dismissed by liberal and marxist historians as some perverse foreign ideology which was alright for the working classes of other, more 'primitive' countries, but was unsuitable to Britain.

Their version of history sees a handful of syndicalists, led by Tom Mann, importing their ideas from France and gaining some influence amongst the younger and less sophisticated members of the working class. However, this cannot be further from the truth.

Towards the end of the 19th century there developed, within the working class, a social movement that was

world wide. It was called various names - revolutionary syndicalist, anarchosyndicalist, industrial unionist - reflecting the particular emphasis, but all had a common aim: the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism based on economic organisation and using direct action. This could only be achieved from below and notions of capturing state power through revolutionary or parliamentary means was rejected.



THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

Many of the origins of syndicalism can be traced in the earlier British trade union movement. Its advocacy of direct action, sabotage, and the ultimate weapon, the social general strike, were all tactics that had been used or discussed by militants.



Certain anarchists, recognising the need for their ideas to be made more relevant, began to agitate and advance new ideas for union organisation. For example, in 1903 a leading militant, Sam Mainwaring, published 'The General Strike', attacking union bureaucracies and political action. Then in 1907 'The Voice of Labour' was

launched by John Turner. Both of these drew on their experiences within the union movement to press the case for anarchosyndicalism.

These ideas began to spread within the industrial areas of Britain, especially Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, as well as the East End of London where Jewish immigrants, heavily influenced by the anarchosyndicalism of Rudolf Rocker, were prominent.

When Tom Mann returned to

by their union.

Then the Northeastern railwaymen won a 3 day strike even though they were covered by a 5 year agreement. A lockout against cotton workers in reprisal against militant activity was marked by a high degree of solidarity amongst workers.

All of these disputes, though sectional in nature, did point to a change in attitude amongst the workers. This was to be

a primitive and unorganised forerunner to a more coherent and sophisticated form of socialism that was to emerge with the impact of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

Marxists point to the lack of a revolutionary party and the perceived failure of the syndicalists to address the question of state power. The labour unrest is said to have had some effect on the stability of the state but, especially more recently, the question of Irish Home Rule is seen, to be more important.

All of this ignores the fact that syndicalism was, and remains, a forward looking theory that seeks the complete reorganisation of society and relies upon mass working class action and experience to achieve it.

CLASS WAR

By 1914 the attitudes of both bosses and workers had hardened and the basic questions that had, been raised at the start of the unrest in 1910 remained unresolved. The government, the bosses and the trade union leadership were bracing themselves for an intensification of the class war. The Labour Party was in disarray and on the verge of splitting. The marxist parties were an irrelevance and the first syndicalist inspired union, the Building Workers Industrial Union, was formed.

The prospect for the formation of a revolutionary union movement in this country looked good. Only the outbreak of the war prevented all this. It split the working class and gave the state powers to break the syndicalist movement that remained anti-war.

Echoes were heard during the war years (most notably the shop stewards movement) but the final destruction of the movement came with the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia and its disastrous effect on the working class throughout the world.

Yet those 4 years stand as a testament to the militancy and abilities of the British working class. Over the next months DA will be looking at various aspects of the unrest in more detail starting with the Cambrian Combine Dispute of 1910-11.

ST, Manchester DAM

GROWING CONSCIOUSNESS

Its growth coincided with a drop in unemployment and a growing consciousness within the working class of the wide disparity of wealth within Britain. In 1908 a series of strikes in the cotton, engineering and shipbuilding industries caused by imposed wage reductions and lockouts led to defeat. They did, however, provide a prelude to the unrest that was to follow.

1909-10 saw a series of strikes by the boilermakers and also in 1910 the traditionally moderate Durham miners struck against an agreement already signed

confirmed in November 1910 when the Cambrian Combine dispute began.

From then until the outbreak of war in 1914 the British working class waged the class war against the British state. That this period is largely ignored or denigrated is hardly surprising as liberal and marxist historians find it difficult to incorporate this into their analysis of the labour movement.

YOUTHFUL INDISCRETION

For the liberals, any militancy was due to some form of youthful indiscretion or to the violent nature of the less disciplined unskilled workforce which had begun to enter general unions. The working class is seen as basically conservative in nature and confused by changes that were taking place in society.

Syndicalism is ignored as it had no influence on the moderate trade union leaders of the time. Marxist writers do actually acknowledge some influence but it is seen as

EXTRADITION

The Prevention of Terrorism Act is intended partly to intimidate the Irish in Britain and stop them being active politically. The knowledge that there is no such thing as a fair trial in "terrorist" cases serves a useful purpose in undermining the very mass political mobilisation which alone can defeat the PTA.

POLITICIANS

In the 26 Counties, however, different conditions produce a very different reaction to the same perception, which is becoming more widespread. It is hardly surprising that Irish politicians who supported the Winchester Three seized on their release as a victory for "British Justice", in spite of the view of the Three that there is no such thing.

The release of the Guildford Four was celebrated by the Parade of Innocence in Dublin in December last year. Over 10,000 people attended the pageant and rally, at which two of the Four - Paul Hill and Gerry Conlon - spoke, denouncing trial by media, the PTA and extradition of Irish republicans to Britain and

the Six Counties. They called for the campaign for the release of the Birmingham Six to be stepped up. The Winchester Three case was also highlighted in the pageant. A second such pageant was held at the end of June, calling for justice for the Birmingham Six and Judith Ward.

the anti-imperialist struggle to the Six Counties. Mass action poses a threat to the status quo in the 26 Counties where grinding poverty is widespread and emigration is used as a safety valve to defuse political radicalism.

The institution of direct



BLOODY SUNDAY

The Dublin government want such mass opposition to imperialism defused. They have always co-operated with British attempts to limit

rule of the Six Counties from Westminster and the power-sharing Executive (which was brought down by the loyalists in May 1974) were responses to the anger at the 1972 Bloody Sunday killings. The mass



demonstration in Dublin during which the British Embassy was burnt down proved more threatening than the IRA.

Similarly, the mass demonstrations around the 1981 Hunger Strike, which reached the 26 Counties and resulted in the election of a hunger striker and another republican prisoner to the 26 County parliament, as well as Bobby Sands to Westminster, started off the search for a "political" solution. The "constitutional nationalists" - the southern parties and the SDLP - formed the New Ireland Forum to think up a lifeline for their politics. After the Brighton Bomb in 1984, the British State took up this theme, resulting in the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985.

HOPPING MAD

What anger on the streets of Dublin, which has spilled over into Fianna Fail, the main coalition partner in the Dublin government, has done is hamper the extradition of Irish republicans to United Kingdom jurisdiction.

Thatcher was reputedly "hopping mad" when Dublin's Supreme Court freed two republicans, Dermot Finucane and Jim Clarke, in March. In early April, another republican, Owen Carron, was also freed. The Winchester Three were freed to bolster the discredited notion of "British Justice", and to give political support to calls for a tightening of the extradition laws.

F.O'Neill

MILITARY TERROR IN WEST BELFAST

In an incident reminiscent of the open military terrorism of the early 1970s, two West Belfast teenagers were killed on 30 September.

Martin Peake (17), driver of a stolen car, died in a hail of bullets fired without warning by British paratroopers from a ditch by the side of the road. The car rolled to a halt, and after firing more into the car the soldiers dragged out two wounded girls and beat them before throwing them into the back of a jeep. Karen Reilly (18) was dead on arrival at hospital but Markiewicz Gorman (16) lived to tell the tale.

The British army claimed that soldiers were searching a car at a roadblock when the teenagers' car pulled up 25 yards short. They claim that the car knocked down a soldier who approached it and that the paratroopers opened fire when it speeded at a second soldier.

NO ROADBLOCK

Local people say that there

was no roadblock and that two sustained bursts of automatic fire were heard, but no warning.

When released from hospital after being detained for three days with gunshot wounds to both arms, Markiewicz Gorman confirmed that there had been neither a roadblock nor a warning. No injured soldier or second car have been produced to back up the army's story.

NO SEARCH

The shooting appears to have been an act of random terror aimed at the entire anti-unionist community. No attempts were made to search the car for weapons and the paratroopers must have known that it contained joyriders.

As a local community worker said "...joyriding isn't solely confined to West Belfast...It happens throughout the Six Counties...the crime figures for Great Britain...showed joyriding very much on the increase there. The major difference is that in West

Belfast you are killed for it."

At a time when the media are playing up Families Against Intimidation and terror

(FAIT) as a new "Peace People" to attack the IRA, with Worker's Party supporter Liam Clarke angling for the Ciaran

McKeown role, this incident has been a grim reminder of who the REAL terrorists are.

F O'Neill



ZIONISM & ANTI-SEMITISM

The actions of real anti-semites should put a stop to the offensives waged by Zionists against opponents of Israel. The characterisation of anti-Zionism as "left anti-semitism" is shown up for the absurd smear it is by the real thing. To equate the world's Jews with the actions of Israel is racist, and anti-Zionists make the distinction. As such they stand in opposition to BOTH Zionists AND anti-semites.

Zionists try to equate criticism of Israel with attacks on all Jews, and use the Nazi genocide as a talisman to ward off criticism of Israeli atrocities against Palestinians and Lebanese. Anti-semites will use Israel's crimes to "justify" their attacks on Jews.

Zionism's appalling record of undermining the fight against anti-semitism and of collaboration with anti-semites and fascists - Herzl with Von Plehve; Weizmann with Evans-Gordon and Balfour; Jabotinsky (Menachem Begin's mentor) with Petliura, Mussolini and the Polish colonels; the

they had the temerity to fight and win a war of national liberation and set up the state of Israel".

The 1948 war of conquest against the indigenous population, accompanied by atrocities like the infamous Deir Yassin massacre, has disappeared from history here. And the terrorist campaign of Begin's Irgun, which forced British withdrawal and the UN Partition Plan, was anti-British but not anti-imperialist.

JEWISH ULSTER

By such acts of historical sleight of hand, colonisers with the goal of a "loyal Jewish Ulster" in Palestine become anti-imperialists, and a fascist butcher like Begin becomes a freedom fighter.

Anti-semites oppose action against Nazi war criminals because they sympathise with them, and simply use the Irgun's bombing of the King David Hotel - British HQ in Jerusalem - in 1946 as a convenient excuse. Anti-Zionists merely have the "temerity" to point out that

Jacob Timmerman, editor of the liberal newspaper "La Opinion", was the only prominent local Zionist to speak out against this. The establishment prided themselves on the maintenance of normal Zionist activities amid the terror, taking the traditional Zionist stance that "local affairs" were

fascism (of which anti-semitism is a bedrock principle) are likely to be internationalists and anti-imperialists, and therefore anti-Zionists. Zionist opposition to anti-semitism, by contrast, is going to be determined by whether, and how, it can be exploited to serve the interests of the Israeli state.

The peculiar idea of "anti-semitic" Jews is rationalised through the concept of "self-hatred", a term with the unfortunate origin of being applied by the Third Reich to anti-Nazi Germans!

In declaring our anti-Zionism as well as our anti-fascism, we hope that we



not their concern'

JEWISH STATE

The existence of a "Jewish State" did nothing to give the persecuted Argentinian Jews the protection through diplomacy that Europe's Jews had lacked. There was no international campaign to save Argentinian Jews and Timmerman was even attacked in the USA as a troublemaker for his stance.

Israel continued to have normal diplomatic relations with Argentina throughout this period. Indeed, Israel was the Junta's biggest arms supplier.

INTERNATIONALISM

Those who oppose racism and



"Searchlight"'s stance is one case in point. A second case is that of "Return", a magazine written and produced by anti-Zionist Jews (including Israeli socialists) which has been banned by the National Union of Students on the basis of the Zionist Union of Jewish Students' charge of anti-semitism, which is unfounded.

have made the consistency of such a position clear. Israel still has a progressive image in social democratic circles, and Zionists are skilled in equating criticism of it with anti-semitism. In an upcoming issue of "DA" we will show how that image squares with reality.

NR, N London DAM

Who's Who:

- Theodore Herzl was the founder of political Zionism and helped the Interior Minister of Tzarist Russia, Von Plehve, (who had been responsible for the pogrom at Kishinev, one of the worst examples of anti-Jewish violence before the Nazis) suppress Jewish criticism of the Russian regime.

- Chaim Weizmann was Herzl's successor as the leader of World Zionism and followed the tradition of trying to found a "homeland" for the Zionists by doing deals with despots; Balfour was the British minister who issued a declaration of support for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, Evans-Gordon was the leader of the British Brotherhood, an anti-semitic group; both were supporters of the 1905 Aliens Act which imposed racist immigration controls on Jews fleeing pogroms - Weizmann helped whitewash them.

- Jabotinsky was the founder of Revisionist Zionism. He collaborated with Simon Petliura the anti-semitic Ukrainian nationalist (fought by Nestor Makhno) whose army was notorious for pogroms; he also courted Mussolini's influence in securing Palestine and had a brownshirted youth movement called BETAR modelled on fascist stormtroopers.

- The German Zionist Federation approached the Nazis to represent Germany's Jews as it was racist and opposed assimilation and mixed marriages.

- The Stern Gang split from Begin's terrorist group the Irgun in Palestine during WWII and immediately contacted Nazi agents in Lebanon offering an alliance with Nazi Germany against the British; the organisation was led by Begin's successor as Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir.



German Zionist Federation and the Stern Gang with the Nazis - does not stop them trying to brand their opponents anti-semites. "Searchlight", which has used up nearly all its credibility as an anti-fascist magazine in Zionism's service, has been stung by opposition to its smears on anarchists and anti-Zionists, but still peddles Zionist propaganda. In the magazine's July '90 issue it ran a piece called "Fighting Anti-semitism" which had an extremely peculiar slant. It implied that anti-semitism was a product whereby after WWII "the Jews" became seen no longer as victims "because

the Israeli Defence Forces of 1948 were composed not of concentration camp survivors, but of settlers who had lived in Palestine for years and who would agree with Weizmann's description of the Jews of Europe as "dust".

The real relationship between Israel and anti-semitism in the modern world can be seen from its dealings with the Argentinian Junta of 1976-83. The generals ruling the country were neo-Nazis and although Jews made up only around 1% of Argentina's population, they comprised 10% of the Junta's "disappeared".

LETTERS

Dear DA,

The publication seems to be going down hill lately. Apart from the crap layout and abysmal production quality there is a note of liberalism creeping into its pages.

First we have someone, who remains anonymous, advocating the liberal concept of 'balance' in "Knee-capped" (DA 66), now we have "Richard" saying "we demand certain laws to be implemented for our benefit" by the bosses or the state. This is not the anarchosyndicalist position it is portrayed as.

Laws regarding employment can be useful as a generally accepted standard for conditions or as a right that should be fought for. The bosses habitually break as many laws as they can if they know about them at all.

For example, my employer (Labour controlled Hackney Council), makes illegal deductions from pay without notice as a matter of course. No amount of demands for the implementation of the Payment of Wages Act have the slightest effect. Even on my TUC Stage One Shop Stewards' course we were taught that it is up to workers to ENFORCE laws or collective agreements, not to demand the boss does.

The anarchosyndicalist position is, of course, that laws achieve nothing and that rights can only be gained and enforced by direct action.

In "Anarchosyndicalism" Rudolf Rucker illustrates this on the level of political action, but it applies equally well to the smallest detail of working conditions. The key to the enforcement of rights is a consensus among the workers involved that they will fight for them. A law is an indicator of what the bosses cannot openly deny and they usually contain more disadvantages for the working class than rights (which we have already won, or they would not be legislated).

Our objective should never be the enforcement of laws, rather the development of a political consciousness among workers which recognises rights that must be fought for, and which seeks them through direct action which builds the

confidence to go for the revolution.

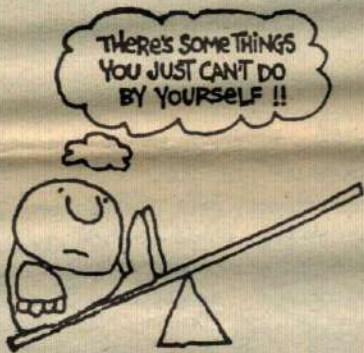
Come on, DA readers, more hard, practical, agitational articles and less woolly liberalism, please.

NR, N London DAM

PS. Can we have an explanation of the Readers Soapbox feature?

REPLY: We believe that a vital part of the role of an anarchosyndicalist paper such as DA is to stimulate debate, not just for the hell of it, but so as to develop ideas and make them useful. We have set aside Readers Soapbox for articles beyond the confines of news and 'objective' historical and theoretical articles as a space for opinion and personal views. This is not meant as a free-for-all but is part of making DA a lively and living paper.

DA Editorial Collective



Dearest DA,

I'm writing in reply to an article in DA67 entitled "Out to Win", under the banner "Reader's Soapbox".

Firstly, the pun in the title smacked of school boy humour, and wasn't relevant to the article. The Proverbial closet needs to be smashed to win, not come out of. Gay people have been closetted not by themselves, but by prejudice and laws.

Secondly, "we oppose all laws as such but" leaves a lot to be desired. As anarchosyndicalists we should be aiming at all times to limit the power the state has over our lives. To advocate laws which supposedly benefit the working class is to pander to naive reformism. ALL laws should be seen as the tools of the state, not the revolutionary.

While sometimes we can make use of existing laws to our benefit, we should never be trapped into believing that

any of them are there to protect us. However well meaning the reasoning behind legislation is (eg: the Race Relations Act), these are double-edged blades, and they are weighted in the states' favour.

Surely, as we wish to see our class fighting the bosses directly and taking the struggle into their own hands, we shouldn't be advocating more of the same!

What we are for is not more laws but working class direct action to secure our future. If there is prejudice and discrimination, we should be fighting it with education, agitation and organisation.

How can we fight homophobia and discrimination in the workplace (especially now that we have an AIDS epidemic being blamed solely on gay men), if we ask for the struggle to be taken out of the workplace? The writer in the second half of the article says this anyway - can he not see that the law he is advocating will have the effect of nullifying our combative effectiveness?

The words "if the law is not applied, we must use direct action" are the crux of the matter. The law as such, ie it's illegal to discriminate against gay people, would be ignored by the bosses (as is the Race Relations Act). When we try in the workplace to defend the right of a worker against discrimination, we'll find it a damn sight harder because we have played into the bosses' hands. We'll find other workers declaring that a law exists to protect people against this sort of thing, and IT will sort it out so why take action? We'll also find that people who are discriminated against will not look to other workers to protect them, but to the law.



We should not be saying "if the law is not applied" - fuck the law! Use direct action in the first place, it'll save time.

Lastly, as an anarchosyndicalist, I don't believe in 'piles' on which

issues should be top or bottom. All attacks on our class and all encroachments by the state on our lives must be fought with equal and determined struggle. There is no "single most important issue" except winning the class war. The issues of the day are the battleground on which we fight, but if we wish to see "freedom which is regulated by free people through free agreements", the war must first be won.

Mick, Sheffield

Dear DA,

I was very pleased to find an article in your paper that attempted to raise some of the issues around lesbian and gay liberation. A rare event for any publication of the anarchist tradition!

It is true the AWG did stick their head out of the closet in SFB No.2. Only time will tell whether they will emerge into the real debate out here, or whether they will rejoin the other left groups packed in the closet.

It would clearly be impossible to deal in one letter with many of the important issues raised by Richard. One of the topics mentioned is perhaps of more immediate interest to your readers: the attitudes of left groups towards the lesbian and gay movement.

Richard's letter attacks other groups on the left, naming the SWP and WP for their inconsistent line on sexual politics. In view of this specific reference, it is worth noting that since the turn of the century all of the organised left, including the anarchist tradition, has consistently failed to seriously develop a revolutionary understanding of human sexuality and the world-wide emergence of a lesbian and gay identity in particular.

The blossoming in the late 60s of a militant force of people rejecting institutionalised heterosexual monogamy, characterised by slogans such as "Make Love Not War" and organisations such as the Gay Liberation Front, shook the established 'libertarian' movements of the time.

These groups, such as the IS (forerunner of the SWP) either attempted to ignore the struggle and characterise it as 'petit-bourgeois', or superficially tried to understand the

phenomenon. Essentially the majority if not all these groups rejected the issues, seeing the struggle as merely another recruiting ground for their particular sect.

It could even be argued that, on this issue, these groups policed the established left in its own interests and ultimately those of the ruling class. The monopoly of organised politics by individuals predominantly from a small section of society (ie white, male, heterosexually-orientated and possibly middle class) may suggest a reason for their hostility and consequent neglect of an understanding and debate on human sexuality.

Richard's plea to prioritise such a debate and reject "tail-ending" lesbian and gay struggles appears to be the first step towards a more productive period of struggle and growth.



I fear, however, that the criticism of other left groups, especially the reference to merely "tail-ending" struggles and forgetting the issues raised in the lull between, could at present be a criticism levelled by other groups at DAM.

I sincerely hope that the important issues raised by the article take firm root amongst your readership and specifically your organisation. I look forward to the emergence of consistent, practical and theoretical contributions to an understanding and development of the lesbian and gay struggle from the anarchist tradition.

Love,
Ciaran, Manchester

LETTERS

Dear DA,

I wish to express my objections to an article in DA66 entitled "Constructive Anarchism". The author, whilst promising to grant "everybody's right to choose the labour (and thus life) most suited to them", in his free, anarchosyndicalist society, wishes to leave people "who, though fully capable of work, desire to have their right of indolence" and to "die of starvation".

This is an infringement of 'freedom of choice' and introduces a need for an 'official' definition of the terms 'capable of work' and 'socially useful' as s/he put them, giving rise to bureaucracy and even fascism.

This is wide open to corruption, greed, etc. What shall be society's method of starving these people? How do you exclude people from being allowed to actually eat? Maybe a tattoo on the forehead? Gaol? Very worrying.

Of much more dire consequences is the fundamental progress of mankind, and his evolution. There is no place, in such a society, for the qualities that (could and would) make life so wonderful. Activities like art; literature, poetry, music; philosophy, science and even entertainment.

I am not so sure of the necessity of the latter (in a free society) but these are vital to life now and in the future. Without them it is to be merely existence, yet again. Only a truly free society can let them truly prosper and grow and if this particular anarchist society cannot quench basic thirsts like expression and

knowledge, then it is surely not worthy of contemplation.

On a more technical note is the whole work-community environment in an anarchist society. If the correct resources are used and research, technology and knowledge constructively applied and directed, and obviously the falling away of the need for a huge amount of human and natural resources exploited and wasted in today's inefficient world, then there will not be the need for everyone to do so much work at all. I don't need to remind you of the artificial state of scarcity imposed on us and

their reasons for doing so.

Also, the number of 'non-workers' will not come near any worrying levels. Work will not be as it is today, a place of despair, monotony, compulsion, exhaustion, necessity, degradation and futility.

In fact, I believe the vast majority of people will actually choose to work, not for reasons as is often the case today (survival, security, greed, materialism, routine, community/social pressure, 'status' or simply that they have nothing else in their lives) because work will no longer be an object of exploitation, oppression and waste.

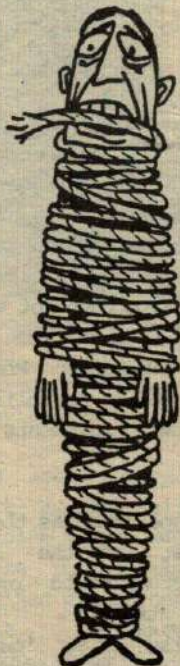
People will wish to work for its inherent effects; contributing to the community and good of all, the sense of achievement, the interest, the mental stimulation; as people will choose the work and hence life style they feel would make them happiest.

I believe this is an important topic that needs more thought and discussion, as surely the fundamental principle of anarchism is freedom and living your life as you feel most content.

A truly free, anarchist society can and must cater for such a tiny minority if it is to be loyal to its most basic principles and have any chance of survival. To get it wrong and decay back to capitalism would surely be a crime against humanity(!)

Thanks for the space,
Never give up,
RS, Preston

NOTE: For reasons of space this letter has been cut.



REVIEWS

A Critique of Marxism by Sam Dolgoff, 27 pages. Available from AK Distribution, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, Scotland, price 90p plus 30p postage.

The title of this pamphlet is a little misleading as it would be difficult to offer a comprehensive critique of Marxism in such a short essay. However, Dolgoff concentrates on some of the economic and philosophical ideas most central to Marx's ideas and those of his followers.

He demonstrates the inadequacies of Marx's central theories as regards giving an accurate account of historical development or developing a theory of how society can be changed. In the process Dolgoff shows how many of Marx and Engels' followers have realised the problems with their theory but have still called themselves Marxists (while advocating ideas contradictory to those of the guru). However, Dolgoff does not go into a critique of Leninism, which is surely the major strand of Marxism today.

Despite its limited scope this pamphlet is a reasonable starting point for libertarians wanting to develop theoretical criticism of Marxism, as well as historical criticisms (First International, Ukraine, Spain, Stalinism, etc.).

N.B. It would be nice to see an english translation of Gaston Leval's *Falacia del Marxismo* which Dolgoff quotes.

Paul, S.Yorks DAM

Libertarian Communism by Isaac Puente (Rebel Worker/ASP), 32 pages, 50p from ASP.

Isaac Puente was a Basque doctor and agitator in pre-Revolutionary Spain. 'Libertarian Communism' was first widely distributed in 1932 and is thought to have been quite influential in shaping libertarian ideas in Spain.

In the work, Puente confronts many popular prejudices against anarchist ideas, and contrasts the anarcho-syndicalist approach to the "political" one. The pamphlet is very readable and direct, but does suffer from the point of view of concentrating on the Spanish situation as opposed to elsewhere.

However, Puente's work is not just a historical exhibit, but the outline of a very basic programme that still inspires today. Puente was killed by the fascists in 1936, but this pamphlet speaks to us across the years and shows what can be done to communicate basic revolutionary ideas to ordinary people. A good read.

Paul,

Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation. Edited by Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin. Published by IB Tauris. £5.95.

This book is both highly informative and excellent value - over 400 pages for less than 6 quid. It is produced by the publishers of Middle East Report, which is a US-based magazine which covers and analyses the real political situation in the region and how it effects the lives of its inhabitants. It is widely

respected and generally accepted as an authoritative source of information second to none.

The book is worthy of such a reputation and is partly based on articles from the magazine. Contributors include Noam Chomsky, Edward Said and numerous other Palestinians and Israeli and American Jews.

It covers eye-witness accounts of the uprising, its context in the Israel occupation of the post-1967 territories, its effect on the Palestinian and Israeli societies, the impact on the 'special relationship' between Israel and the US, and how the Intifada has changed the political map of the Middle East.

It is very readable and each section is prefaced by striking imagery from photographs and Palestinian poetry. It is equally useful both as an introduction to the subject and as a source of new insights for old hands.

NR

ANTI WAR GROUP

An Anti Gulf War Group has been set up in Burnley.

We condemn not only Iraqi, British and American war efforts but also stand against using the UN as a vehicle for peace talks.

Our aim is to mobilise working class opposition to the war showing that British and US involvement has nothing to do with the so-called liberation of the Kuwaiti people but everything to do with maintaining the supply of oil to the West.

We meet every Wednesday at the Swan Inn, St James Street, Burnley, at 7.30 pm.

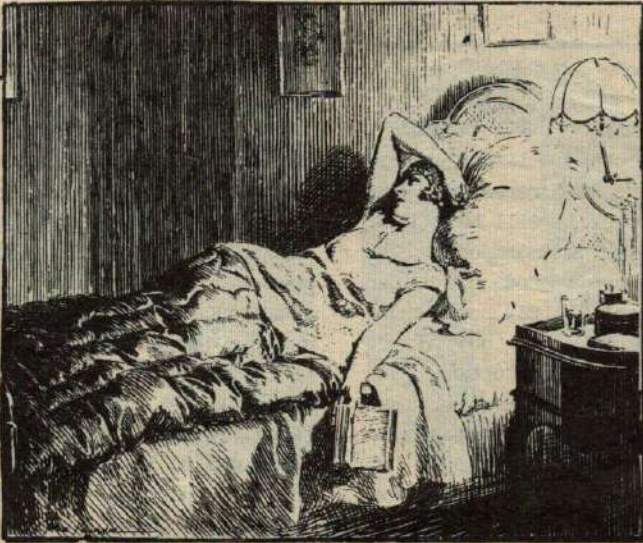
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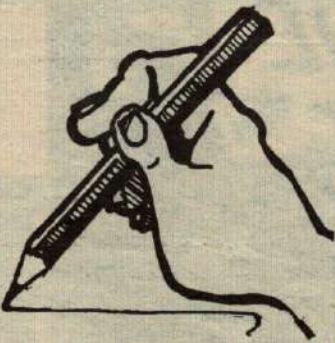
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FS, London £4.00
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TOTAL £42.25

Thank you to all those who sent us donations. We still need lots more money!



The Direct Action Movement was formed in 1979 by the Syndicalist Workers Federation and other groups and individuals believing in the principles of anarcho-syndicalism. The DAM is the British section of the International Workers Association (IWA). The IWA, formed in 1922, presently has sections in France, Spain, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Germany (East and West), Japan, Australia, Argentina, Brazil and the USA, and a provisional section in Finland.

WANT TO FIND OUT MORE?

If you like the sound of what Anarcho-syndicalists have to say and would like to find out more about the ideas and activities of the Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association, you can write to the DAM National Secretary, or to your nearest local group or relevant industrial contact.



CONTACTS

IWA Secretariat:
Postfach 10 12 23,
5000 Köln 1,
West Germany.

DAM National Secretary:
c/o Manchester DAM.

DAM International Secretary:
c/o Edinburgh DAM.

CENTRAL REGION:

Nottingham DAM, PO Box 12, Carlton, Notts NG4 3SW
South Yorkshire DAM, PO Box 106, Rotherham S60 1NW
Leicester DAM, c/o Notts DAM
• for contacts in Corby, Scunthorpe & Leamington Spa write to Central Region Secretary c/o Notts DAM

NORTHEAST REGION:

Leeds DAM, Box DAM, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS2
Middlesbrough DAM, c/o Leeds DAM
• for contacts in Bradford and Huddersfield write to NE Secretary c/o Leeds DAM

NORTHWEST REGION:

Burnley DAM, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs
Liverpool DAM, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 8DP
Manchester DAM, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15
Preston DAM, PO Box 172, Preston, Lancs PR1
• for contacts in Bury, Cumbria, Lancaster, Salford and Stockport write to NW Secretary c/o Manchester DAM

SCOTLAND:

Edinburgh DAM, PO Box 516, Southwest DO, Edinburgh EH10
Glasgow DAM, PO Box 239, Glasgow G3 6RA

SOUTHEAST:

Norwich DAM, PO Box 73, Norwich NR1 2EB
South Hertfordshire DAM, PO Box 245, St Albans, Herts
Deptford DAM, PO Box 574, London SE4 1DL
East London DAM, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1 7QX
North London DAM, c/o 187 High Rd, London N22
South London DAM, PO Box 761, Camberwell SDO, London N22
• for contacts in Kent and Reading write to SE Region Secretary c/o North London DAM

SOUTHWEST:

Bristol DAM, 37 Stokescroft, Bristol
• for contacts in Somerset and Plymouth write to Bristol DAM

INDUSTRIAL:

DAM Council Workers c/o N. London or Manchester DAM
DAM Despatch Workers c/o Deptford DAM
DAM Railway Workers c/o Manchester DAM

OTHER CONTACTS:

Despatch Industry Workers Union, PO Box 574, London SE4
Anti Nuclear Network, Box 30, 187 High Rd, London N22
ASP (anarchist publishers), BCM Box 3714, London WC1N 3XX
Black Flag (anarchist monthly), BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX
Organise (anarchosyndicalists), 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1
North West Independent Education Network, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW.

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.

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DIRECT ACTION

Manchester Martyrs
— March —
Sun. 25th Nov. ~ Assemble Longsight
Market, Dickenson Rd/Stockport Rd ~
12.30pm

POLL TAX

A Fight To The Bitter End

It is over a year since the Tory-dominated Association of Local Authorities booed and jeered at Nicholas Ridley for refusing to grant them the .1 billion they said they needed to introduce the poll tax. Since then, millions of pounds have been hacked off the education and welfare budgets of Britain's major cities.

This decimation of social services comes purely as a result of the ludicrous cost and inefficiency of the Poll Tax system. The cuts were based on calculations which predicted that poll tax non-payment would be only slightly higher than rates non-payment.

Now, at least 10 million people in England have joined the 1 million in Scotland in the non-payment campaign, and the number of defaulters is growing every week. Authorities are realising that the swingeing cuts they have already made will not be enough to balance their books.

BANKRUPT

Scottish Authorities are already deeply in debt after 2 years of frantic borrowing to cover the massive refusal to pay the Poll Tax. So deeply in debt that, for some of them, bankruptcy is just around the corner. And this miserly government cannot be relied upon to bail them out forever.

Labour Councils are, of course, suffering just as badly as Tory councils, and this is one of the reasons why Labour won't support the non-payment campaign. Margaret Hodge, at the recent Labour Party conference, slapped the wrists of middle class non-payers by telling them, "Just remember, every pound you choose not to pay is a pound lost to those who most need it" (through social

services).

David Blunkett, Labour's Poll Tax spokesman clings to the same argument. Non-payers, he claims, are playing into Thatcher's hands by allowing her to destroy local services and blame somebody else. Of course, Thatcher will try to do just this, but it was her government which decided to introduce a flat rate local tax, which inevitably means that the poor pay more and the rich pay less. The average local authority charge is around .100 higher than central government's 'estimated' charge. The average Labour council

difficult to pay, and for all working people who will suffer as a result of the loss of jobs and services the Poll Tax brings (regardless of non-payment), that we must all refuse it. To borrow Thatcher's phrase, 'there is no alternative'.

Working people realise that it is not just the Tory party that they have to fight, it is the entire establishment, the **State** itself which we must defeat. **The Labour Party**, as part of the establishment, will not support the fight. **Magistrates** are not only bending but flagrantly breaking their own law in

winning'

The Anti-Poll Tax movement is undoubtedly large enough to force the repeal of the tax, but it will be a long battle. The enormous damage being inflicted by this unworkable tax can be concealed by government bribes and corruption for some time yet. Even with an early election and a Labour victory we can expect at least another 3 years of this hated tax, and the struggle may take a good deal longer.

As councils become ever more desperately short of cash they are beginning to use

politics you must obey the law' is dying out.

The traditional idea that nothing can be done without leaders is also being pushed aside. The Anti-Poll Tax movement is led by its grassroots members. Its self-appointed spokespersons from leftist cliques such as the Militant Tendency are largely ignored. They are of most use to the government who can portray them as agitators and rabble rousers, but the people need no vanguard to speak or act for them. We are doing a damn good job of destroying the Poll Tax ourselves.

Mass, working-class organisation, mass democracy, with no elites or figureheads, has always been the cornerstone of the libertarian communism for which the Direct Action Movement stands. True workers control, with the bullying State flung in the dustbin of history, is the only way our class can achieve freedom, wealth, justice and peace.

SELF-ORGANISATION

This is the lesson we are learning from the Poll Tax. We can and must organise ourselves outside parliament with its braying hypocrites and ruthless manipulators. We need no leaders, we need no parties. Estates and communities all over the country are learning to defend themselves against bailiffs, magistrates and other legalised bandits.

The struggle will become harder as councils cut deeper and deeper into vital social services, but whatever tactics they use to try to force us to pay, the need and the desire for revolution, the only escape from our perpetual exploitation, will become greater.

Nick, Manchester DAM



charge is only around .20 higher than the Tory average. Thatcher's excuses are wearing thin.

NO ALTERNATIVE

As a result of her decade in power, the Poll Tax is unfeasible. The poor cannot afford to pay for the services they need, but the rich are no longer asked to. It is for the sake of the millions who just cannot afford to pay, the millions more who would find it very

order to speed up court hearings and prosecute non-payers.

The Civil Service has been granted unrestrained powers to pry into our supposedly private records, and is using this power enthusiastically. **The Police** deliberately provoke violence at anti-Poll Tax demonstrations. Each and every arm of the octopus state is doing its best to crush the rebellious working class, but still we are

cuts in services as a threat to non-payers: 'Stop the campaign or we'll close down the schools'. The prospect of the complete collapse of local government is just one of the profound effects the Poll Tax is having.

BREAKING THE LAW

For the first time in decades, the working class is finding that it has the economic muscle to fight back. The long-established attitude that 'whatever your