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30p

THE FACE



OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association

GULF WAR - THE REASONS

Late last year, as Western forces were preparing for war in the Saudi desert, Saddam Hussein sent a video taped "message to the american people" to the US government. It was never shown, in its entirety, to the western press. Short extracts were shown on television, but Bush declared that it would "bore people to sleep" if the whole speech were televised.

His reluctance is not difficult to understand. As a few journalists have discovered, the tape contains references to a number of meetings between american and iraqi diplomats that the leaders of the free world would rather we know nothing about.

ILLEGAL

In January 1990, Iraq was bankrupt. During the 8 year war against Iran, Hussein spent billions procuring weapons from those countries who now denounce him as the new Hitler. Officially it was illegal for western companies to sell arms to Iraq, but in fact the US and western european governments allowed the highly profitable trade to go on, since Iran was seen, at that time, as the major threat.



If Iraq could keep Iran busy with a local war, the western powers were happy to let it, regardless of the hundreds of thousands of lives that were lost. At the end of that senseless war, Iraq found itself with an annual aid revenue of \$12-13 billion and a national debt of \$100 billion. Not only were the Iraqi people growing increasingly discontented but an attempted military coup on January 6th 1990 almost toppled Hussein.

OIL PRICES

Against this dire economic

background, it has now been revealed that the US began secret diplomatic meetings with the Hussein government. A former US ambassador, and member of the foreign relations council (whose name has not been revealed) suggested to the Iraqis that they could revive their economy by forcing a sharp rise in the price of oil.

Last January, oil sold for \$21 a barrel, by April the figure was \$15, and while OPEC countries sold more oil than the market needed, the price could not rise. Among those countries over-producing the most was Kuwait, a tiny country producing 18% of the OPEC oil surplus.

O.P.E.C

The US representative suggested to the Iraqi government that they commission a study from the Washington-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies, to advise them on how much they could raise the price of oil without losing their customers. The Centre refuses to discuss its recommendations, but its energy security programme director, Henry Schular (who presumably wrote the report) wrote in the March 1st 'Arab oil and gas journal' that the price of Arab oil could rise to \$25 without the buyers looking elsewhere for supplies.

He also states that this rise could be engineered by one Arab state with enough political power to oblige the others to follow. It is surely no coincidence that later that year, the Iraqis campaigned within OPEC to raise the price of oil to...\$25 a barrel.

WORLD MARKETS

This view is supported by a tape of a discussion between Hussein and Joseph Wilson, the US charge d'affaires in Iraq. Wilson says that he is worried by unrest in world markets. Hussein replies: "You did this, we accepted \$25 a barrel" (as the US suggested).

The terrible significance of these meetings lies in the fact that the US realised all along that Hussein's campaign to raise the price of oil (which they promised to support) involved the invasion of Kuwait. Kuwait was a thorn in the side of

Hussein's ambitions, so as a major overproducer of oil it would have to be forced to tow Hussein's line. It was also well known that Hussein believed Kuwait a rightful part of Iraq.

Throughout 1990, the US played a double game, condemning Hussein in public as a ruthless dictator, but privately appeasing him a pretending to offer a path out of his economic troubles.

relations with Iraq". She then says: "What we don't have an opinion on are inter-Arab disputes such as your border dispute with Kuwait...and James Baker has directed our official spokesman to reiterate this stand".

Around this time Baker himself was quietly trying to suppress a US State Department report on Iraqi human rights violations, and Senator Robert Dale,

idea that the US should want higher oil prices is absurd. Although an oil producer itself, the US has always done its best to ensure a low price in the interests of domestic consumption.

Two weeks before the invasion of Kuwait, as US diplomats were assuring Hussein that they would not take sides and would support his economic policy (which they knew made the invasion necessary), a US military hospital was being built in Oman, to the south of Saudi Arabia. One consignment flown out to this hospital consisted of half a million body bags.

MILITARY STRONGHOLD

Clearly, the US has engineered this war for its own interests. By separating its public and private attitude to Iraq, the US ensured a war which it could then enter.

To those readers who find this idea implausible, do not forget that the US has wanted a military stronghold in Arabia for many years. The Japanese economy has overtaken the US, and the Germans will soon do the same. The US, though, is still the world's leading military power, and if it cannot somehow make money out of war then its future looks bleak.

This war will establish a permanent US military presence in the Gulf, ensuring an unshakeable influence over oil prices. The spectre of Hussein can be held over the Saudis and Kuwaitis while haggling over oil prices. If the Japanese and Germans can be persuaded to pay for this imperial adventure so much the better for the future of the US economy.

BLOOD

If it still seems unlikely that the US would deliberately create conflict in a part of the world so vital to its interests, it must be noted that the Gulf has always been a politically unstable area. The purpose of this war, then, is to impose a kind of stability upon the region, making it pliant to western interests. As always, this objective will be paid for with the blood of the working classes of all sides.

ostensibly in Iraq to criticise Hussein for excessive weapons buying, was privately apologising to him for criticisms made of his regime by the 'Voice of America'.

WHY?

Why then was the US playing this game with Hussein? The



While Iraqi troops were massing on the Kuwaiti border and it was clear that the invasion was imminent, April Glaspie, the US ambassador to Iraq, told Hussein during a meeting on July 25th: "I have a directive from the president personally that I should work to expand and deepen

Nick, Manchester DAM

EDITORIAL

— War or Revolution —

When the Soviet Empire began to fall to pieces all the apologists for the capitalist class assured us that this was the beginning of a new era of world harmony - the much-vaunted New World Order.

'Socialism' was dead, 'Communism' had failed, Gorby got his Nobel Peace Prize, and the workers of the whole world would from now on be looked after very nicely by the multinational companies.

MEET THE NEW WORLD...

And so here it is, this New World Order, gunning down Lithuanians, bombing Iraq to bits, pumping untold billions into the war machine whilst Africa starves and there are beggars and homeless on the

streets of every capital in the Free World.

...SAME AS THE OLD WORLD

The collapse of the Eastern Bloc, heralded by the brave revolt of the Chinese students and workers against their own red despots, was not the 'end of history', but rather the beginning of a new era of world upheaval and revolutionary change.

'Communism' failed because it wasn't communism at all. The 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' was just a new form of class oppression. State Socialism has been a false beacon of hope for the world's workers, one they stopped looking to long ago.

SLAUGHTER

The people of Eastern Europe have, like our class here,

shown their clear preference for liberal democracy over bureaucratic dictatorship. They are now learning, both from the massive unemployment and poverty the 'market' has brought with it and now from the slaughter in the Gulf, what is the real nature of capitalist democracy.

The only radical political movement growing in Europe, East or West is Anarchism/Anarcho-syndicalism.

Gorbachev can clamp down all he likes, in this the 70th year since his Bolshevik predecessors doused the flames of the Revolution in the blood of the workers and sailors of Kronstadt, but now that the forces of **libertarian** socialism have re-emerged they will not meekly disappear again.

We anarcho-syndicalists do not belong to the school of thought that says that the worse things get for the working class the better the chances for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism ("The Starvation Road to Socialism").

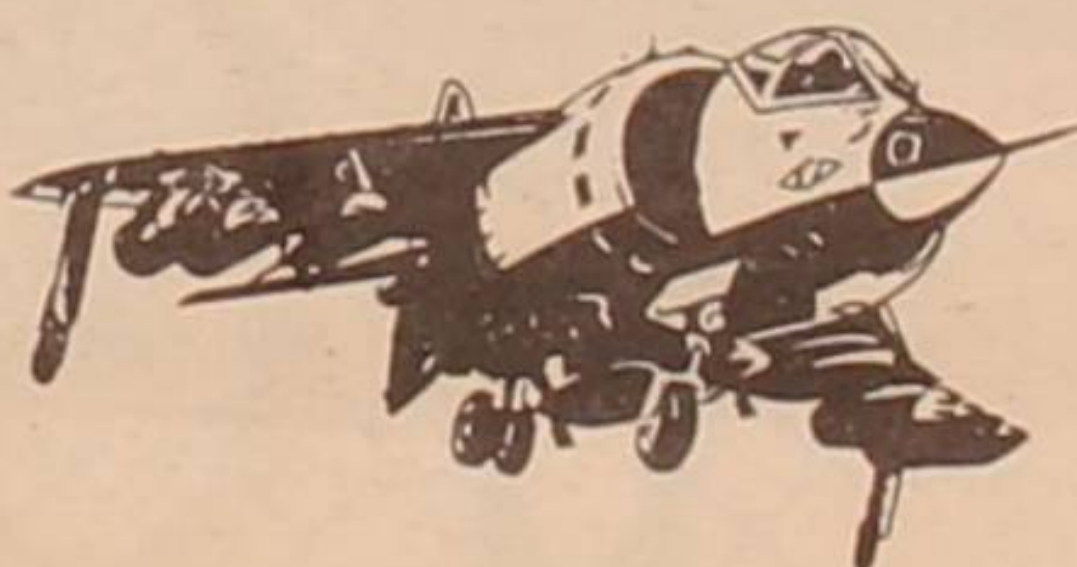
Having said that our response to the barbarity of war in the Gulf should not be one of despair but rather of seizing an opportunity.

War is always a gamble for a ruling class with problems. They can hope to distract working people from their situation and get us all marching behind the flag together. On the other hand, once the initial excitement is over, the slaughter of working class soldiers and civilians in the all too obvious interests of the capitalist class, no longer serves to distract us from the evils of class society but reinforces them in the eyes of our class.

For us, this is what a real anti-war movement should be saying. It must have nothing to do with the CND "starve Iraqi workers to death" pacifist hypocrites, and still less the leftist bugle boys of Iraqi militarism (who would have the Iraqi working class die for the glory of the 'anti-imperialist' Saddam).

THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT

We will have our presence on the demonstrations and



marches, but it amongst our class that the real work is to be done. As the Left sinks into glorious irrelevance it is now that the time has come to rebuild a revolutionary working class movement in this country.

Anarcho-syndicalists have specific ideas about how to achieve a new society (revolutionary unionism, workers' councils etc.), but what we are talking about now is something more basic than that. It is spreading the spirit of revolt, of class mutiny in the workplaces and on the streets.

The situation is very serious, our task is not easy by any means. Many are infected with jingoism and racism, but, again, this is nothing but an opportunity for us to turn things right round, to develop a spirit of working class solidarity and internationalism **like never before.**

NO WAR BUT THE CLASS WAR is our position, our aim is to make it more than just a good slogan.

DA Editorial Collective

Leicester Protest



Late last year members of Leicester DAM staged a protest outside the Leicester army recruitment offices. The purpose was to show that the war drive serves no interest but that of the bosses and rulers.

Leaflets were given out putting forward the anarcho-syndicalist view that working class people should play no part in the war and should carry on their day to day struggles. Only by

heightening class conflicts such as the anti poll tax and workplace struggles can we undermine the drive towards war.

Leicester DAM will be widening its campaign against the war by working with other anarcho-syndicalists across the east midlands.

FIGHT THE ENEMY AT HOME!

NO WAR BUT THE CLASS WAR!

No War but the Class War

On Saturday 12th January, before the slaughter began, 8,000 people marched through Glasgow against war in the Gulf. Although the march was bigger than the organisers had hoped, the level of consciousness of most of the crowd wasn't as high as could have been hoped.

SANCTIONS

As speaker after speaker received applause for saying that sanctions would work if given enough time, anarchists present wondered if people were really against the war at all and if they really understood its roots and solutions.

As a Glasgow DAM leaflet that was handed out on the march made clear, sanctions would "allow the west to wage a 'non-violent' war, which like any 'real' war [would] only harm working class Iraqis". The blockade of food and medical supplies will kill Iraqi civilians just as effectively as bombs are now. This seemed to be lost on most of the crowd.

SOLUTION

The USA needs a war for two reasons. To stop its declining world influence and the West's economy is in too much of a mess to wait. The causes for war are economic and political. The



western and Middle East ruling classes, one time allies of Iraq, have turned on it due to a clash of interests. That much is obvious, and the solution to the crisis is equally obvious.

Any "solution" to the Gulf War that is not based on international working class action will only benefit some ruling elite. We must not look to our enemies, the Iraqi and Western governments for answers (or the UN, the respectable face

of capitalism), but to the working class.

CLASS STRUGGLE

Only by **intensifying the class struggle**, both here and in the Middle East, through demos, strikes, mutinies etc. can Hussein, Bush and Major be stopped. **No war but the class war:** this is the message the anti-war movement must get across, not moralistic, contradictory middle class crap!

Glasgow DAM

Striking Against the Poll Tax

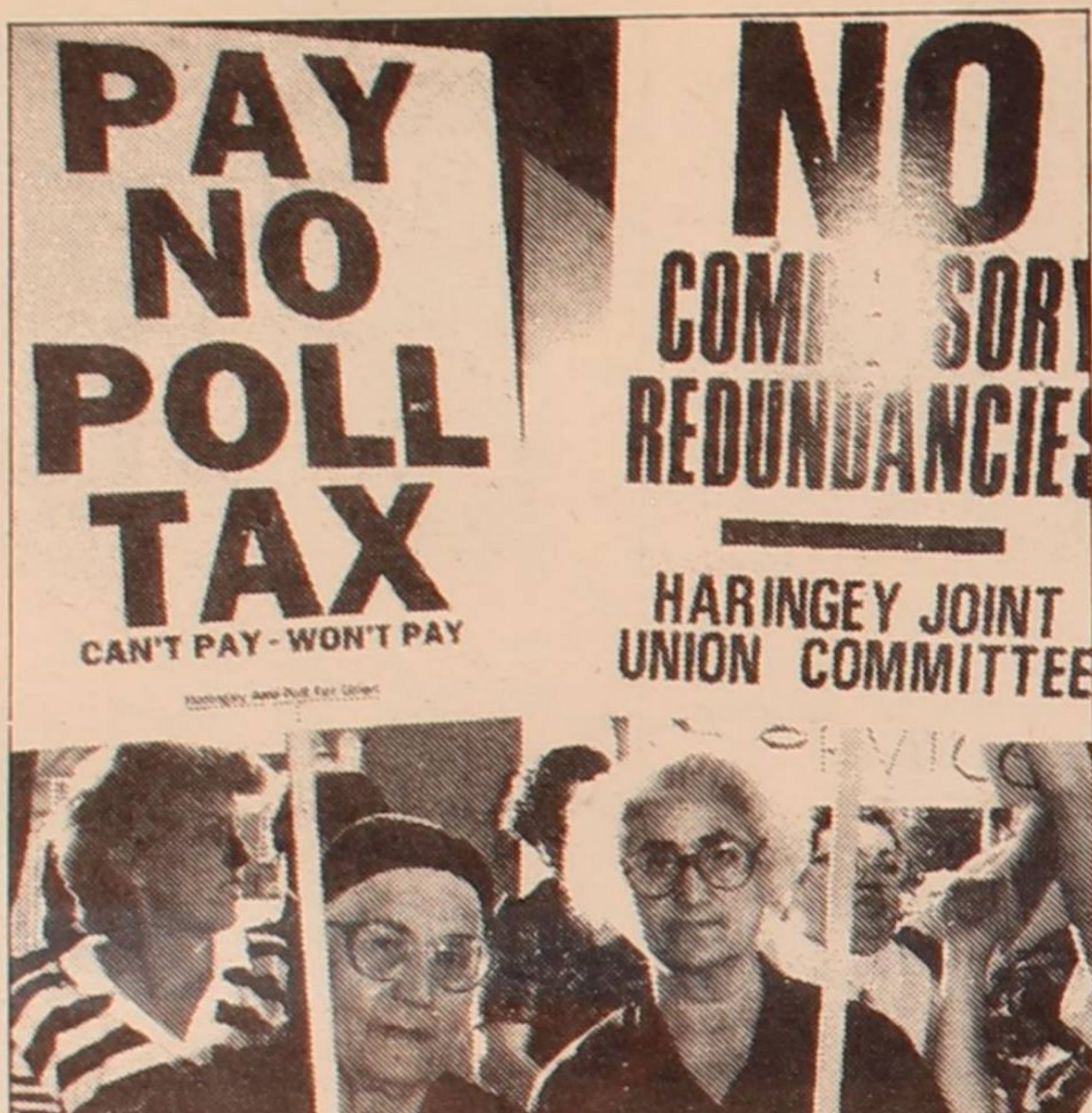
The message is loud and clear - we're not paying and we're winning. In spite of all the Tory and Labour threats and propaganda, non-payment is growing. More and more people are getting involved in the campaign and the anti-Poll Tax movement is getting stronger.

DIRECT ACTION

Non-payment is striking at the heart of the Poll Tax. Direct action is proving to be the only effective weapon the working class has. However, workers' industrial muscle has not yet been flexed.

Non-payment has created a strong movement, but industrial action (supported actively by the communities) can help drive the last nails into the coffin of the Poll Tax.

The anti-Poll Tax movement must spread its influence into the workplace by the creation of anti-Poll Tax



groups, based not on trade lines, but industrial, ie one union one workplace. These groups would federate with community organisations regionally as well as with other workplace groups.

Only this form of organisation (anarcho-

syndicalism) can break the stranglehold of the trade union bureaucracies over the workforce and create a real working class movement. A movement linking people across trade, industry and community barriers, making an injury to one an injury to all!

Resist Arrestments

A few months ago there was considerable debate in the anti Poll Tax movement over wage arrestment. Apart from the fact that most of us advocated direct action in the workplace to put pressure on the boss to cop out of implementing Attachment of Earnings Orders - collective action - there were disagreements over what individuals should be doing. Many people felt they would be cooperating with the Tax if they filled out the form which comes with the notice of a Liability Order.

Since it is a criminal offence not to fill out such a form or to give misleading information, most of us thought we couldn't tell people not to do it. However, the choice was left up to the individual who was to be informed of the risks.

Militant, of course, being good respectable bourgeois, told people to fill it in. The London Borough of Camden found out that the position of actual working class people was somewhat different from Militant's. They have admitted that the return rate on the thousands of forms sent out has been 0.03% - three per thousand!



While other boroughs will be drawing their own conclusions about the viability of wages arrestments, if you fill in the form they may do you, so you've got good company for losing it.

We still advocate direct action or the threat of it in the workplace as the most effective strategy. In small workplaces, unionised or not, the thought of fuel for wage demands, the loss of profits through strikes

or sabotage, and the fact that replacements for sacked workers will have the same attitude to the Poll Tax, will have a deterrent effect on the boss.

If workers in unorganised jobs take this up it may be their first experience of organisation - self organisation - and it is likely to be a positive one. The Poll Tax is only a symptom - we've got to build a movement to solve the problem.

UNDER STRESS

The pressure of collecting the Poll Tax has caused high levels of stress and sickness in Poll Tax offices. This is according to Council and Trade Union leaders across Scotland, who point to a staff turnover rate of up to 50%.

SABOTAGE

When the Poll Tax was being introduced, campaigners argued that it wasn't in the interests of people to work in the "Community Charge" offices. It seems that we were right in more than one way.

Hopefully the higher sickness and absentee levels show a willingness to use sabotage against the tax and

is not just down to ill health. Obviously the effect of implementing such a horrible attack on the working class is hitting home in the workplace, if not in the union.

A NALGO spokesperson said "although extra staff have been recruited the Government aren't spending enough to cope with this problem". And this from a union which is "officially" against the Poll Tax!

STALINIST

Strathclyde Regional Council claimed that its staff have not been affected. The last Stalinist regime in Western Europe strikes again!



"Earplugs in? - let the bailiff open the window an inch before I switch on!"

2 JAILED IN NOTT'M

On 5 March 1990, 20 anti poll tax protesters staged a Robin Hood-style invasion of Nottingham City Council Chambers. They were protesting against the setting of a poll tax rate in Nottingham. Despite the peaceful and colourful nature of the protest, three people were arrested on the day and another ten days after the event following a police raid.

These four people were tried in a 3 day political trial (26 - 28 November) and all have been found guilty. Two, charged with "assaulting councillors with custard pies" (!) were given prison sentences of a month each. They were released on 23 January after serving 16 days in Lincoln Jail.

In addition, costs of £1,000 have been awarded against them.

The Nottingham Defence Fund,

set up immediately after poll tax protesters staged a Trafalgar Square, has been in contact with these people and over a dozen others. We unconditionally support all defendants arrested on anti poll tax activities and are run by and for these people.

Money has been raised through benefit gigs and collections and we are holding public meetings and visiting local anti poll tax groups to raise the issue of State repression of the anti poll tax movement.

We badly need more funds to help these people out, both with their legal costs and travel costs. Please try and help us by sending any donations you can. Make cheques out to "NDF". We appreciate your support.

NDF
Box 10
72 Radford Road
Hyson Green
Nottingham

ON THE BUSES

Since the deregulation of bus services in 1985-86, what has been good for busworkers has been good for passengers - cut routes, spiralling fare increases, unreliability, a higher risk of break - downs and accidents...

The deregulation of public transport has encouraged more and more people to take their cars, causing yet further road congestion and pollution.

The pursuit of profits has in no small part led to the present transport chaos. Without doubt, any solutions adopted by the Road Lobby, government, local councils and the growing number of bosses worried by the threat to their profits will be determined by just that - profits. And, as ever, they will be at our expense.

Conservative and Labour transport policies, as with everything, remain true to their double-act. In the 1970's, Labour started major hospital and education cuts which the Conservatives then took even further. Initially opposing the deregulation of bus services, Labour now have a policy backing competitive tendering for fear of alienating the bosses.

Since deregulation, bus workers have taken pay cuts, wage freezes and, if fortunate, pay rises of as little as 2%. Recent management justifications are falling passenger numbers, petrol price rises (due to the oil barons making extra millions from the Gulf War) and the latest recession.

The unreliability of bus services is in no small part due to management having little idea of what services are needed and/or work as well as their indifference to the effects working conditions have on drivers.

FRIENDS

Deteriorating working conditions, both on the roads and those imposed by management can all too often appear inevitable when those who claim to represent our interests always take management's view, however reluctantly. With management as enemies, who needs friends like the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU)?

In the last year and a half, my bus depot's TGWU branch



has only managed to call 3 branch meetings. Committee meetings, more frequently held, are unpublicised and non-reps can only speak at every third one.

When branch meetings do occur, they are sure to herald something unlikely to slip by unnoticed, such as redundancies, moving depot or a pay round. On even these occasions the rank and file are effectively denied a voice. Negotiations will already have been carried out with management by TGWU officials, without the matter having been discussed by ourselves. Branch meetings are in effect where the union officials fend off dissent and rubber-stamp deals.

Any notion of the union being ours is fantasy - we are allowed no constructive input but are consistently presented with erosions of our working conditions by branch officials assuring us of managements' honesty!

BUGGER ALL

Management are parasites - our labour creates the company's wealth. We are paid a fraction of our labour's worth. Management make sure it is the workforce who pay the price for economic difficulties, whilst they pay themselves handsomely for doing bugger-all behind their desks except for occasionally adding another cock-up to the bus services. Our only reward is high stress and blood pressure, higher than average risk of heart failure and short life expectancy (kept quiet outside medical circles for good reason).

Along with the wage cuts and freezes caused by deregulation, management also took advantage of high

unemployment to launch fleets of mini buses. Minibus drivers' conditions are based on long hours and low pay - useful to further undermine drivers' conditions and pay.

STRIKE

Little surprise that over the last year there have been strikes in the bus industry in an attempt to reverse the trend of the past few years.

Bus workers in Hull struck in June after 6 drivers were suspended for refusing to work overtime whilst in support of a pay claim. They had been offered 7% after the company made £704,000 profit. This offer was after they had already taken a £1,000 per year pay cut after deregulation! It looked like management at Hull were in competition with drivers on the road to have as many cars as buses!

TRUE BLUE

Labour controlled Hull council, owners of the bus company, soon showed their true colours. When drivers took a petition to the town hall, the Labour leader refused to meet them (haven't party politics always felt threatened by people directly confronting exploitation?)

Having also rejected an offer worth between 8 and 8.7%, an increase of 9% was accepted and the 6 suspended drivers reinstated. Many drivers felt more could have been won than the previous years' wages in real terms.

Wilts and Dorset busworkers' rejection of 8% and their vote for strike action in May this year also gained them an improved offer of 9.3% and 11% for minibus

drivers which went some way in closing the gulf between their wages and those of conventional drivers.

CONTROL

The behaviour of local TGWU branches is reflected by that of the TGWU as a whole. Their handling of disputes is concerned more with control than a successful outcome. Industrial action, it seems, is to be avoided at all costs. Branch officials' views are commonly that the company's interests are the workers' interests, full stop.



When there is a strike, all stops are pulled out to end it as soon as possible, not by effective direct action hitting the bosses hard, but by negotiating away demands to a level acceptable to management.

In last year's dockers' strike, the TGWU call to return to work and subsequent use of their legal department proved completely useless. The dockers, one of the foundation stones of the TGWU, true to form were sold down the river. The legal system is in the pockets of the boss class, yet still the TGWU tried to win by purely legal means. Of course, they failed miserably.

In November the TGWU showed only too clearly that they

will happily lie in the same bed as the bosses. Roger Barton, a TGWU rep at Camberwell bus depot was sacked for "gross misconduct". He had produced a newsletter slugging off management. The sacking was approved of by the full time TGWU official who had earlier suspended Roger's shop steward credentials.

DEAD END GAME

Reforming the TGWU into a fighting union is a dead end game. The bureaucrats are doing very nicely thank you on their fat wages from our dues and would not tolerate any challenge to the structure of a union that suits them just fine.

All reformist trade unions like the TGWU exist outside the workplace, closed to all but those who play their game. They exist to sell out the workers they claim to represent. They are the buffer between us and management.

Change will and can only come from below - from the workplace and community. A clear alternative to trade unionism is anarcho-syndicalism, the struggle for better pay and

conditions today, workers' direct control of industry tomorrow, based on need not profit.

In rejecting the class collaboration of trade unionism, our challenge is to advocate real democracy - mass meetings open to all to participate in, breaking the divisions created by having numerous unions in the same industry and workplace and also having recallable delegates and no bureaucracy.

Fighting the bosses means ditching the unions whose livelihoods are selling us out, and building a workers' union based on active solidarity and direct action. JOIN US.

DAM Public Transport Worker

Europe 1992

"Despite all the singing and cheering, Europe's companies are marching off to war. A war that will have its dead and wounded; a war from which not everyone will come back a winner." Carlo de Benedetti, head of Olivetti, speaking in Rome in 1988.

Like the war in the Gulf, when it comes to the trade war of 1992, it is the working class who will figure highest among the casualties. This is a situation that has been dreamt of by some captains of industry for decades. The original Treaty of Rome, signed over thirty years ago, looked forward to a real Common Market. But as soon as a country joined it, it did all it could to keep other member states from getting into its domestic markets.

FREE TRADE

The Single European Act aims to put a stop to the operation of these barriers and establish free trade within the European Community. The Act hopes to create an area where "the freedom of movement, goods, persons, services and capital is ensured." This battlefield will be fully prepared by 31 December 1992. From then on, it will be all out war.

The rationale behind 1992 is that after companies have slogged it out in Europe, market leaders will emerge. These will be more able and prepared to take on the giants of the USA and elsewhere. Takeovers, mergers and rationalisation that result from fighting for 320 million consumers - it is believed - will ensure stronger companies and a healthier economy in Europe.

We should not labour under any illusions. The 1992 project is about nothing other than consolidation and growth of European capitalism.

"1992 is the only possible rational response to market globalisation and to the growing competitiveness of the United States and Japan. Europe and its companies have no alternative. 1992 is a necessity." Carlo de Benedetti again in December 1988.

LOADED ARGUMENTS

To evaluate how successful the 1992 programme would be, the European Commission (Euro-Civil Service), employed economists to prepare what became known as the Cecchini Report. They predicted a 7% growth in Community output, 4% cut in prices and 5 million new jobs.

However, these economists loaded their arguments. An example of this is that they didn't include countries like Greece, Ireland and

proposals, it is clearly those companies that rely heavily on protective legislation or public sector contracts which will be engaged in the initial battles. Nine of the sectors that the Commission identifies as "sensitive" employ predominantly women. These sectors include confectionary, pharmaceuticals, and the textile and clothing industry.

Given the present comparative weakness of the British economy, the British companies in these sectors

economies start to fail as a result of competition from other states, then we can all expect cuts in public services as states attempt to cut the national debt.

The consequences for Britain are dire on any analysis. Even according to the Cecchini Report, Britain will suffer the worst unemployment of the so called 'Big Four'.

There can be no doubt as to who will pay the price of the painful restructuring of European capitalism. It will be the working class. Yet

improving its competitiveness".

The TUC stresses training, greater equality between sexes and races, and greater worker representation in the workplace. They fail to note that no proposals on worker or social issues have been passed since 1980.

Much more is missing from the TUC analysis. But that is hardly surprising, given its total lack of class analysis.

THE WALL REMAINS

They refuse to recognise the dangers presented by a Eurosuperstate (see DA67). There is talk of a European FBI, much more powerful than the info-swapping Interpol.

They ignore the tightening of border controls on the perimeter of the European Community. Despite the apparent tumbling down of walls, it is almost impossible to get refugee status within Europe. Once it has been refused by one member state, the refugee is automatically prevented from applying to other states.

They ignore the increased harassment of black workers at ports. They don't see that making Europe more competitive (assuming it works) simply exports unemployment to other workers of the world.

Despite jingoism from all parties and union leaders, Euro-state patriotism and the restructuring of European capital will not solve the real problems of the working class in Europe or anywhere else. The closure and 'rationalisation' of industries must be fought. Racist immigration controls must be fought. Euro-management must be matched by workers organisation across Europe. Internationalism must be strengthened to prevent war between trade blocks.

The myth of the 'social dimension' must be demolished. There is only a class dimension. Better solutions than trade wars exist to solve the real difficulties we face.

CG, Leeds DAM



A bureaucrats bonanza

Spain in their calculations. So whether the single market lives up to their expectations remains to be seen.

Yet even with such optimism, they talk of "painful restructuring for some". What they mean by "painful restructuring" is pit closures, plant closures and plenty of 'rationalisation'.

Other commentators aren't as optimistic. In October 1988, Sir John Harvey-Jones, former head of ICI, predicted that in a decade more than half of Europe's factories would have closed down and at least half of Europe's companies would either have been taken over or gone out of business.

SENSITIVE SECTORS

In the light of the Act's

are more likely to be losers than winners. The take-over of Rowntree by Swiss-based Suchard was an early indication of things to come. Other areas likely to suffer as a result of liberalisation are mining, engineering, computer technology and telecommunications. These are sectors that will enjoy industrial disputes directly as a result of the 1992 programme. These are also the sectors in which the new Euro-industries will emerge.

UNDER PRESSURE

The impact that 1992 will have on other workers is more difficult to gauge, but as important. Public sector workers, for example, will be under pressure if member states face monetary difficulties as a result of 1992. If individual

the TUC welcomes the single market as does the European Trades Union Confederation of which the TUC is a part. They believe that what is good for capitalism is good for the working class of Europe. Both believe that as long as some first aid is applied in the form of a 'Social Dimension', the good of European capital and European workers is secured.

SOCIAL DIMENSION

In its report on Europe, "Maximising the Benefits - Minimising the Costs" - the TUC goes to great lengths to point out how much the success of capitalism relies on the 'Social Dimension'. In line with the idea of a Euro-Social Contract, we are told "The social dimension is not, therefore, an additional cost for industry, but an element in

A YEAR IN JAPAN

Our first contact with the Japanese anarcho-syndicalist comrades was a visit from Nakamura. He arrived at our apartment bearing gifts, as is the custom in Japan. He presented us with a selection of anarchist newspapers in various languages, as well as the more traditional box of cakes. Nakamura is the national secretary of the Rodosha Rentai Undo (RRU - the Japanese section of the IWA, literally "Workers Solidarity Movement"). By coincidence he lived within walking distance of our apartment in the suburbs of Tokyo. We spoke in simple Japanese, liberally interspersed with English words, and managed to communicate fairly well.

DEJA VU

The next weekend, following Nakamura's directions, we made our way into Tokyo, to the 5th floor of an apartment block and into an "office" the RRU shares with about 15 other groups. Inside the smoke-filled room were 10 people or so, sitting round a small table engaged in earnest discussion. A strange sense of deja-vu struck me as I saw in this scene the image of every other anarchist meeting I'd ever been to. Perhaps they are the same the world over? I'd like to think so.

POLICE

Tokyo RRU are currently acting as the National

Committee, consisting of National Secretary, International Secretary, Treasurer and Rescue Secretary. The Rescue Secretary's duties include prisoner support and, at present, the handling of a legal case against the Japanese police force. The police used rumoured plans



of renewed activity by the Japanese Red Army Faction as an excuse to search the homes of over 100 known political activists, including some members of the RRU - a clear case of harassment.

Soon after Nakamura's visit I met up with some members of Saitama RRU, who live and work in Koshigaya city. Two of them had visited Britain in 1988 before the IWA Congress in Bordeaux. They had stayed with Leo Rosser in Brixton, and were shocked and saddened when news of his death reached us.

NIGHT WATCHMEN

Most of the members of Saitama RRU are nightwatchmen, although it is not a job they take too seriously. The irony of anarchists working as defenders of property is not wasted on them. "Beware of the nightwatchman", as one

of them put it.

The RRU members are active within the local nightwatchmen's union, Gakuero, and Gakuero is in turn active within the Koshigaya Workers' Alliance (Koshiro), a union run along broadly syndicalist lines. Most of Koshiro's members work for Koshigaya City Council through subcontractors (eg, cleaners and switchboard operators at the hospital, workers at the municipal dustburning site) but they have recently been joined by workers at a private kindergarten.

Last year Koshiro celebrated its 10th anniversary. Koshiro serves to maintain solidarity between small groups of subcontracted workers, negotiating with subcontractors, and in the case of the kindergarten teachers, standing up to the "yakuza" (gangsters) with whom their boss is involved.

TIANENMEN

In June, three members of the Chinese Democracy Wall Movement from Hong Kong came to Koshigaya City as part of a tour of Japan, to give a presentation of slides and photos relating to the Tiananmen Massacre one year previously. One of them was Mok Chiu Yu, co-author of "Voices from Tiananmen Square" (reviewed in DA69). Also present were two students from mainland China studying at university in Japan, but who were threatened with deportation on the grounds of excessive political activity and poor academic performance.

It was clear that the latter was only a pretext for singling them out. The truth was that the Japanese authorities were embarrassed by the political activities of Chinese students studying in Japan and were afraid of offending the Chinese government. The university authorities were allowing Chinese Embassy officials to question students and to try to set up networks of informants on campuses to report on Pro-Democracy activists.

UNIVERSAL

I used to visit Koshigaya City every Wednesday evening. First I would go to the Gakuero office to help 3 or 4 of the comrades with their English, then I would go to the basement of City Hall to take an English class for members of the City Hall Workers' Union

In Japan, perhaps more than anywhere, the capitalist maxim 'time is money' rings true, so I greatly valued the chance to spend some time with the comrades in Koshigaya and become friends. To travel halfway round the world to a society and culture so different from my own was quite an experience. To find in that society a group of people who shared my belief in anarcho-syndicalism was something more. It brought home to me the universal relevance of anarcho-syndicalist principles and the importance of internationalism to our cause.



Colin

Ireland's longest serving prisoners, Marie and Noel Murray, were released on two day parole over Christmas. This is the first occasion they have been in each others company, unsupervised, for almost 16 years. They spent it at the home of Noel's aged parents in Co. Kildare.

Marie and Noel were convicted in 1975 in the non-jury Special Criminal Court for the murder of Garda Michael Reynolds. Initially they were sentenced to hang and spent 6 months in the death cell. But after an international protest campaign, the sentences were commuted to life.

The significance of the temporary release, which was also given to a number of other prisoners, is that in previous cases such a

—Free The Murrays—



release was a prelude to eventual release.

A campaign for the Murrays' release was initiated at the beginning of 1990 by individuals in Dublin, Belfast and London. A press conference in Dublin and pickets in Belfast and London, combined with a letter writing and postcard campaign have helped revive memories of two prisoners many had forgotten. Further support is needed to make sure 1991 is the year of their release.

Affiliation to the campaign is £3/£5 individuals and £15 organisations. Posters at £1 each and postcards at 5p each are available from:

Free the Murrays
c/o Tenants Corner
48a Oval Mansions
Vauxhall Street
London SE11



THE WAY FORWARD

There has been much misunderstanding of the DAM's policy, some wilful, some innocent, since we added the section to our Aims and Principles about supporting and initiating new, independent unions. I intend here to give some personal reflections on the subject and hopefully widen the debate about the way forward for anarcho-syndicalists (and anarchists generally) in Britain today.

Firstly, our industrial strategy should not be seen in isolation from our overall strategy. We do not artificially separate where people work from where they live. We recognise that the real power to change society lies with the working class at the point of production - ie where they work. The nature of work has changed over the last few decades, but this is still the case.

THE COMMUNITY

We do not, however, fall into the trap of mythologising the 'community'. In most of Britain, communities do not exist. The consciousness and community of interests that bind people in the same locality together are missing, and were being destroyed even as the sociologists first discovered them in the sixties.

A more meaningful term would be locality, based around a street, an estate, or a group of streets. And, where communities do exist, they can be stifling, small-minded places where everyone is expected to conform.

To us, the only real community worthy of the name is one that is built through struggle and maintains itself through struggle. Thus we can say that the communities of West Belfast and the Bogside in Derry are real. So are some of the mining communities as well as some of the estates in big cities that have

struggled and endured against institutionalised racism and oppression.

LOCAL ORGANISATION

The struggle against the poll tax has shown the value of organising around localities and we must learn from this. However, the poll



Not needed and not wanted

tax movement has failed to link up many of the struggles that are going on locally and it failed to organise workers where they work. These are generalisations and though I recognise that this is not the case everywhere, it is the main weakness of the anti poll tax movement as a whole.

The main fault lies with those who claim to lead the movement. Militant have set the agenda in such a narrow, reformist framework that even the possibility of workplace action against the poll tax has been ignored by the All Britain Federation.

Where DAM members are active in the anti poll tax campaign, we have consistently argued that the poll tax is **not** a single issue and have linked it up with the other issues facing us as a class. This has included mobilising against the BNP in Edinburgh, making links with ambulance workers during their dispute, campaigning against the threat of war in the Gulf,

and supporting council workers in struggle.

NETWORKS

The potential of local networks of activists building a mass campaign using direct action is enormous. We should address how we can make these networks permanent and look at the potential an active, grassroots socialist movement could have. The existence of decentralised local networks, acting locally but able to link up on national struggles would be a massive step forward for our class.

Hand in hand with this, we should look at setting up locals. A local is a building where activists can gather, both politically and socially, to plan and discuss activities and where there is space for discussion and new initiatives. It should be

organisation where each union has its own Broad Left and the only links between the unions are made on the basis of political affiliation rather than workers' solidarity.

Also, unlike the left, we have a flexible approach to organising. Where there is no union and we can organise fresh, we'll do that rather than try to convince rebel workers to join some politically bankrupt bureaucratic machine and then tell them it's crap after they've joined!

And, if a group of workers decide they're going to leave one of the bureaucratic unions to set up their own union, we will give them our fullest support and be as constructive as possible. The last thing workers in struggle need is outsiders telling them they're doing it all wrong.

organisation. They won't all be anarcho-syndicalists by any means, but they will be committed to direct action, democratic control of struggles by those involved, and to making links between the everyday bread-and-butter workplace struggles and the wider political issues. Ultimately, we want to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it with an anarchist or libertarian communist society. This can only be achieved by the workers themselves.

ANARCHOSYNDICALISM

When we talk of an anarcho-syndicalist union, we are not talking of the same thing as the trade unions. Indeed, we do not aim to replace the trade unions, but to render them superfluous.

Where our difference with the TUC unions comes is in organisation. Anarcho-syndicalist unions have a dual structure built from the base up. In a given locality there may be a number of local workplace groups in different industries, as well as a general membership branch and local groups based in the community, organised along anarchist principles. These would be federated into the Local Federation.

BUILD THE NEW WORLD

The reason I am an anarcho-syndicalist is not because of some historic legacy or romantic idea, but because the need to take libertarian practice into the working class and make the libertarian way of working natural for workers overrides all questions of political power or political purity.

We have ideas that can win, but more importantly, we have a practice which is about preparing people for the day when they are in charge. Revolution is only possible when enough people want it and are capable of making it. Workers have always been capable of running society, but if we don't want to repeat the errors of the last 70 years, we must build the shell of the new world within the frame of the old.

Martin, Deptford DAM

accessible, both in terms of location and design, and in terms of the atmosphere there. As it grows, it would become home to more and more activities and groups - claimants' unions, self-managed creches, independent workers' organisation, etc. It is the latter that ties in well with our industrial policy.

AT WORK

Our industrial strategy is not about being a rival TUC. We are not about becoming a radical insurance bureau. What anarcho-syndicalists advocate is that all decisions should be made by general assemblies of all workers in a workplace. We organise along industrial lines rather than along the divisive sectional lines like the TUC is organised. So, for example, an anarcho-syndicalist council workers' group might well contain members of Nalگو, Nupe, the GMB and the T&G.

This is in sharp contrast to the left's pressure group approach to industrial

So, if we're not all going to tear up our T&G and NALGO membership cards at the earliest opportunity, what are we going to be doing? Well, even the worst union has something to offer, often in the form of training for shop stewards, and the slim chance of strike pay. The benefits gained by the trade union movement over the last 120 years were hard fought for and we are not going to give them up. However, those benefits will only last as long as we can defend them, and the TUC doesn't look up to the job.

We are trying to build up networks of like-minded people who are committed to fighting, and who share our perspective on industrial



— WOMEN WORKERS —

At the moment it is very common to hear our bosses talking about "flexibility" and "new work patterns". Needless to say, the bosses are the ones who will benefit most from flexibility and new work patterns.

Amongst those on the receiving end of these brain-waves are the growing army of women workers in

conditions with few benefits and for crap pay in a lot of cases. In addition, the employment "rights" of part time workers have been systematically taken away by the government over the last 10 years.

Last year a Commons Committee reported in glowing terms on the increase in part time work. They took evidence from a



service industries, homeworking and various part time jobs. 73% of all homeworkers are women.

This "new" work pattern has the advantage for the bosses of isolating workers from each other to hinder collective action. It also allows the bosses to deny basic employment "rights" won by other workers like pay slips (!), maternity and sickness pay, regular work and proper contracts.

MORE PART TIMERS

Women's jobs in service industries are expanding world wide. In Britain many of these new jobs are part time. In the last 25 years there has been an increase of around 2 million part time jobs (and a fall in full time work of around the same amount). Temporary jobs have also increased. Much of this new "flexible" workforce is female.

The bosses are getting away with asking people to work irregular hours in crap

whole range of experts but from no part time workers themselves.

Part time workers often face unsocial hours, doing the work that other people don't want to do, low pay and often little training, prospects or increments for long service.

The state pays lip service to equal opportunities, but a Policy Studies Institute report reveals the toothlessness of state bodies and the real attitudes of the ruling class to women workers - only one in five employers introduced or improved equal opportunities policy after decisions went against them in sex discrimination and equal pay cases at industrial tribunals.

It is clear that the way forward for women workers does not lie in the courts and quangos, but as for other workers through collective organisation, solidarity and direct action.

REVIEWS

REVIEW: **THE SAS IN IRELAND**
by Fr Raymond Murray,
Mercier Press 1990. £16.99

Yeah, I thought twice when I saw the price too but this is a 500 page hardback and most important, a unique and indispensable reference book.

It doesn't just cover SAS operations but also numerous MI5 and MI6 actions and those of loyalists working with, or overtly or covertly under the control of those agencies. This does lead the book into the territory of incidents where the full story will never be known and also has the annoying tendency to attribute almost everything to British intelligence agents where there is a doubt.

However, the bulk of the book does chronicle the activities of the SAS, which do include setting up pseudo gangs, commanding assassination squads composed of loyalist paramilitaries, and other shadowy actions.

Perhaps the most interesting incidents are the admitted SAS actions involving solely military personnel. Murray exposes, through eyewitness testimony, SAS and forensic evidence at inquests and indirect witness evidence, much of how the SAS operate as a military unit.

The basic characteristics are: surprise, overwhelming firepower, prior intelligence and surveillance, and the use of back-up units. The last is perhaps the key to SAS successes and it is the one that has served them best when ambushed by the IRA because the IRA is rarely in the position to use them except in very carefully planned actions against known SAS targets.

Their successes do as much to shatter the "SAS Superman" myth so beloved of journalists and politicians as their casualties. The typical SAS victim is unarmed or not in a position to fire a weapon, shot without warning in order to disable, and finally riddled with bullets while disabled.

The much denied shoot-to-kill policy has always been in operation. The policy appears to be that anyone suspected to be a nationalist (not necessarily even a republican, let alone an IRA volunteer on active service) will be shot to death if caught in

compromising circumstances such as in the vicinity of an arms dump under surveillance or at the scene of an IRA operation. This book provides ample evidence that it is state policy, not paranoia. The killing of uninvolved nationalists in such incidents serves the purpose of punishing the community for resistance.

One of the things which makes the book readable, rather than a collection of endless lists of wounds and repetition of the SAS' formula to justify repeatedly shooting their victims, is the use of biographical sketches of the victims to fill in some of the social and political background to the guerilla war.

It was this feature which made the prison classics **Ten Men Dead** by David Beresford and **Out of the Maze** by Derek Dunn magic. What could otherwise have been an overlong and repetitive tome becomes a fascinating odyssey through repression and resistance.

F O'NEILL



REVIEW: **DON'T MOURN - ORGANIZE!** Songs of Joe Hill (Smithsonian/Folkways Records)

This is a compilation record of songs by and about Joe Hill, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) songwriter and organiser, executed in November 1915 by the State of Utah. It is an inspiring testament of songs and narratives to the legacy of Joe Hill.

Many of the most famous Wobbly songs are here, including "The Preacher and the Slave", "Joe Hill", "Mr Block" and "Casey Jones".

Billy Bragg's version of Phil Ochs' "Joe Hill" is surprisingly good - all 21 verses! Utah Phillips brings "Joe Hill's Last Will" to life in a live recording at a workers' folk music festival. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's narrative puts Joe Hill's murder into the context of the copper miner's strike in Utah. Hazel Dickens does an excellent updated bluegrass version of "The Rebel Girl" cutting out a lot of the dated language and references. The finale of the album is "There is Power in a Union", sung

together by Wobbly singers.

The significance of Joe Hill is that he took popular tunes and added socialist lyrics and got them sung on picket lines and wherever workers gathered to fight back. Singing together (no matter how badly it's done) creates a powerful sense of solidarity. And, as Joe Hill said himself "A pamphlet is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over."

This was powerfully illustrated last year in the IWW/Earth First organising drive in Northern California. Judi Bari and Darryl Cherny wrote a song from the workers' standpoint about a mill being shut down and for two weeks it was the most requested number on the local country music station.

The anti poll tax movement has thrown up some good songs, but music has a lot more potential as a weapon in the class war than simply for benefit gigs and endless choruses of "Ere We Go" and "We're Not Paying the Poll Tax"! Joe Hill lives and, as the song goes "From San Diego up to Maine, in every mine and every mill, where workers strike and organise, that's where you'll find Joe Hill."

Martin, Deptford DAM

REVIEW: MALATESTA'S ANARCHY

This year marks the 100th anniversary of Errico Malatesta's pamphlet **'Anarchy'**. This little work (only 54 pages) is perhaps the best introduction to anarchist ideas available.

Malatesta was active in the international anarchist movement from 1871 to his death in 1932 and was one of its most consistent and realistic activists.

In **'Anarchy'** he puts forward the basic ideas of anarchist communism on history, organisation, the state and (state) socialism. Indeed, this pamphlet expresses ideas that others use books to describe with less success.

Although marred by the use of sexist language (man to denote humanity etc.), the book is remarkably readable and has not dated in any way. It is a classic and should be on every anarchist's bookshelf (as should **'Malatesta's Life and Ideas'** the only anthology of his ideas available in English). Published by Freedom Press, at £1.50 it is a bargain.

G.D.

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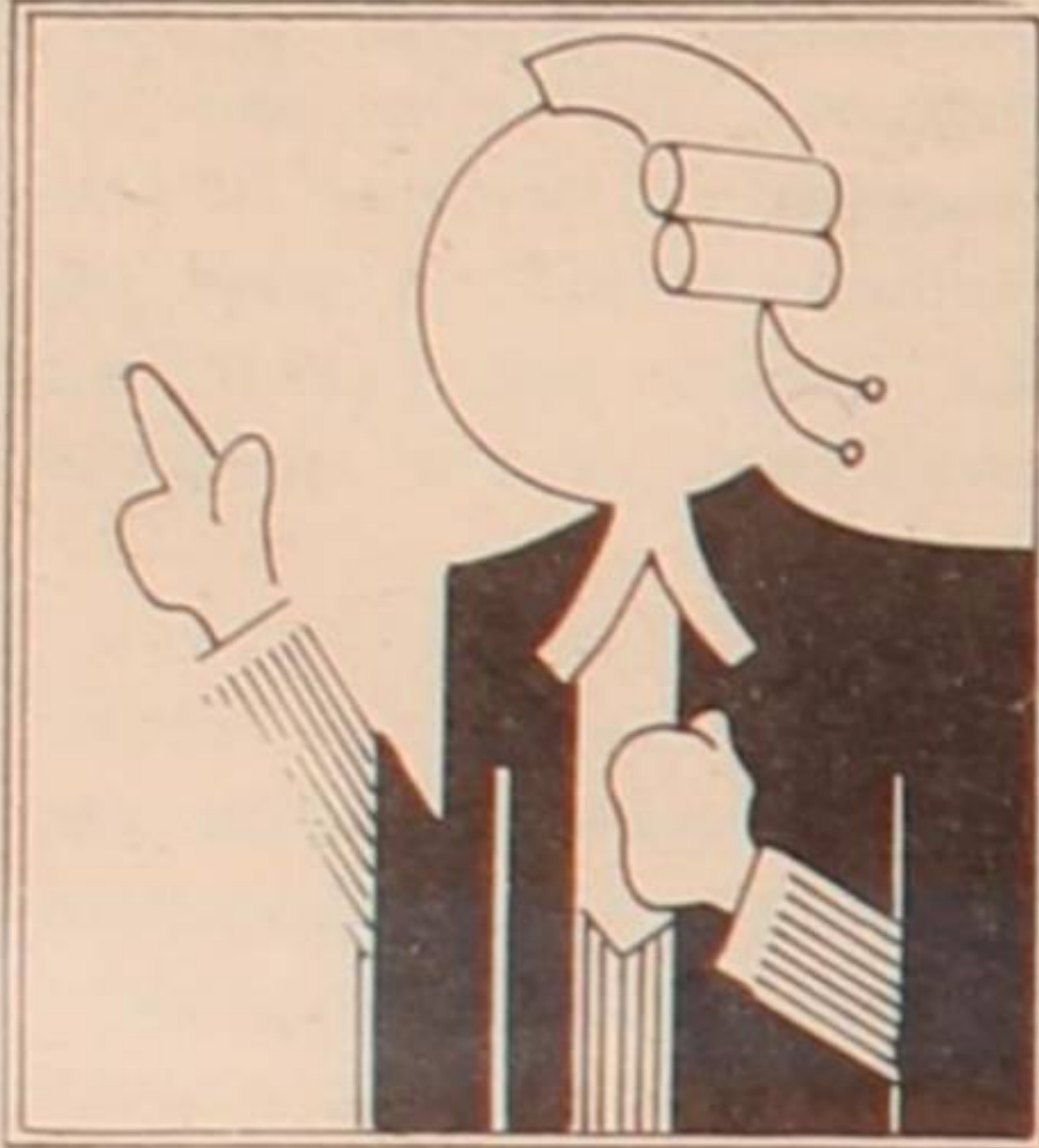
—One Law For Them—

As poll tax protesters are shown no mercy by the courts, non payers learn the nature of British justice as they are rubber-stamped through the system. Meanwhile more and more becomes known about the blatant ruling class 'justice' given to the Guilford Four, Birmingham Six and Tottenham Three.

Few better examples can be given of the class nature of British justice than the treatment given to the double chinned mob accused in the recent City fraud trials.

The Department of Trade and Industry shed mock tears at the judges' ruling that none of the rich bastards 'punished' for getting their fingers caught in the till in the Guinness Affair will be disqualified from becoming company directors after emerging from their short stay at one of Her Majesty's better guest houses.

Apparently nobody at the DTI can remember the last time a director of a public company was disqualified. The 1986 Act that has tripled the number of directors disqualified since that date is "too narrowly defined" to



disqualify Saunders and his Guinness pals. (And doubtless a whole lot of other rich gangsters?)

After all, what's a bit of theft and fraud between old public school boys? It's only if you're working class, poor, Irish or black

that you get banged up for years in some Victorian cess pit...

In addition to all the other preferential treatment it now seems that the ruling class lackeys of the judiciary are being upset by those petit-bourgeois upstarts in the media - slapping reporting restrictions on the second Guinness trial and the 'Blue Arrow' case.

Says the Independent pompously, "It is only a matter of time before one of these private judgements is so severely out of touch with general standards of fair play and justice that the new procedures for fraud trials which are generally working well, will be discredited."

Ok, so they make a few examples of some of their own...but fair play?...on yer bike guv'nor'

P, South Yorks

—Remember Kronstadt—

The Soviet Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation (KAS) is organising an international conference in Leningrad from 16th to 18th March. It will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the workers' and sailors' revolt against the Bolshevik tyranny and for the original ideals of the Russian Revolution.

That revolt was brutally crushed by troops under the command of Leon Trotsky. In the Soviet Union again, now, the Communist Party are

attempting to crush dissent by military force.

However, the bourgeois nationalism that has been the main target of the current clampdown offers only false hopes to the people of the Soviet Union. We hope that the Kronstadt Conference can help strengthen the forces of those fighting for libertarian socialism, direct workers' and community control, the ideals gunned down by Trotsky 70 years ago.

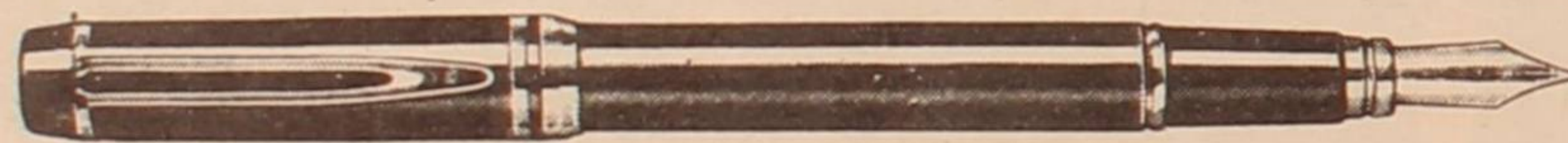
Taken For Mugs

Our contact from London Class War informs us of a recent upset to the Federation's ventures into the free market. At a recent conference in Manchester the

van containing all of Class War's collector mugs and t-shirts was broken into and the lot ripped off. Fortunately all the papers were left behind.



LETTERS



LETTERS

Dear Direct Action,

I believe your analysis of the Gulf crisis is inaccurate. This has led to your refusal to take sides; instead, you have raised the slogan "No War but the Class War".

The plague on both your houses approach is based on an assessment that there is no essential difference between Iraq and US led imperialist forces. This plays into the hands of Western propaganda which is painting a "picture of Hussein as a latter day Hitler".

Iraq is a bankrupt economy with an 80 billion dollar foreign debt and 95% of its GNP earned through export of oil to foreign economies. Your ultra-left position fails to take this into account and fails to distinguish between a victory or a defeat for Western imperialism.

A victory for the West would provide the imperialist powers with a new permanent base to continue the oppression of both the Palestinians and the Kurds through their client states. A defeat, however, would be a blow to British nationalism and force the

working class to question why young men should be slaughtered in the desert. As anarchists we understand that it is in the interests of the Iraqi working class to defeat imperialism and that Hussein will seek compromise at the first opportunity. As revolutionaries in an imperialist heartland our foremost task is to win working class support for the withdrawal of Western forces. This can be achieved by industrial action sabotaging the war machine, thus ensuring a British and American defeat.

Yours in solidarity,
Barry (AWG - London)

REPLY: The AWG calls for the defeat of the USA and Britain - this means supporting an Iraqi victory. If an Iraqi victory is the most important thing, then all methods used to attain that victory must be supported. This would include total conscription, chemical weapons, execution of deserters, dissidents and strikers. To support the total militarisation of Iraq is to support the Iraqi state against the Iraqi people.

Calling for the victory of one state over another is to

see the world in purely nationalistic terms. Those who called for victory to Argentina in the Falklands war did so because they argued it would have weakened the British state. They claimed the Conservative government would have fallen and a more beneficial government for the British working class would have been elected.

But victory to Argentina would have made the military junta stronger which would have made things a lot worse for the Argentinian working class.

Likewise, a defeated British state would have been less likely to embark on future wars. A victorious Argentina may have gone on to sort out other border disputes with its neighbours.

"No War But the Class War" is a slogan that applies to all the working people of the world. A state cannot fight a war if it is at war with its people. The best interests of the working class is for it to fight for its own interests and not for the interests of the ruling class. Never mind if some so called revolutionary intellectuals tell them one ruling class is a bit better than another one based on

a few economic figures they got from "The Financial Times" or from some absurd theory of what imperialism is.

By supporting the militarism of the Iraqi state and seeing things solely from a nationalist position, the AWG has rejected two central principles of anarchism, anti-militarism and internationalism. The AWG is not an anarchist organisation.

Dear DA,

The Direct Democracy Network will be an international project which aims to produce some practical analysis of direct democracy (its strengths and weaknesses) with a special interest in mass organisations which use rotation of delegates (eg the Spanish Dockers Coordinadora or the CGT branch at Michelin in the Basque Country.)

We would like to hear from anyone with practical experience, or who is interested in giving their criticisms of draft texts, doing translations (where possible we will work in Spanish as well as English), or in any way getting involved.

anyone interested.

Mick Parkin
39 Vesta Road
Brockley
London SE4 2NU

Dear Anarchists and Libertarians,

Your letter of 16/08/90 was received with two copies of "Direct Action". We need to express our appreciation for prompt response to solidarity appeal on NEPA 11.

Let it be known that the NEPA 11 were eventually 'pardoned' in November 1990 after two years behind bars. If not for demonstrations and solidarity actions which the anarchist and anti authoritarian movements embarked upon they would have been there still!

Comrades, our publication, "The Axe" has suspended publication because of lack of resources and money. We will, however, be sending write-ups and other things to "Direct Action".

Forward with direct action !

Yours, Asabe-A-Tanko
For the Association of
Libertarian Socialists
Ibadan, Nigeria

LETTERS

Dear DA,

Thank you for the review of TOM BROWN'S SYNDICALISM that appeared in your December issue. If any of your readers have difficulty in getting copies then they are available directly from Phoenix Press on the following terms:

£3.95 for a single copy, plus 50p postage and packing. If you buy 3 or more copies then you can have the discount given to bookshops which is 1/3 off the total price, post free. So 3 copies would cost £7.90 and if you manage to sell them at the full cover price this would raise £3.95 for group funds or whatever.

Another Phoenix Press title, ANARCHOSYNDICALISM by Rudolf Rocker, costs £2.50 and is available on the same terms.

Phoenix Press has published the 2 anarchosyndicalist titles mentioned above but

is not a specifically anarchosyndicalist press. The subscription system by which Phoenix Press raises money for its titles could be used by other organisations and I would like to see an anarchosyndicalist press set up in the same way as, but independent of, Phoenix. Would any DA readers interested in this idea please contact me c/o Phoenix.

On behalf of Phoenix Press,
Mo

Phoenix Press
PO Box 824
London N1 9DL

Deadline

♡ ♡
14 Feb

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If you support **Direct Action** and want to help it continue and prosper, one way you can show it is to take out a **SUPPORTERS SUBSCRIPTION**.

If you take out a Supporters Sub now you will receive a copy of the book, **A Year of Our Lives**, the story of the Miners Strike in a Doncaster pit village.

Send to: **DA**, PO Box 106,
Rotherham S60 1NW.

Cheques payable to **DAM**.

Our apologies to readers for the non-appearance of the January issue of **DA**. This was due to reasons beyond our control.

Congratulations to **I. (Sheffield)** and **J.S. (Burnley)**, the winners in our Christmas Crossword competition. They have received copies of 'Sabotage' by Geoff Brown.

Finally, our thanks to those readers who have sent donations in past months, and to those who have taken out Supporters' Subs. It all helps and is very gratefully received.

DAM

The Direct Action Movement was formed in 1979 by the Syndicalist Workers Federation and other groups and individuals believing in the the principles of anarchosyndicalism. 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.

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.

CONTACTS

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 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, Harrogate and Huddersfield write to NE Secretary c/o Leeds DAM

NORTHWEST REGION:

Burnley DAM, 12 Kingsland Grove, Burnley, Lancs BB11 3PY.
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 Cumbria, Lancaster, Salford and Stockport write to NW Secretary c/o Burnley 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, temporarily c/o Deptford DAM.
South London DAM, PO Box 761, Camberwell SDO, London SE5.
for contacts in Kent and Reading write to SE Region Secretary c/o North London DAM

SOUTHWEST:

Bristol DAM, c/o National Secretary.
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, c/o 489 Kingsland Rd, London E8 4AU.
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.

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DIRECT ACTION

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In solidarity with Russian Anarchists
USSR Consulate
5 Bayswater Rd. London W2
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THE WAR TO END ALL WARS

Anarchosyndicalists believe that we have nothing to gain from fighting any war but the class war. The war in the Gulf is not our fight.

The world is governed by ruling classes who thrive as parasites on the labour of the working classes, nerve gas them when they go on strike and send them off as cannon fodder when an opposing set of rulers wants to fight it out. It is their interests, not ours, that are being fought for in the Gulf - the interests of rich and powerful people who by and large will not suffer while poor and powerless people die in their thousands.

CRISIS

War is a crisis for a ruling class who has at stake its possible defeat by another ruling class. Such a crisis must involve an element of risk to both sides. Thus Thatcher's popularity was boosted by the Falklands War and Galtieri was deposed because he failed to do the same thing - win.

As always, that war was fought with the lives of working class people from Britain and Argentina. What was certain was that they would lose and the ruling class, in one form or another, would win. Even in defeat, all but the top ranks of the Argentinian ruling class were left intact.

NOT OUR WAR

We cannot gain from fighting out the war between our mutual enemies, the Iraqi and Western ruling classes. Such wars are inevitable amongst rulers because one set's interests are opposed to another. Working class people the world over have in common the fact that it is in our interest to fight off these parasites and destroy the system that will always need



More in common with Saddam Hussein than with us

us as factory and cannon fodder.

It is working class people who suffer bad housing, poor diet and inadequate social welfare. For this privilege we dedicate our lives to working long hours in jobs we hate to support a system that can never meet our needs, yet is never short of the materials to do so. A system that can only find much needed cash for hospital wards when they will be used for the war machine.

The lack of provision for our needs is a problem of management, not of resources. The world is ruled by a class of people who, like any class of people, can only act for their own benefit. The difference between us and them is that they benefit a great deal from class divisions while we can only benefit from their destruction.

We want a world managed directly by the people who produce, without any elites to replace one ruling class with another. This is the

only way that the world's resources can be managed for the benefit of all instead of for the greed of a few. And since the history of war is the history of ruling class conflicts, this is the only way we can live in a world at peace.

NO WAR BUT CLASS WAR

It is up to us to fight the ruling class in order to end the class divisions of world society. As the ruling class will not voluntarily give up their power, it is up to us to see that they lose their fight to keep it.

To wage class war we need to know how to fight. We need to know where our class enemy is weak. Their weakness is the fact that though we don't need them, they need us to do everything for them. Every shelf of every shop is stocked with things that working class people have made. The only thing left for them to make are the profits.

So it is when we are at work that their need for us is

the greatest. It is in the economy, by our role as producers, that we have them where it hurts. Neither industry nor the war machine can function without our labour. This fact is our weapon. To remove the strain of drudgery and the horror of war we must use our weapon to destroy the class system.

ORGANISE NOW

In our role as producers we have strength as a class, not just as isolated individuals. To harness and use this strength we must organise as a class. We must build mass working class organisations through which we can fight and win our daily struggles with the bosses.

We need organisations whose members know that each small struggle is part of the wider class struggle. Organisations which exist to coordinate our fight against the ruling class's control and organise the immediate needs of production and distribution once this control is smashed. One from

which no elites will emerge as new rulers because no elites will be tolerated. In short, we must now be building the new world in the shell of the old.

The Direct Action Movement is helping to launch anarchosyndicalist industrial networks. These are organisations for workers which can grow to become the mass fighting organisations we need to be effective. But there are no short cuts to building these and meanwhile we are left with a war on our hands.

As has been said, this is a crisis in which the ruling class must take risks. It is a calculated risk for them to call up reservists, preparing the way for mass conscription, especially now in the light of working class resistance to the poll tax. Only a similar scale of resistance to conscription will save our lives when they order us to go.

Working class people can only organise against this war directly by organising ourselves. All our usual self appointed leaders in political parties and the unions will lead us straight to our deaths. Even so-called revolutionary parties, wanting to be a new set of bosses, cannot see that the soldiers dying on both sides are working class. None have anything to offer that we could possibly need.

If we are to have a mass anti war movement now, or a revolutionary union in the future, then these must be built by ourselves, for ourselves. Only as a class can we change an obvious desire to defend ourselves into a will to go on to the class offensive. Until we have done that we will face this situation time and again. For an end to all war, we must win the class war.