

DIRECT ACTION

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CLASS WAR



THE WAR TO END ALL WARS

Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association

No war but the class war

No War But the Class War was set up in September and is made up of members of Hackney Solidarity Group, the Anarchist Communist Federation, Class War, Wildcat, the DAM and various class struggle anarchists and anti state communists.

They hold meetings in London and are keen to see other similar groups set up in other parts of the country. They will provide leaflets and their bulletin (send an SAE and a donation) and are also willing to send speakers to help people set up their groups.

Comrades are encouraged to send news of actions, leaflets and press cuttings to them for inclusion in their bulletin.

No War But the Class War's principles are:

1) NWBTCW is an organisation opposed to all sides in the current capitalist war in the Middle East. This conflict is a battle between alliances of blood-stained capitalist mass murderers for profit, power and influence. Democratic or military, Zionist or Islamic, all states involved in the current conflict, whatever their relative military strengths, are equally anti working class.

2) We are for the destruction of the morale and military capacity of all warring states by the escalation of the war of our class - the proletariat, the workers and dispossessed of

all countries - against the enemy class - the rich, the politicians and generals - on all fronts, including the home front.



3) We are for an immediate end to the war, to be forced on the opposing states by mass strikes and other forms of working class action.

4) We are for united international action against the war, on a class basis, and not on the basis of pacifism, or on calls for the capitalists to stop being butchers. We do not plead with the gangsters of Westminster, Washington and Baghdad - we make it clear that they will not stop until we force them to stop.

5) We support working class action against austerity measures, health and welfare cuts, internment and repression in general resulting from the war effort.

6) We are against organisations who spread illusions of the ability of capitalism to solve the problems of the Middle East, who promote sanctions instead of war, since sanctions are simply another way of pursuing the war aims of the Western alliance, a way of starving workers to soften them up or those who support the West's nationalist opponents in the Middle East on the basis of "anti imperialism". We are against those who simply call for peace without taking the side of the proletariat in the class war. When capitalism achieves peace, it uses it to attack the working class. We are against the Labour Party and its equivalents in other countries, as a capitalist party which has supported every war since its foundation and against all who support it in any way.

7) We will work with other groupings and individuals to the extent that they oppose all sides in the war on a class basis, and that they are not simply trying to use our group as a "front" for their own specific politics. We may also work with genuine opponents of the war who do not support either side in any way, but who

disagree with other aspects of our politics. In any case, we shall defend prisoners taken hostage as a result of the war.

8) We are for the destruction of the international dictatorship of capitalism by the working class, and its replacement by an association of producers, a world without states, frontiers and wage slavery, a world where war is impossible.

BASIS

NWBTCW is a propaganda group. Its activities are in the public domain. Its activities include producing propaganda attacking the capitalist war effort, participating in demonstrations to attempt to radicalise them where practical, and to use them to defend our class opposition to war where not exposing media disinformation and denouncing the war for what it is - a holocaust for profit.

IN ENGLISH OR ARABIC, OUR MESSAGE IS THE SAME:

الطبقة العاملة ليست
لها وطن

THE WORKING CLASS HAS NO COUNTRY

NO WAR BUT THE CLASS WAR
BM 8884
London WC1N 3EX

Just Say No



One of the effects of the anti-militarist movement was Gulf War has been to give a not prepared to allow the boost to the movement of State to hold prisoner those those refusing compulsory like David who prefer to military service in several fight for their class rather European countries. In than their country. Spain, the anti-militarist movement is in a The Military Judge in particularly strong position Zaragoza was deluged with given the already growing protest letters and the size of that movement.

An indication of that times during the week! At strength came at the end of the end of that week the last year, when David Marin unprecedented decision was Lecina was arrested at taken to release David his place of work. The Marin, a clear victory for police made out to his the CNT and the anti-workmates that it was militarist struggle. something to do with drugs, but the reality was that the **Solidaridad Obrera** State was seizing David due commented: "He was to his refusal to serve in imprisoned because every the Spanish Army. time more people say NO to the army they are saying NO

David, a member of the to submission. Governments Barcelona Mercantile Union are established on of the National submission, and this Confederation of Labour movement could destabilise a (CNT), Spanish section of society created and the IWA, spent a week in the maintained by fear of the Modelo Prison, Barcelona. powers that be".

During this time every David Marin's release, then, pressure was put on the is an important victory, and Military Authorities, to let inspiration to all of us them know that the mass fighting militarism and anarcho-syndicalist and State power.

Class Consciousness

Watching interviews on television with troops and officers in the Gulf really does reveal how the British Army reflects the class divisions of British society.

When the squaddies are interviewed they always reply in awkward working class accents how "nobody enjoys war, but we're here to do a job" or some other such inanity. They don't know what the fuck they're doing there, or don't care. It's enough that someone has wound them up and pointed them in the right direction...

Next come the fighter/bomber crews. Interviewed after returning from a sortie the excitement is visible on their faces. And they always seem to be the same clean-cut middle class types. The kind that'll shed tears over a cormorant floundering in an oil slick but will quite

happily justify "collateral damage" to themselves.

Lastly there's the higher officer ranks. As soon as some Major or General opens their mouth you hear centuries of privilege in the upper class accent that's prognosticating about how the war's going jolly well and when the "big push" (slaughter) will start. The British Army numero uno in the Gulf is a certain De La Billiere, who can no doubt trace his family roots back to the Norman conquest.

The US Army of course, like US society, has much less clear class divisions. In the "home of the brave and land of the free" the only entrance requirement for the ruling class is that you're a bastard and it's not necessary that you went to the right school.

That's not to say that the US Army is classless or

course. US blacks form about 11% of the population, but during the Viet Nam War they provided about 40% of the cannon-fodder. And Vice President Dan Quayle, whose wealthy family was able to pull strings so that he saw out that war safely in the National Guard, is now involved in sending another generation of the poor to die for someone else's privilege.

The old revolutionaries used to say that a rifle was a piece of metal with a worker at both ends. The technology's moved on a bit, but nothing's really changed. The dynamics of capitalism still lead to war in 1991, just as they did in 1914 and 1939, not to mention that squalid, little affair in 1982. And like the revolutionaries of old, our message should be that it's time the guns were turned on the real enemy.

Penny Taglia

The Smokescreen of Patriotism

"War is the health of the state", wrote Randolph Bourne. This is quite a profound statement. The state has always been the executive committee of the ruling class and its function is therefore to protect the interests of that class. This pertains no matter what political party is at the helm.

At home, the state machine is used against striking workers in pursuit of a better standard of living for themselves and families should the police prove to be inadequate.

LABOUR FAKIRS

When the Labour fakirs took the reins of government in 1945, within six days it sent conscript troops into Surrey Docks in London to break a ten week old strike against a wage cut.

Three months later a national dock dispute brought more than 43,000 militant portworkers out on strike. In both these cases as with many others, the workers left their battle stations - their places of work. The Labour government took advantage by again sending conscript troops to break the strike.

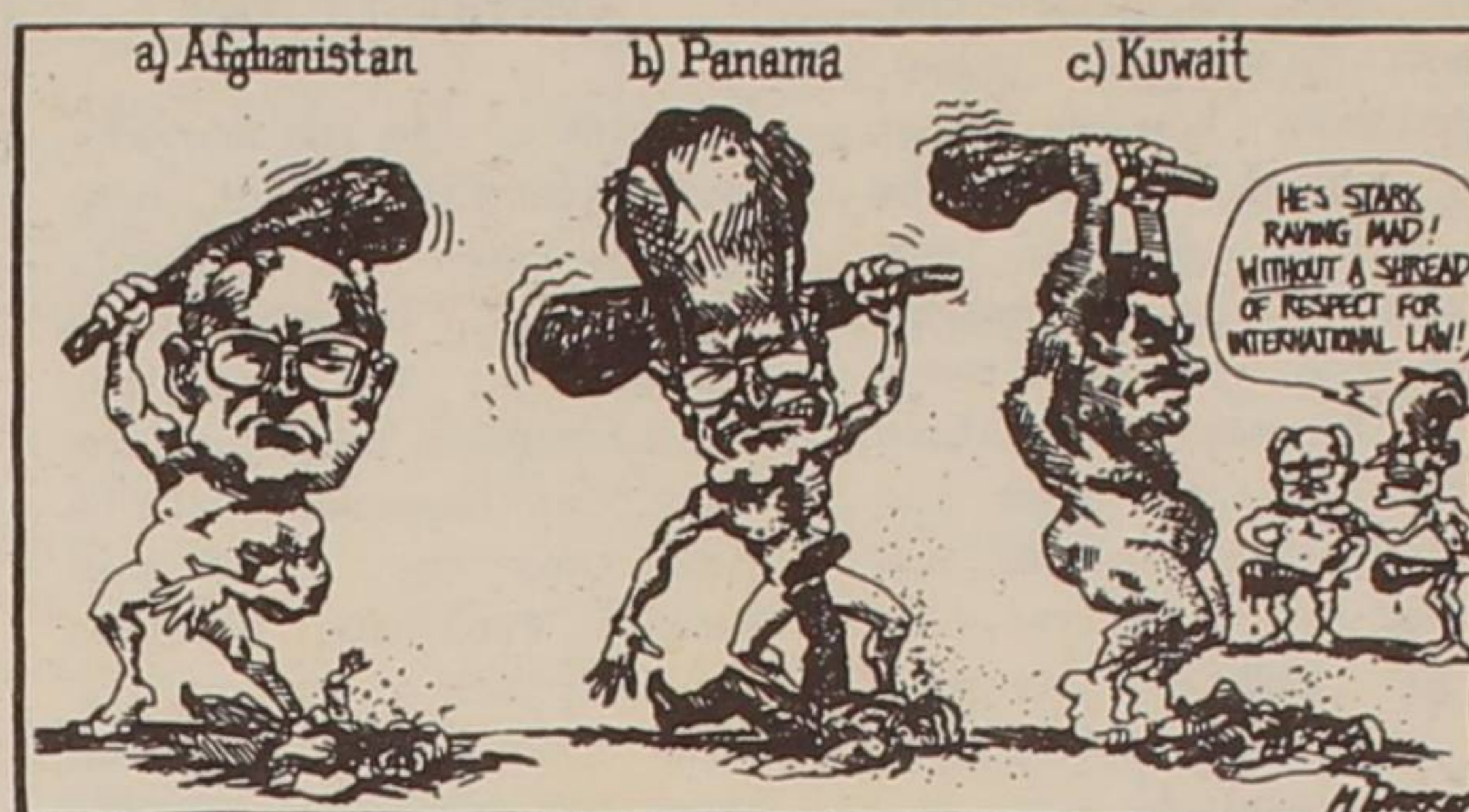
A fair percentage of workers now realise that the point of production is their fortress. There will always be a vertical war between the haves and the have nots so long as the working class is "legally robbed" by the captains of industry.

The horizontal war is war between so called nations. When diplomacy fails to solve economic problems, war ensues and is the continuation of the pursuit of markets, trade routes and strategic geographical points by military means which diplomacy and political shadow boxing was all about.

SMOKE SCREEN

It's only eight years since the Falklands War. How patriotism created such a smoke screen then is symbolic of all that happens during every war.

Then, the smoke screen of patriotism was applied on both sides. Argentina invaded the Falklands in condemnation of British Imperialism. British sailors with their redundancy notices in their pockets trying not to look redundant whilst the flag waving was



going on were perhaps consoling themselves with the idea that they were being put to good use. Yes, the British government made sure of that.

On the other hand, the Argentinians were again demonstrating but this time not against oppression, poverty and unemployment. No! They were chanting in support of Galtieri, their great dictator. Once again the patriotic plague had permeated the masses. Who won the war? The working class lost it.

Now the present war in the Gulf is being fought and the allies condemning Saddam Hussein as a tyrant is to use yet another smoke screen to befog the minds of working people.

The working class have no ownership or control over oil in this country or any other country. This is the department of the tycoons. Our loved ones are fighting and dying for this department. Many troops are aware of this and only joined the army through frustration caused by unemployment.

WORLD PEACE?

Ostensibly, the allies are engaged to protect Kuwait. Significantly, they did not interfere in the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor in 1975. They did not utter a word about Goa in 1961 when India stepped on their doorstep. Nothing said about world peace being threatened.

But Kuwait is different. It is situated in the heart of important oil fields. Kuwait was made a British Protectorate at the end of the last century, but not for its oil which no one knew about then, but for its geographical importance. This happened during the same time that Germany was becoming a serious imperialist rival. Germany was planning to construct a railway through Turkey to the Persian Gulf. If this was completed it would have

been a rival to the British controlled Suez Canal as a trade route. Kuwait would have been embraced by this but British imperialism put a spoke in this wheel to thwart Germany.

In time, oil was discovered near Kuwait, in Persia. Britain acquired control of the Persian oilfields and Kuwait remained a British Protectorate.

TREACHEROUSLY SEVERED

In the present dispute, Iraq claims that historically

Kuwait is part of Iraq and has been treacherously severed by Britain. Because of this, Iraq is obstructed from an outlet to the Gulf for its oil exports and hence the reasons for the Kuwait invasion. Saddam Hussein insists he is pursuing historical and geographical justice.

The allies claim they are pursuing humanitarian rights and opposing a dictator, conveniently forgetting that they bolstered up the same dictator during his eight year war with Iran. Iran at the time was a threat to Western oil interests. Iraq was not equipped to produce war potential and so their war potential, including chemical weapons, were supplied by the present allies.

The US want a permanent military presence in the Gulf for oil control. What is catastrophic is that the working class have been

conned into sacrificing their lives for oil they will never see.

Governments have engineered wars which are reputed to end all wars. They have failed for the cause of war is the pursuit of world markets. Wars will only end when a world market economy ends. Politics is not designed for this.

To end crime, judges would become redundant. To end the market economy would make politicians redundant. Let's make this inevitable by organising a "Do It Yourself" movement now. Organise yourselves in an anti military and anti profit making movement to eradicate these monstrous twins. They are organised. To match them we have to be organised now. Form the embryo of a new society within the womb of the old.

R Lynn, Glasgow

Business as Usual

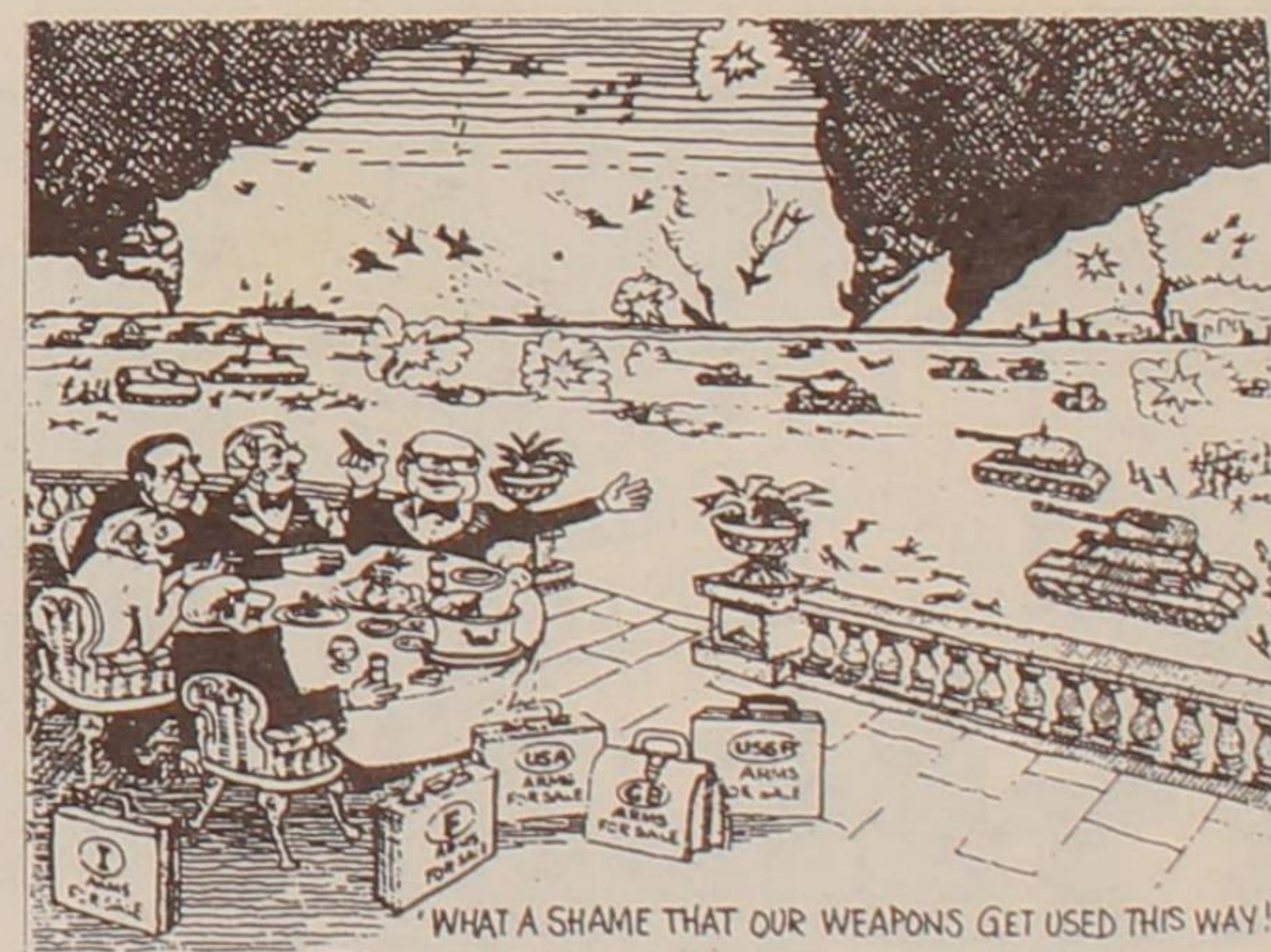
It's amusing to hear apologists for the Gulf War site Saddam Hussein's military machine and the need to neutralise it as a justification for this imperialist venture.

As everyone should know by now, that military machine was supplied and trained by the USSR and the West, including Britain. When the Iran-Iraq war started the West supported Iraq because at the time Iran was seen as the big threat to Western interests. When the USS Stark was "accidentally" crippled by an Iraqi exocet missile in 1988 the US government quietly buried the 37 sailors killed in the attack.

TRADE IN DEATH

At the same time the rich Gulf arab rulers, including the Emir of Kuwait, were bank-rolling Saddam Hussein because he was keeping Ayatollah Khomeini busy for them. Ah, how the times change! (Or do they?)

Towards the end of the Iran-Iraq war the West was supposed to have stopped furnishing arms for the slaughter and there was an international ban on weapons sales to Iran and Iraq. Needless to say Western arms companies ignored the ban and continued the trade in death. Unlike Western



governments, though, the arms companies showed no favouritism... they supplied both sides!

We can do no better than quote from the article "Unholy War" in *Direct Action* number 38 (April 1987):

"From the offices of the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC), appropriately enough opposite the Department of Trade and Industry, the Iranian government buys small arms, howitzer shells and missiles. They also buy Chieftain tank spares and other equipment from companies like Plessey and Land Rover, in spite of the supposed government ban.

When asked why the NIOC was allowed to operate, Thatcher said that closing it would

'lose business for British firms'. Money doesn't talk, it swears, as someone once said.

The arms going to stoke up the Gulf War is just one instance of the disgusting international trade in death and destruction involving multinationals and governments. Remember that next time you hear some politician sermonise on 'international terrorism'.

A ship skipper interviewed on 'News At One' described picking up US arms in Portugal, Spanish arms in Valencia and hand grenades in Greece. He unloaded some of them onto Iraqi army trucks in Saudi Arabia...then he went on to unload the rest on Iran. Now that's what I call international capitalism!"

ALTOGETHER NOW?

Twenty people were arrested for occupying the treasurer's office in Northampton on 1 October 1990 in protest at the council's threat to imprison a 74 year old man for non payment.

The Nottingham defendant is Gary Freeman, secretary of the Nottingham Anti Poll Tax Federation. The Nottingham Defence Fund offered him our support but this offer has been ignored.

It is ironic that after a

year of opposition to the NDF by the NAPTF, the same people are now supporting a petition and appeal to raise £6000 for the defendants by the Northampton 20 Legal Defence Fund and the All Britain Anti Poll Tax Federation.

It's a shame that support is only forthcoming for defendants now that one of their own is involved (ie a member of Militant).

We wish the Northampton 20 every success with their

case, and we know that lawyers do not come cheap. We believe, however, that money raised for defendants in Notts should be distributed fairly amongst all of them, not just those with influence in Militant or the SWP, but also the majority of us who have had to fend for ourselves. We are **all** fighting the poll tax and we **all** need financial support.

The state has decided to hammer anti poll tax defendants as hard as it

STRUGGLE ON

In spite of the indifference and misinformation put about by the likes of Militant, independent Defence Funds struggle on. The Trafalgar Square Defence Campaign, the Avon and Somerset Defence Fund and the Birmingham Defence Fund have received the same lack of support for their defendants that we have, not to mention threats to grass up "trouble makers" to the police.

People facing charges for

BEATING BAILIFFS

Most people are afraid of bailiffs. Yet in reality there are very few of them and their powers are limited.

In Scotland anti poll tax activists have been massively successful in stopping **every** attempt at seizing non payers' property. Each time they have tried to enter a house to take possession of goods there has been a crowd of people outside to make sure they don't get in. There are

So our first line of defence is to shut them out. If they do get in, remember they can only take goods that belong to you personally. So if you've got a receipt that says you've sold your TV to your gran, they can't touch it. And once you've told them that nothing in the house belongs to you, you are legally allowed to use 'reasonable force' to kick them out.

For more advice, get in touch with your local anti



more non payers in Scotland this year than last!

poll tax group.

STICK TOGETHER

To beat the bailiffs we need to stand firm. To support those on our streets or estate who are threatened and to spread this information as widely as possible.

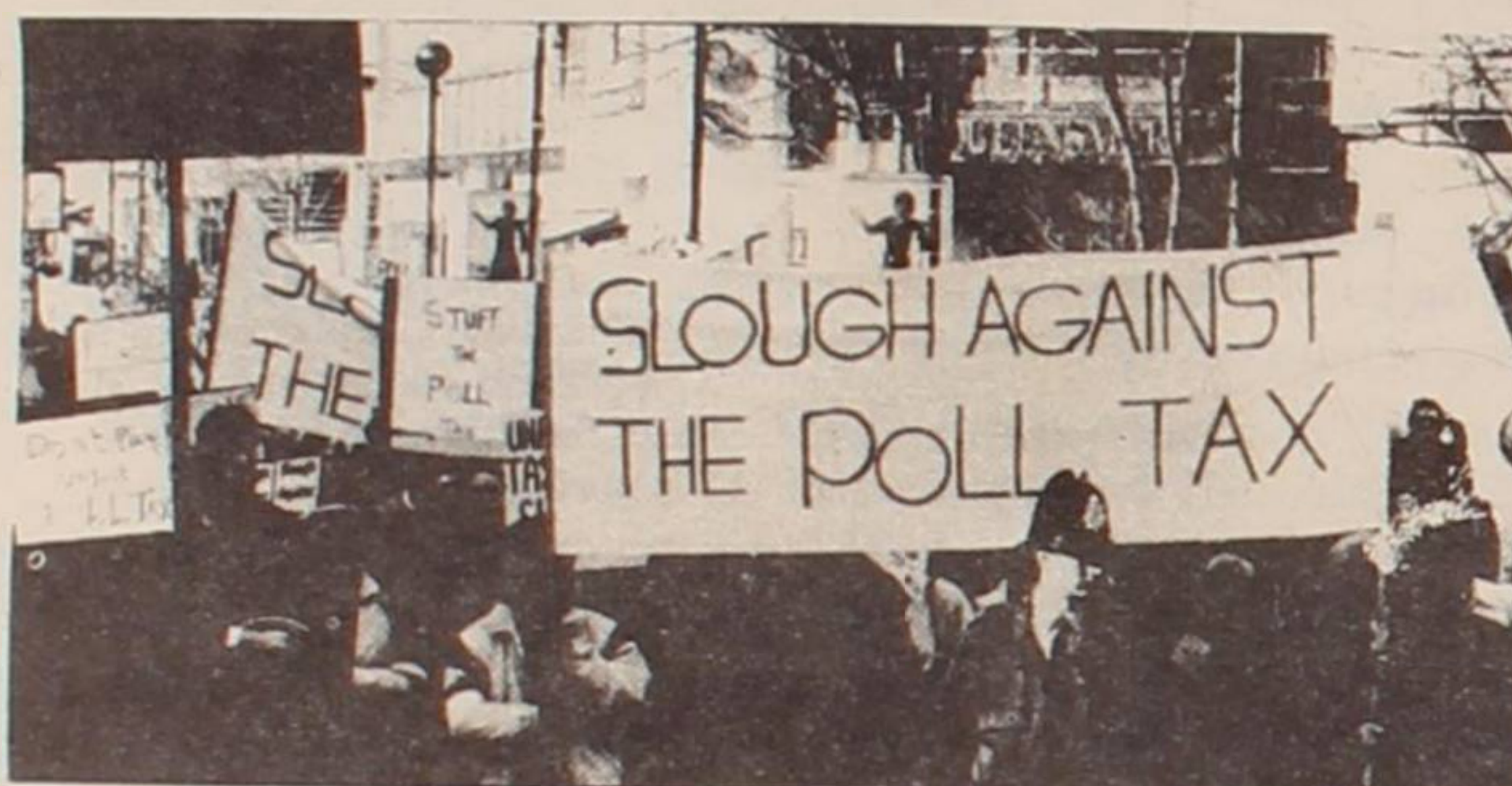
DECEPTION

By law, bailiffs can **not** enter your home without your consent. However, they or a council representative may try to enter by deception, asking to come in so they can chat about your problems in paying the tax. Once they've entered, they can legally come in again at any time.

Our best defence is sticking together. This means stopping the bailiffs before they even get anywhere near a front door.

For example, Bishop Lydeard, a village near Taunton, was threatened by Roaches, the local bailiffs, in August. Half the village threatened to take the day off. All the roads into the area were sealed off by the community. They then made all drivers identify themselves. The Bailiffs never got anywhere near the village!

Leeds DM/Leeds Class War



can, and this is likely to continue in 1991. It is vital that people can take action and demonstrate knowing they will be supported by the whole anti poll tax movement.

The All British Anti Poll Tax Federation, as well as the Nottingham Federation, has made it clear that they are happy to see genuine, militant resistance to the poll tax criminalised. They are afraid of working class initiatives outside of their control.

fighting the poll tax must be supported against the state just like people not paying it. We offer our unconditional support to them and whatever help we can with legal costs, fines, etc.

We desperately need your donations. Please send cheques payable to:

NDF
Box DF
72 Radford Road
Byson Green
Nottingham

Support Our Boys

Since the state takes a dim view of people who oppose its "plausibly deniable" agents the nazis, a number of anti fascists have been arrested recently, and three are currently in prison in relation to an attack on nazi firebomber Nicky Crane. They are:

Tony David (birthday 13 April), NT 1338, doing 4 years. Currently at HMP Blunderstone, Lowescroft, Suffolk.

David Phelan (b. 28 January), NT 1337, doing 4 years at HMP Bisley, Woking, Surrey GU24 9EX.

Mark Malin (b. 7 December), NT 1335, doing 4 years at HMP The Verne, Portland, Dorset DT5 1BQ.

It is important that all DA

readers make an effort to send cards on the birthdays listed at at other times such as May Day. Anyone prepared for a more long term commitment to supporting these prisoners should write to them. Groups may like to adopt one or more prisoners.

Donations are also needed for the Anti Fascist Defence Fund at

AFA
PM 1734
London WC1N 3XX



Last 8 December 1000 anti fascists stopped the British National Party (BNP) from holding a rally in a city centre pub in Glasgow. They had to be rescued by police, but not before their heads felt a few bricks, bottles and placards. 27 anti fascists were arrested.

A week of trials and court pickets will begin on 18 March. On 25 March there will be a joint picket with anti poll tax protestors who are on trial after being arrested during an occupation of a sheriff-officer's office.

Donations toward legal costs are badly needed.

Anti Fascist Defence Fund
c/o West of Scotland NUS
90 John Street
Glasgow

Bailiffs Gone Bust

High levels of non payment in England and Wales have caused two private firms to pull out of poll tax collection services.

Western Union, which provided councils with collecting tills, ceased trading in the autumn. The following month Banking Automation withdrew its service to around 50 councils with less than a week's notice, blaming disappointing collection rates.



Revolting Students

Most Scots students haven't paid last year's Poll Tax. An NUS survey revealed that over 54% have not paid the instalments for 1989/90 and only 15.4% have paid some.

The survey uncovered that the level of non-payment is increasing, with over 65% failing to pay this year's. When it comes to the Poll Tax students are definitely revolting!

Funding the Financial Farce

Banks and banking have always been one of the central pillars of the capitalist system. They are a vital source of funding for investment. They facilitate the transfer of capital between various firms, institutions, departments etc. They make huge sums of money for themselves out of managing the money of ordinary people.

Perhaps their most important role is in maintaining currency stability and the power of money, that lynchpin in the system of domination and exploitation.

ELITES

Just as national banks serve the interests of capitalism and the ruling class at home, so the World Bank was formed to serve the interests of capitalism and the elites of the industrialised nations on a world scale.

The Bank's money comes from its 151 member countries in proportion to their wealth. The US is the largest contributor and Japan the second. Countries have votes on the Executive Committee in proportion to their contributions - thus giving the advanced industrial nations a built-in control over policy.

Formed in 1946 (along with GATT, the General Agreement



on Tariffs and Trade and also the IMF, the International Monetary Fund) the Bank has three major objectives:

- 1) To control the periodic crisis of capitalism such as recession and currency fluctuations.
- 2) The promotion of industrial growth in the so-called "underdeveloped" nations.
- 3) The expansion of markets.

The World Bank has become one of the most powerful organisations in the world - feathering its own nest while it, and the system it

exists to defend, imposes poverty, oppression, displacement and ecological destruction world wide.

LARGEST BUREAUCRACY

Based in Washington (surprise, surprise) it has 7,000 employees which makes it the largest bureaucracy in that city other than the Federal government. It is reported to pay the largest salaries in the world - up to three times as much as the US government pays for comparable jobs. When its employees visit client states they stay in the local Hilton and are chauffeur driven to and from their meetings with the local elite thus keeping them from seeing or being seen by the victims of their policies.

Central to the ideology of the World Bank is industrialisation. The well being of people, never mind wildlife and natural ecosystems, is hardly considered. The object of World Bank policy is to maintain the local elites and provide them with huge profits whilst enforcing the dominant Western form of Development on the rest of the population.

To this end they provide huge sums of money for projects such as mines, hydro-electric schemes and industrial scale forestry. None of these schemes do anything at all to end the poverty endured by so many in the so-called "Third World".

Some examples:

In 1980 the Bank loaned \$304 million to Brazil to build

an iron ore mine at Carajas, an 890 kilometre railway to transport the ore and a deep-water port at Ponte de Madeira. The Carajas Iron Ore Project threatens the lives of 10,000 native people and may devastate an area of the Eastern Amazon the size of France and Germany combined.

In 1985 the Bank loaned \$156 million to Indonesia for the Kedung Ombo Dam in central Java. More than 25,000 people in 37 villages were to be displaced as a result of the flooding. When the effected families refused to accept compensation offers the military moved in. Protesting locals were arrested and jailed as "communist subversives". The Government expropriated the land but more than 1,500 families held out as the waters rose, clinging to their homes from boats.

In the early 1980s the Bank loaned India nearly \$200 million for "social forestry" but then ran into stiff opposition from the rural poor and landless. Villagers were not allowed onto common land after the forestry department planted eucalyptus plantations on them. In Karnataka state small farmers pulled up tree seedlings in exasperation claiming the eucalyptus would mainly benefit lumber interests. In addition, the fast growing trees were planted in semi arid areas where they made conditions worse by draining water tables and further exhausting already marginal soils.

The World Bank has provided \$450 million for the Indian Government to press ahead with a massive dam project in the Narmada River Valley. The project will drown over 40 square kilometres of forest and drive out 90,000 people, mostly tribal villagers.

It is estimated that as of 1989 1.5 million people were being displaced by World Bank funded projects.

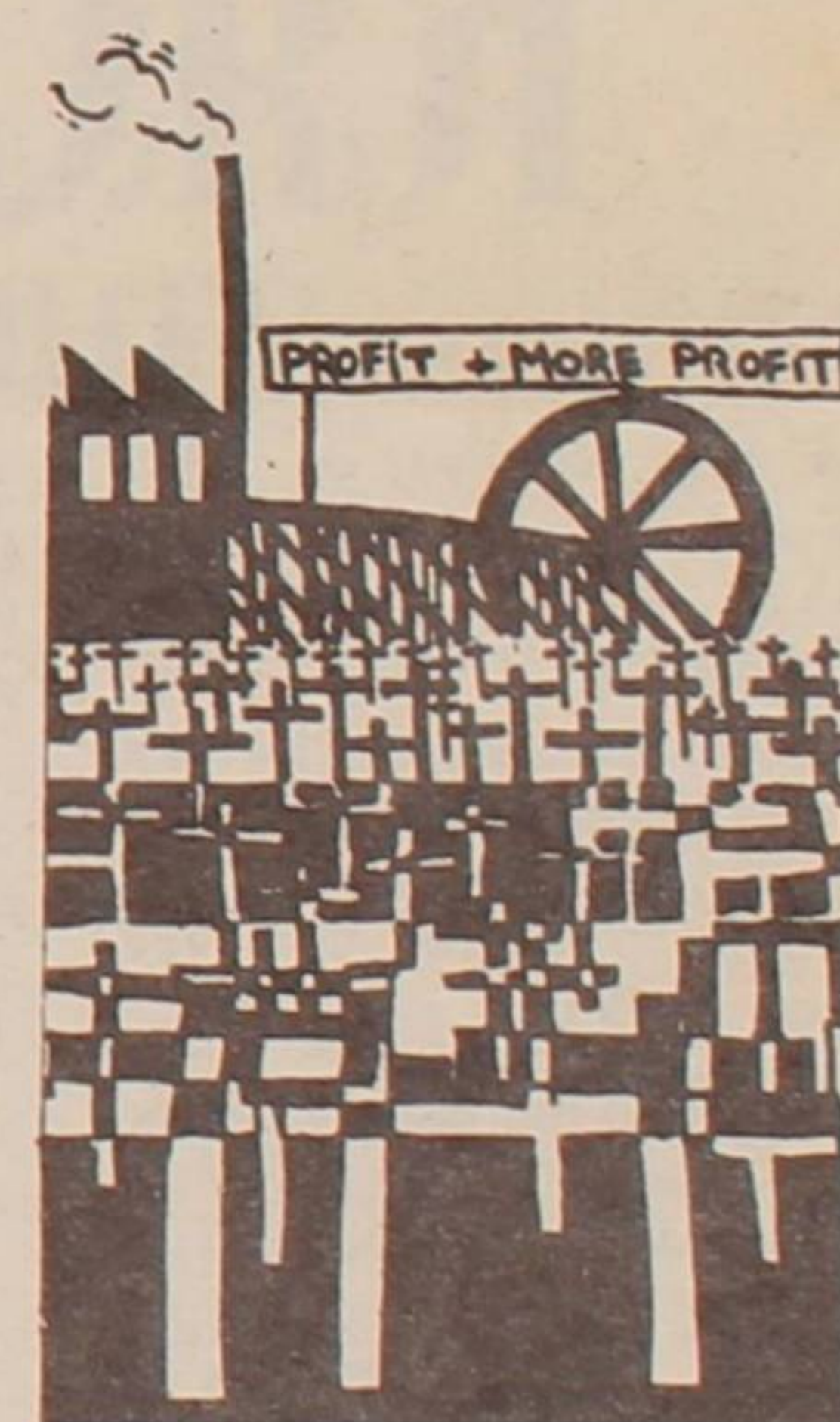
SPIRALLING INTEREST RATES

As a result of international banking policy in which the World Bank played a major role, countries of the "Third World" are in massive debt and face spiraling interest rates on repayment. In fact in 1989 \$52 million more was paid to banks in loan repayments than was received in the form of new

loans and "aid".

We are talking here about deals made between the local elites and the international banking system - much of the money that was loaned went straight into government pockets or was spent on armaments. Little if any of it benefitted ordinary people.

But as interest loans rose it was the poor who were made to pay. The World Bank and IMF made further loans (including loans to cover interest on previous loans) dependant on the introduction of monetarist policies (cut internal demand, slash public expenditure, boost exports and open borders to international capital) which inevitably led to increasing poverty and repression. UNICEF estimate that in 1988 half a million children died as a result of debt-induced austerity measures.



It is quite possible that the majority of people in this country have never heard of the World Bank. Yet it is a vital part of both the post WW II settlement and the emerging "New World Order".

When we hear of and see the miserable poverty which so many people on this planet are forced to live in, when we hear of and see the increasing destruction and pollution of the natural world and the extermination of other species, we are supposed to feel sorrow and pity. Maybe give something to charity.

But what we really need to feel is anger - anger at the enforced nightmare which is capitalism and at the rich filth who skulk in the shadows conspiring its continuation

From "Poison Pen"

Effluent Tendency

Which country is Western Europe's largest exporter of sulphur dioxide pollution, its largest manufacturer and exporter of ozone destroying CFCs, has more outstanding charges against it in the European court on water and air pollution than any other EC member, is Europe's largest importer of nuclear waste and second largest importer of toxic industrial wastes? Yes, you guessed it - this green and pleasant land.

Meanwhile... Greenpeace recently revealed that Labour Party Front bench and rabid right winger Jack Cunningham MP is a paid policy advisor to Messrs Albright and Wilson.

In a newspaper advertisement Will Kneel Kinnock be Greenpeace advised Mr launching an enquiry into Cunningham that they were this effluent tendency in launching a prosecution the midst of the Party of against this firm for the Sweet Smelling Rose? We pollution of the Irish Sea don't think so!

DANGER!



Capitalism at Work!

with lead, nickel, cadmium copper, zinc and chromium.



THE PROGRAMME

This was adopted on 28th February 1921 by the sailors of the Battleship **Petropavlosk**, and was subsequently accepted by all the sailors, soldiers and workers of Kronstadt.

"After having heard the representatives delegated by the general meeting of ships' crew to report on the situation in Petrograd this assembly takes the following decisions:

1. Seeing that the present Soviets do not express the wishes of the workers and peasants, to organise immediately re-elections to the Soviets with secret vote and with care to organise free electoral propaganda for all workers and peasants.

2. To grant liberty of speech and press to the workers and peasants, to the anarchists and the Left Socialist parties.

3. To secure freedom of assembly for labour unions and peasant organisations.

4. To call a non-partisan Conference of the workers, Red Army soldiers and sailors of Petrograd, Kronstadt, and of Petrograd province no later than March 10th 1921.

5. To liberate all political prisoners of Socialist parties as well as all workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors imprisoned in connection with labour and peasant movements.

6. To elect a Commission to review the cases of those held in prisons and concentration camps.

7. To abolish all "politodeli" [political sections of the Communist Party existing in the majority of State institutions - a demand raised in the 1990 Eastern European revolts] because no party should be given special privileges in the propagation of its ideas or receive financial support from the government for such purposes. Instead there should be established educational and cultural commissions, locally elected and financed by the Government.

8. To abolish immediately all "Zagryaditelniye otryadi". [Police detachments officially created to struggle against speculation, but which actually would confiscate everything that the starving population, the workers included, brought from the country for their personal consumption].

9. To equalise the rations of all who work, with the exception of those engaged in trades detrimental to health.

10. To abolish the Communist Fighting detachments in all branches of the army as well as the Communist Guards kept on duty in mills and factories. Should such guards be found necessary, they are to be appointed in the army from the ranks, and in the factories according to the judgement of the workers.

11. To give the peasants full freedom of action in regard to their land and also their right to keep cattle on condition that the peasants manage with their own means; that is, without employing hired labour.

12. To request all branches of the Army, as well as our comrades in the military Kursanti (Cadet Officers), to concur in our resolutions.

13. To demand that the press give the fullest publicity to our resolutions.

14. To appoint a travelling commission of control.

15. To permit free, artisan production which does not employ hired labour.

KRONSTADT CRONOLOGY

23rd February 1921. Strike breaks out at Troubotchny Factory, Petrograd.

24th Feb. Zinoviev sends officer cadets against demonstration of starving workers.

Petrograd 'Committee of Defence' set up by Bolsheviks.

25-28th Feb. More and more factories stop work in Petrograd.

28th Feb. Huge Putilov factory stops work.

Delegates from Kronstadt sent to Petrograd on fact-finding mission on 26th Feb, return and report to Kronstadt sailors. Crew of **Petropavlosk** pass 'Kronstadt Programme' motion.

1st March. Mass meeting in Kronstadt of sailors, garrison and citizens. Kalinin, Kuzmin and Vassiliev (Chair of All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Kronstadt Commander, and Chair of Kronstadt Soviet respectively) speak against the Petropavlosk motion. The motion is carried.

2nd March. Delegate meeting of Kronstadt Soviet. Three representatives of Bolshevik power denounce new delegates and their programme and issue threats. Placed in custody for their own safety. Assembly forms Provisional Revolutionary Committee of rank and file sailors and workers to counter Bolshevik threats. Delegation sent to see Lenin.

3rd March. Moscow Radio denounces Kronstadt events as a White Guardist plot led by General Kozlovsky.

4th March. Petrograd Soviet meets and is addressed by Zinoviev and Kalinin, fresh from Kronstadt. Denounces Kronstadt's moves and orders them to surrender on pain of extermination. A minority of the Soviet protests.

5th March. Petrograd Defence Committee issues ultimatum to Kronstadt: "If you persist we will shoot you down like partridges". Berkman, Goldman, Perkus and Petrovsky write to Zinoviev pleading for restraint.

5-7th March. Strikes in Petrograd continue. Strikers express sympathy with Kronstadt sailors.

Repression, lies and sackings confuse and disorient workers.

6th March. Trotsky demands that Kronstadt garrison surrender.

7-8th March. Bombardment of Kronstadt begins. Attack across the ice by Red Army troops with guns at their rear fails.

12-13th March. Communists attack from South in white shrouds, sacrificing many hundreds of officer cadets.

16th March. Kronstadt attacked from North East and South at once.

17th March. Several forts taken and Bolsheviks break into city, slaughtering men, women and children. Orgy of revenge aided by Bolsheviks who had remained unharmed within Kronstadt, pointing out rebels for execution.

18th March. Bolshevik Govt. and Communist Party commemorate Paris Commune of 1871, drowned in blood by Gallifet and Thiers, just as Trotsky, Lenin and Zinoviev slaughtered the Kronstadt workers, sailors and peasants.

18th March - April. Cheka secret police "disappear" many remaining Kronstadt soldiers and sailors. Official casualty figures for attack forces speak of 4,127 wounded and 527 killed. Around 8,000 rebels escaped to Finland. Figures for the Kronstadt casualties and those shot in reprisals after the defeat are unknown.

This March we commemorate the 70th anniversary of the crushing of the Kronstadt rebels by the troops of Trotsky and Zinoviev. Given the events occurring in the Soviet Union at present, the Kronstadt rebellion is thrown into renewed relevance. Our Russian comrades recognise this, and are organising a special commemorative conference.

The Kronstadt events were the conclusive proof that the 'Bolshevik Revolution' of 1917 was not a 'Bolshevik' revolution at all, but a massive workers' and peasants' revolt progressively stifled and crushed by the creeping dictatorship of an intellectual elite.

The Kronstadt rebels lit a beacon of hope that shines through the century and lights the way to a renewal of revolutionary struggle against the enemies of the material interests and freedom of the working class. We remember them, but in the words of the slogan: **"Don't Mourn, Organise!"**

Further Reading

The Kronstadt Uprising, Ida Mett. **The Kronstadt Revolt**, A. Ciliga. **The Russian Tragedy**, Alexander Berkman. **My Disillusionment in Russia**, Emma Goldman. **Memoirs of a Revolutionary**, Victor Serge.

THE GOD SQUAD

The end of the world is nigh and we will all burn in hell. Or so the 'Evangelists' would have us believe, but then, they always say that don't they, so what's changed? In fact, over the past few weeks, media attention (in the rare breaks in coverage of 'Our Boys' in the Gulf) has been focusing more and more on these people: Billy Graham toured Britain last year; the 1990s have been proclaimed as the "Decade of Evangelism"; the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, is described as an evangelical; and late 1990 saw the launch of the Movement for Christian Democracy, a group whose aim is to "put Christian values on the political agenda" and whose members include the anti abortion Liberal (?) MP David Alton.

At the same time allegations

of Satanic child abuse have been used by some Christians to tar all Pagans, whose



numbers have been growing, with the 'child molester' brush.

KINGDOM OF GOD

The evangelicals say their aim is to convert the whole world to Christianity, rescue society from materialism and moral

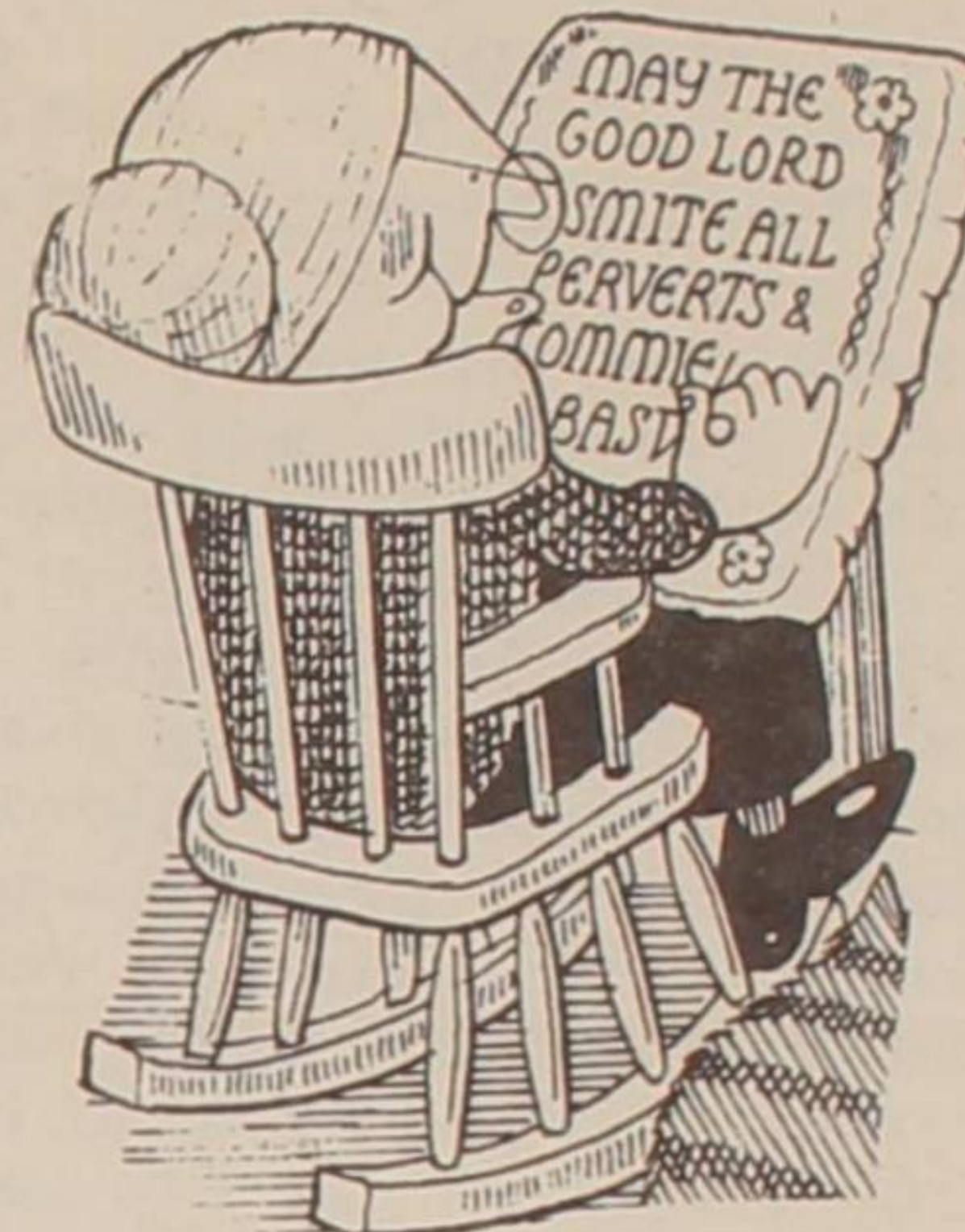
degeneration and thereby make the earth a better place to live, ready for the Kingdom of God. But to regard these evangelicals simply as harmless cranks or as nice but boring would be a mistake.

These are the people responsible for Clause 28, for occult bookshop burnings, for harassment of women at abortion clinics. Movements like that for 'Christian democracy' in fact aim at capturing power and imposing their values on all of us.

Behind the apparently gentle and forgiving theology will be the violent state apparatus of an authoritarian regime, with jails filled with women who have had abortions, lesbians and gays, pagans and so called blasphemers. Members of the 'Christian' anti

feminist group, the Campaign for the Feminine Woman, for example, have publicly stated their belief that human rights do not exist.

Linked to far right groups such as the Moral Majority in the USA and the Conservative Family Campaign in this country, evangelism aims at keeping people



obedient and in their place, diverting attention to the issues of 'personal morality' while the bosses carry on making their profits and exploitation goes unnoticed.

If Free Market Everything is

one branch of the extreme right, then the new Francoism of the evangelicals is another (other self proclaimed born again Christians, by the way, include Rupert Murdoch, owner of the Sun and James Anderton, boss of Greater Manchester's Secret State Police).

Both are bourgeois and fundamentally anti working class: the evangelicals talk of rejecting materialism while their friends and backers, the ruling class, keep their money. They whip up hysteria about Satanism and child abuse and the 'evil' of homosexuality while the real perverts walk free.

In the final analysis, the evangelicals are simply fascists (complete with Nuremberg style rallies) and whilst there may be no stakes in public squares as yet, they must be confronted and defeated in the usual way if they become a serious threat.

Pol, Leeds DAM

CLAUSE 25

Capitalism in all its forms has grown strong by keeping people divided so that others can rule. One of the corner stones of this division is the system of attributing men power over women. This is enforced by institutions and culture at every level. The heart of this system is the traditional and authoritarian family, which is used by our bosses as a free maintenance unit for their workforce and a supplier of future labour.

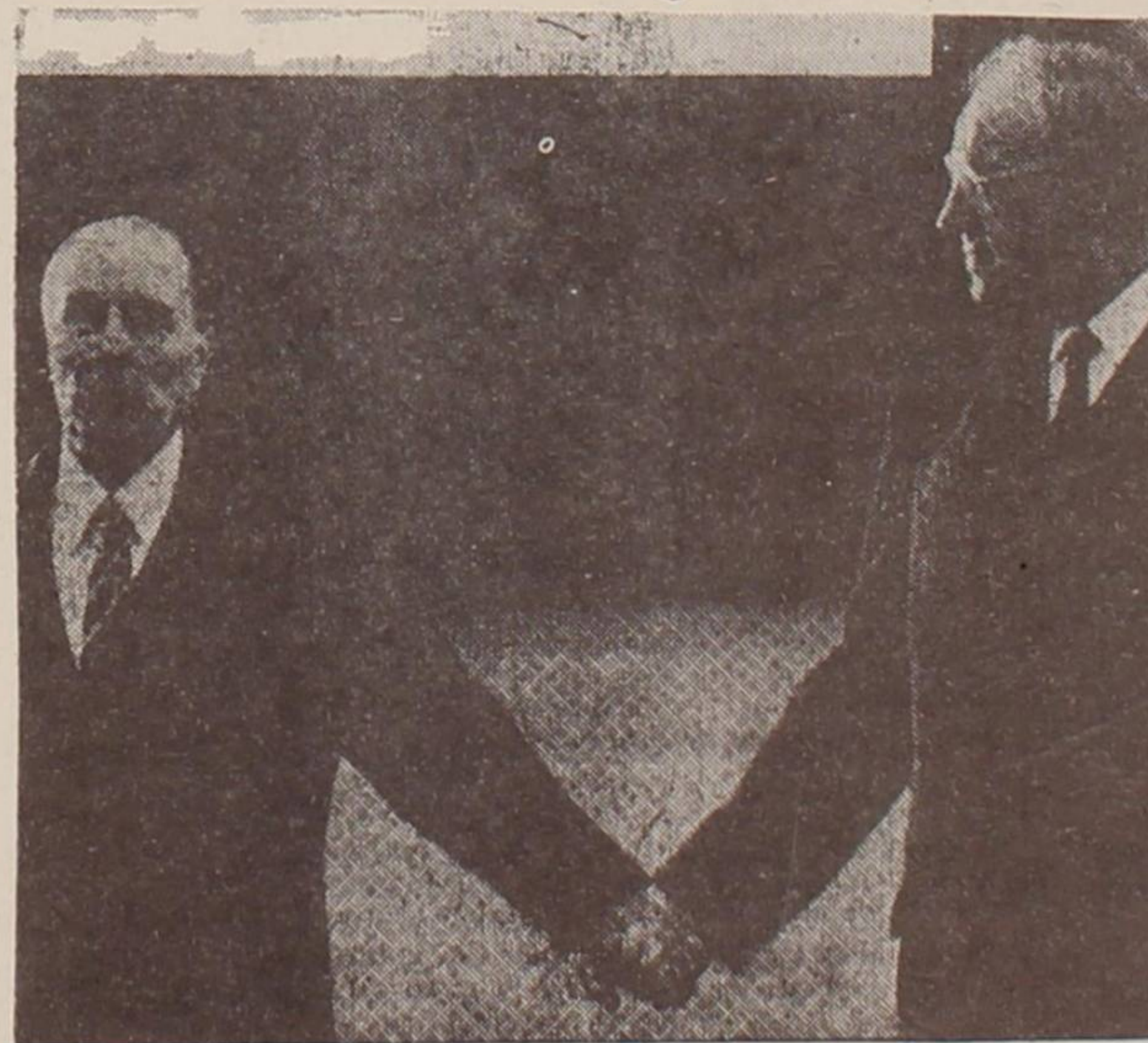
Capitalism has proved to be very adaptable and can easily incorporate threatening developments of culture into itself. However, the traditional family role has been so important in training and maintaining the working class, that deviation from it is a serious threat to the ruling class.

STEREOTYPES

For most people, our sexuality is not something we have discovered and grown into, but rather an unquestioned acceptance of the heterosexual stereotype. This suit is worn by many but fits few. Hardly anyone's nature fits neatly into just one mold and no one is naturally closed to change.

That our sexuality is narrowly defined by the rigid family role is an

attack on our ability to discover and grow into whatever we naturally are. Until we are entirely free to ignore the stereotypes, our true sexuality will remain capitalism's victim.



Since the nineteenth century, homosexuality has been considered by the state to be a deficiency which must be cured or punished. In the 1969 Stonewall riot, New York Lesbians and gay men finally fought back against routine police harassment. Only since then has a movement emerged to build pride in being gay and to ask what's so good about being straight. It is a movement that has achieved much, so not surprisingly faces moves by the state to crush it.

In Britain, the latest moves

in a deliberate and sustained attack on free sexuality is Clause 25. This is part of the Criminal Justice Bill which, if allowed to pass, will further criminalise

homosexuality. Procuring consenting homosexual acts, already the victim of legislation, is treated as though it were alongside rape and child abuse as a threat to society.

96% of reported child abuse occurs within the traditional and heterosexual family. Including homosexual acts in this Bill is an attack on our ability to choose, not a response to violence. It will further enforce the traditional family as a model for sex roles and build the

homophobia that keeps working class people divided by ignorance.

Ignorance is sustained by TV shows like Coronation Street which refuses to have gay characters because it is a "family show". The state's view of the family has little to do with real family feelings of love, support and acceptance, things that we all need.

The state tries to impose its culture from above and would make clones of us all. This kind of culture and legislature like Clause 25 say you may not be what you are. They are the real threat to society.

As with Clause 28 (Local Government Act), Clause 25 is part of a sustained clampdown on deviation from the state's norm. If we allow it to pass, all we can expect is more of the same. Such legislature cannot be reversed by the Labour Party or the TUC but only by working class action.

Anarchosyndicalists advocate autonomous self controlled organisation and are delighted to see that this is how the campaign against Clause 25 has emerged. The first meeting in Manchester saw over 200 people with a marked absence of so called revolutionary parties.

We wholeheartedly support

the campaign but recognise that its bite will be limited without taking the struggle into the workplace, where our rulers need us and where our class muscle is.

INDUSTRIAL NETWORKS

To organise in the workplace we must deal with the fact it can be one of the most homophobic places people have to go to. The unions we currently have are not interested in this or any of our needs so it is up to us to build a fighting organisation of our class that will combat harassment at work and actively challenge divisive attitudes.

The Direct Action Movement is helping to launch anarchosyndicalist industrial networks that will do the business and be an alternative to the TUC.

Anarchosyndicalists fight for the day when people can develop fully as individuals without any limitations on how we grow and change. Capitalism cannot deliver this and so it must be destroyed. It is in our interests to rid ourselves of this yoke in the long run and to fight its excesses in the here and now. Defeating Clause 25 will be a step forward for freedom of choice and is everyone's fight.

Manchester DAM

Syndicalism 1910 - 1914

PART 3

The Industrial Syndicalist Education League

When Tom Mann returned to Britain in May 1910 an identifiable syndicalist movement already existed (see DA 68), although its influence was still minimal and did not worry the labour movement's leadership.

CO-ORDINATION

Mann, in the company of Guy Bowman, visited Paris to talk with the anarcho-syndicalists of the CGT union confederation, and when they returned began publishing the **'Industrial Syndicalist'**. This began in July 1910 with a general pamphlet called 'Prepare for Action', attacking sectional trades unionism and putting forward revolutionary industrial unionism as an alternative to overthrow capitalism.

The stated aim of the **'Industrial Syndicalist'** was to "create some sense of co-ordinated syndicalist presence...to establish a dialogue between militants". To this end a conference was held in Manchester in November 1910 with representatives from unions, Trades Councils and political groups. The latter included militants from the whole range of syndicalist thought, from anarcho-syndicalists to the IWW and the Socialist Labour Party.

I.S.E.L

At this conference the INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST EDUCATION LEAGUE was established. It was set up as a propagandist body by which syndicalists could come into contact with a wide range of working class militants. There was some dissent however, and it came mainly from 'Dual Unionists' who proposed that syndicalists should not remain in reformist trade unions but should set up revolutionary industrial unions to act as an example to the working class. This argument was to go on, and attempts were made to establish dual unions as well as trying to change the reformist unions from within.

There was also disagreement over the question of parliamentary and political action, with some still arguing the need to win political power through some form of socialist party, as well as industrial control through industrial unions.

ALDRED

Tom Mann fudged this issue by claiming that if they adopted the position of being neither pro or anti-political "the League would be neither Labour Party nor SDF, anarchist or any other body that was anti. Each would have the right to retain his own political views". At the conference this was never fully resolved.

Anarchosyndicalists did participate in the ISEL. However some, like Guy Aldred's Industrial Union of Direct Actionists, preferred a dual union approach. Mostly, anarchosyndicalists

parliamentary action was useless and moved to the anarcho-syndicalist position, stating in 1912 that "political action was of no use whatsoever".

AMALGAMATION

It was on the question of reforming the unions or setting up "dual" unions that continued to split the syndicalist movement, both inside and outside the ISEL. Dual Unionists did make attempts to establish alternatives but these remained small and isolated, never moving beyond the small group of activists who created them. It also meant that the bosses could easily identify the troublemakers

arose because these new industrial unions still retained the same characteristics and reformist structures as the small craft unions they replaced.

POWER

Anarchosyndicalists constantly criticised Mann and others who, although arguing for industrial unions, did not take on board the dangers of centralisation of power within the unions. They rightly foresaw the amalgamation of craft unions actually increasing executive powers and so acting as a curb on militancy. They urged workers to "bear the burden of all responsibility of decisive action".

Despite these doubts anarchosyndicalists were to work closely with the ISEL and some were listed as persons "willing to speak as advocates" by the **'Industrial Syndicalist'**.

DEVELOPING

The main criticism levelled at the ISEL is that it did not set up a formal branch and membership structure. This view fails to realise two important facts. Firstly, syndicalism was still a relatively new and developing theory and it was important for the different strands to work together and to develop ideas. Secondly, the left of the British labour movement was much less sectarian than today and syndicalists knew that they had to work within the broad labour movement to win workers over to their ideas.

In 1913 the ISEL did formalise its structure, leading to a split. However, by this time syndicalist influence was strong enough to maintain its influence within the working class.

THE STATE

The problems faced by the syndicalists of this time were ones that would be faced time and again. The reformist Trades Unions worked with the State to dampen discontent and revolutionary feelings, working hand in glove to prevent syndicalist influence from spreading.

Before 1914 the unions were not as centralised or bureaucratic as they are now and the State did not have such a grip on all aspects of working class lives. Yet this was the time when changes were happening and the State began to recognise that unions could be used as a mechanism of control. This time also saw the introduction of State "benefits", which, whatever liberals and reformists claim, were another method of social control only to be granted to the "deserving poor".

TODAY

Today syndicalists are faced with an even more complex world than that faced by our predecessors. There has been another 75 years of domination by social democratic unions over workers' organisation, and the task of building a revolutionary union movement in Britain is even more difficult. Yet the lessons of the past can be learned and the experiences of the first syndicalists used. There is no way we can reform the present unions from the inside and transform them into revolutionary organisations. Their structure and bureaucracy are designed to prevent that. Equally, dual unions are not viable in industries with long-established social democratic unions. A union federation with a handful of militants would be soon destroyed.

Both these tactics were used in the earlier period of British syndicalism as it came to terms with dealing with an advanced and organised reformist union movement. Anarchosyndicalists did adopt a 'one foot in, one foot out' tactic, ie they remained inside the unions working at the level of the rank and file membership, while organising outside and constantly exposing the weakness of the unions in furthering working class advancement. To this end they hoped to use discontent within the rank and file to break away at an appropriate time to form a revolutionary alternative.



were content to work both inside and outside the established trade unions, looking towards a time when they would break and the opportunity would present itself for the formation of revolutionary unions.

From with the ISEL anarchosyndicalists criticised the refusal to take a definite stand against political (ie parliamentary) action. As the unrest developed Mann, and others, came to the conclusion that

and, in tandem with the reformist union leaders, were able to defeat them.

The reformers, however, turned to amalgamation of established craft unions to form industrial unions. There were many successes and many small unions disappeared as bigger ones replaced them. The National Union of Railwaymen was created mainly through pressure from syndicalist agitation. Problems still

Continued over

SYNDICALISM (Cont'd)

VOICE OF LABOUR

By 1914 the anarcho-syndicalists were becoming the strongest current within the movement and their paper, 'The Voice of Labour', was increasing sales. Their ideas were put into practice in 1914 when, after a bitter strike sold out by their union leadership, building workers formed a breakaway industrial union. Unfortunately, that same week war was declared and the union's anti-war stance meant that it came under intense State pressure and it folded.

Although both marxist and liberal historians claim that syndicalism reached its peak in 1912 nothing can be

further from the truth. Its ideas were crystallising and spreading into industries previously untouched. The regrouping after the 1913 "split" actually saw the strengthening of the anarchosyndicalist position.

The ISEL was an important development for British syndicalism. It was the forum in which ideas were discussed and refined. Although British syndicalism has been virtually ignored by labour historians, at the time foreign syndicalists did admire and recognise its importance for both its ideas and its actions. The ideas developed then are still relevant today.

S.T., Manchester DAM-IWA

MILITARY COVER-UP

British soldiers who have killed unarmed civilians are treated lightly in Ireland. The only soldier ever to have been convicted of murder in such circumstances, Ian Thain, was released after serving a couple of years and returned to duty.

NEGLIGENT DISCHARGE

David Holden, who shot Sinn Fein member Aiden McAneaspie, was merely fined by his regiment for the 'negligent discharge' of his machine gun.

Sinn Fein member Fergal Carraher and his brother Michael were shot by Royal Marines in the South Armagh village of Cullyhanna on 30 December. Fergal was dead

on arrival to hospital and Michael was seriously ill.

The British army claims that they failed to stop at a checkpoint and knocked down two soldiers before others opened fire.

Those who witnessed the incident are clear that the brothers were stopped at the checkpoint for about 10 minutes and questioned. The Marines therefore knew who they were. They were waved through the checkpoint and stopped in a pub car park before driving off slowly away from the patrol.

At that point a soldier called out a name and a second ran up to the car, knelt down and began firing into it at close range. He was joined by a third

soldier who also fired repeatedly into the car, which kept moving and came to a halt less than a mile down the road.

The Marines are back on duty after the incident, having done only what they are paid to do - eliminate opposition to the British state. As a member of Sinn Fein Carraher was an opponent of the British state. That his opposition was unarmed does not matter to our rulers and does not matter to their tame media.

Hardly surprising that the armed opposition is as strong as ever, because terror does not cow opposition, it merely makes it more determined.

F O'NEILL

International Forum For Asia

The International Forum on Asia (IFA) has been recently established by individuals concerned with the implications of recent events in Asia. The rapid growth of nationalist violence and horror of communal carnage throughout

Although the denial of human rights and civil liberties remains fundamentally a concern for workers and peoples, the issues affecting this vast continent have wider economic, political and social consequences.

from India by IFA to address public meetings and seminars on the current crisis facing the Indian Sub Continent. His first book "The Painful Transition - Bourgeois Democracy in India" has recently been published and has already been praised as

and universities, culminating in a major weekend conference in London on 11 and 12 May, 1991.

The theme of the conference will be "South Asia - The Crisis and the Struggle for Fundamental Social Change".

If you would like more information about the tour or conference or would like Achin Vanaik to speak at a meeting you organise, please contact us.

IFA needs to raise money to pay for Achin Vanaik's fares from India, to produce leaflets and literature etc. Please help by making financial donations. Please make cheques payable to International Forum on Asia.

INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON ASIA
C/O 43 West End Road
Southall
Middlesex UB1 1JQ

INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON ASIA
C/O 15 Trinity Crescent
Edinburgh EH5 3ED

STOP PRESS

John Perrotti, a member of the IWW imprisoned in Ohio, slashed his wrists recently after 20 days on hunger strike to protest at being put in an isolation cell. At present John is not in immediate danger of death but he remains in isolation, under suicide observation. For more infocontact Glasgow DAM.

Send letters of protest to:

Governor Voinovich,
Statehouse,
77 South High. St.
Columbus,
Ohio 43215,
USA
(tel: 0101 614 466 3555)



India; Beijing's Tiananmen massacre of students and workers; the possible return to power of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime; the mass brutalities inflicted by the Burmese military dictatorship are but a few examples of the debilitating crisis confronted by post-colonial societies in Asia.

These awesome developments demand a public response. In recognition of this need to create a discourse on Asia, IFA has decided to launch a month long programme of activities in the UK.

Achin Vanaik, a prominent Indian political analyst and activist has been invited

a seminal text by academics and activists alike.

SPEAKING TOUR

The national speaking tour will begin in Scotland in April and will move south stopping at some of the major cities and colleges

Class, caste, communalism, nationalism; nuclear disarmament and ecology; the rise of the women's movement and its demands; the current economic and political situation; the role of Japanese intervention in South Asia will be some of the issues raised at this conference.

REVIEWS

Building The Green Movement

by Rudolf Bahro

This is not an easy book. Firstly, it is a collection of essays written between 1982 and 1985 as part of the internal debate of the West German Green Party, Die Grunen. As such, it has many references to particular events and figures in German politics. Secondly, Bahro is a dissident Marxist (he left East Germany in 1979 after being released from prison), who has taken on many of the arguments of "deep ecology". However, certain parts of the book certainly repay the effort.

Bahro was on the "fundamentalist" wing of Die Grunen, and many of the essays are defences of that position against the "realos", or advocates of "realpolitik" (compromise with the system in order to get minimal parts of the Green programme implemented).

The final essay is Bahro's statement on his resignation from the Greens. The straw that broke the camel's back, so to speak, was over the Green's refusal to adopt a position against all animal experiments; the "realos" had got a position of allowing experiments that might save human lives.

Bahro felt that whether human lives could be saved or not was not the question but the pivotal position of animal experiments in the "Big Machine" as he calls it, with shades of situationism. The interesting thing in his statement is that he says it "is the end of traditional party political existence for me altogether. At last I have understood that a party is a counterproductive tool..."

There is much in this book which correlates with anarchism; I can only wonder if Bahro has never seriously examined anarchism or whether it is his marxist background subconsciously ignoring it. The main thrust of his ideas is to build up an example of the new society in the present to act as a counterbalance to capitalism.

These would take the form of communes organised along libertarian lines and would, in the main, be self-sufficient. They would also have a "religious" aspect which Bahro writes about frequently in his book. He seems to be saying that

there should be a spiritual dimension to life in the communes and that we should pay more attention to people's psychological needs. However, his uncritical essay on Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh is certainly worrying. It is unfortunate that many of today's radicals have rejected western religions only to be caught up in authoritarian alternatives from the east. The structure of all religions, with their emphasis on subservience to some sort of authority, pave the way for a passive population.

Surely the reasoning behind the need for such communes is to build new social relationships in the here and now so that people are prepared for a new form of social relations in the new society. To me, this sounds suspiciously like the anarcho-syndicalist slogan of "building the new world in the shell of the old". The organs of struggle we set up today must reflect the way we want society as a whole organised. They will not be perfect, but their main purpose must be to empower and enable their members.



"These environmentally friendly traffic lights are a really stupid idea!"

There are many other similarities with anarcho-syndicalist ideas in the book. For example, the new society can be brought about by a sort of general strike. And our survival is conditional on "freedom FROM power".

Bahro also proposes support for "alternatives to the trade union movement". Given that West German trade unions are dead from the neck up, faithful copies of the same bureaucrat-ridden structures that have failed the British working class for decades, an alternative is definitely needed. However, how real would that

support be for a genuine revolutionary, anti-capitalist alternative? Bahro talks of workers needing to question their



existence as workers and of class struggle no longer being important on an industrial basis.

Here he is missing the potential of workers to disrupt the industrial system (which he sees as the main enemy) and to be politicised in the process. Further, we as anarcho-syndicalists need to make it quite clear that we are not in the business of collectivising industry as it exists now. There won't be collectivised McDonalds or a Nuclear Power Station Workers' Collective. Their first act would be to convert to some socially useful production, if not shut down altogether.

Another point I would take issue with is his rejection of technology. While I believe it is important to question technology and not take things for granted from so-called experts, I think it would be more constructive to talk in terms of appropriate technology or of technology that can be reproduced by the community using it. If we are to talk about reducing work to a bare minimum, or even transforming it into play (both of which are possible), then we need to make use of work-saving technology, like computers.

Bahro is critical of the Green's role in Parliament but does not come to the obvious conclusion that these legislative bodies exist to co-opt movements like the Greens into the

system. Over the four years documented that is precisely what happened.

Bahro's experience with the

Green movement should come as no surprise to anarchists. Any movement

which is such a broad coalition will lack a clear direction.

However, does this mean we should write off environmentalism or dismiss the ideas of people like Bahro? I think not. For many of them there is a painful journey ahead, reliving the mistakes of any new emerging movement.

Furthermore, as has been shown recently in the United States, there is a potential for alliance between environmentalists and workers. The "Redwood Summer" campaign against logging in the Pacific Northwest was launched by environmentalists in Earth First and workers in the Industrial Workers of the World. This alliance succeeded because it was based on an understanding that it is in the interests of workers to defend the environment.

Martin, Deptford DAM

LETTERS

Dear Direct Action,

We are a number of Syndicalists working in the fields of health care and health provision, at the moment centered in London and South-east England.

Health provision is under attack from a number of directions at the moment: the NHS from the Government's White Paper, and the additional burdens imposed by the bloodbath in the Gulf (increasing waiting lists); local authorities' responsibilities for the elderly and people with disabilities are increasingly undermined by the Poll Tax and spending limits.

We have absolutely no faith in the trade unions to lead any fight against these attacks or to do anything other than mouth rhetoric about the low pay of most healthworkers.

We believe in the formation of workers' groups in each workplace, totally independent of the trade unions and open to all healthworkers (not management or fascists) of whatever union or job, with the immediate aim of participation in, and encouragement of, any fight against attacks on the

service we provide and on our living standards.



Our long-term aim is a national federation of these workers' groups to form one organisation open to all healthworkers, a revolutionary workers' organisation which through participation in fighting back today helps to "create the new society within the shell of the old."

We welcome contact from any healthworker who agrees with the above. At present, we can be contacted by writing to:

Syndicalist Healthworkers
c/o P.O. Box 761
Cambswell SDO
London SE5

REVIEWS

REVIEW: The Sans Culottes In the French Revolution 1793 - 1797; Edinburgh DAM, £1.

This interesting little pamphlet is a good, brief introduction to the important events of the French Revolution that have had such a major influence for both good and bad over the last 200 years.

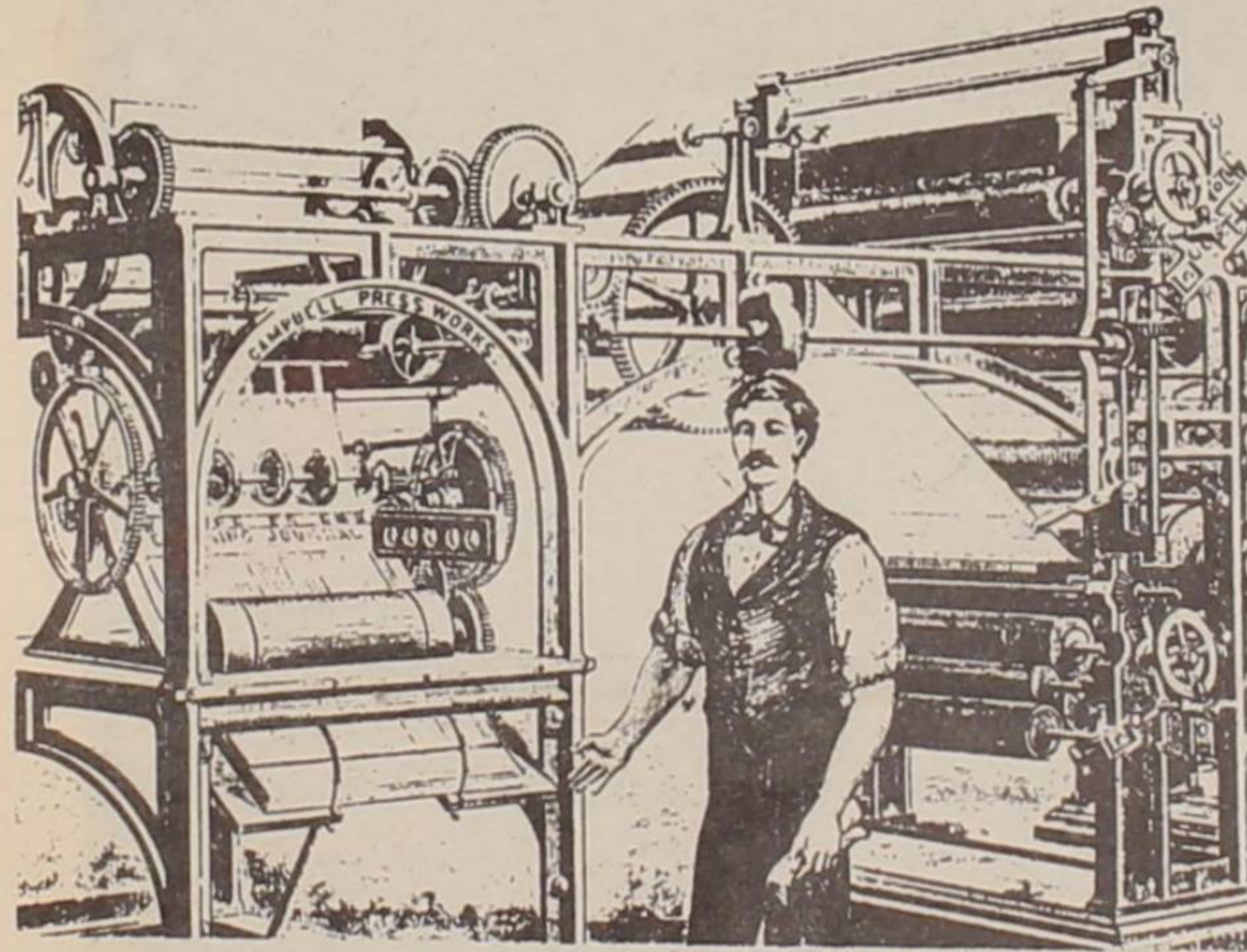
It concentrates on what is one of the most important aspects for anarcho-syndicalists - the gradual emergence of primitive forms of independent working class organisations. Of equal importance were the new ideas about liberty, fraternity and equality that was to have a major influence on the development of socialism, liberalism and anarchism in the 19th Century.

This pamphlet shows the degeneration of the revolution, a pattern which was to occur again and again as the same mistakes of allowing the bourgeoisie to seize power and trusting intellectual elites were repeated.

On the positive side, we see the radical ideas of groupings like the Enrages and the emergence of a revolutionary women's movement in the form of Les Republicanes Revolutionnaires.

Essential reading for people wanting an insight into the roots of modern Western politics and their opposition.

P. Doncaster



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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.

Thanks to those readers who sent us donations this last month. We are extremely grateful for any donations we receive.

Direct Action has 'always been run on a shoe-string. Donations, large or small, make a real difference. So, if you've got some spare cash lying around you now know where to send it!



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Address.....

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Send to: DA, PO Box 106,
Rotherham S60 1NW.
Cheques payable to DAM.

**Deadline
14 March**

LA PRESA

Recently a group has been set up linked to Manchester DAM which is dedicated to reproducing pamphlets and articles of interest to anarcho-syndicalists.

Trotsky Protests Too Much by E Goldman, 8 pages, 50p.

Evolution and Revolution by E Reclus, 8 pages, 50p.

The ZZZ, Rebel Worker pamphlet, 3 pages, 30p.

Syndicalism and Labour on Merseyside 1906-14, 16 pages, 90p.

The Syndicalist Trials of 1912, 6 pages, 40p.

The Tyranny of Structurelessness, 7 pages, 45p.

Education pack (in preparation)

Anarchy in the Navy, 3 pages, 30p.

Anarchism and Spanish Women, 10 pages, 70p.

Aids as Biological and Psychological Warfare, 1 page, Free with orders.

Where Engels Feared to Tread (Sexual Politics), 3 pages, 30p.

The Economics of the Spanish Collectives (in preparation). Pamphlet.

All cheques should be made payable to: "La Presa", PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW. All prices include postage.

Direct Action Movement

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.

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

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.
Middlebrough 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, Southside DO, Edinburgh EH10.
Glasgow DAM, PO Box 239, Glasgow G2 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 (anarcho-syndicalists), 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

POLL TAX DEMO
LONDON EMBANKMENT
12 NOON, MARCH 23

POLL TAX ON THE RUN



A year ago in Trafalgar Square, thousands of people, unable and unwilling to pay the poll tax, demonstrated their anger at this latest and most blatant attack on their living standards. The demonstration turned violent when police provoked and attacked the crowd, but people fought back, not prepared to be driven away.

Since then, anti poll tax activists have been hounded, not only by the police, council and courts, but by supposed comrades on the Left who threatened to "name names". Because of swift action by people in APTUs to isolate grasses and ensure this didn't happen, no names were named.

But the destructive tendencies of these people continued in other devious ways: communication and solidarity networks on

streets and estates were sabotaged - lists went missing, monies were misdirected and energies were sapped as the party-builders worked to destroy the initiatives of the real militants.

For surely it is inevitable now. The poll tax must go! And we have done it! Every person across this island who has refused to pay and who has used direct action to prove his or her point has contributed to this! All of us who have refused to hide behind the Labour Party and the various strands of reformism masquerading as revolutionary methods which are designed to take the bite out of our working class might, can be proud of our contribution to the class war and the fight to improve our lot.

ATTACK ON OUR LIVES

But the same enthusiasm,

organisational might and determination that says WE WON'T PAY must be brought to yet another round of the class war. We must bring our methods of direct action to the struggle against militarism and the war in the Gulf.

For just as the poll tax is an attack on our standard of living here in Britain, the war in the Gulf is an attack on our very lives and the lives of our class across the globe. Indeed, should the war be the ecological disaster predicted, it could mean the death of millions not even yet born.

Just as we overcame the manipulations of the Left in the anti poll tax campaign and withstood the propaganda hurled at us by the media, we must now double our efforts to do the same again and organise a mass working class anti war movement.

We've almost beat the poll tax - let's now work to end this war.

GOT THE CHOP

Meanwhile, as the year passed and the full impact of non payment across Scotland (in its second and even more successful year), England and Wales was felt, more attacks were made on us. Precious social services, never fully staffed or adequately funded in the first place, got the chop by councils across the country. Pleading no alternative, the councils - Labour, Liberal and Tory alike - cut funding to Meals-on-Wheels, libraries, creches, day care centres, parks departments - but never shed one manager or council leader's expense budget in the name of capping.

As the cuts became deeper,

the councils and apologists for the Tories cried that it was the fault of non payers. But people have not been fooled. This campaign is growing. People have not paid and will not pay. Soon another bill will land on people's doormats and it will join its predecessor.

The result? Chaos in local government and an increasingly worried central government. Even the hardest nut amongst the Tories will admit that the poll tax is not working and that something must be done. The Prime Minister is waffling and will not commit himself either way - but we can be sure he will attempt to grab the credit for the abolition of this tax.

But we know the truth - it's all of us, united in our fight to defeat the poll tax that has made it unworkable.