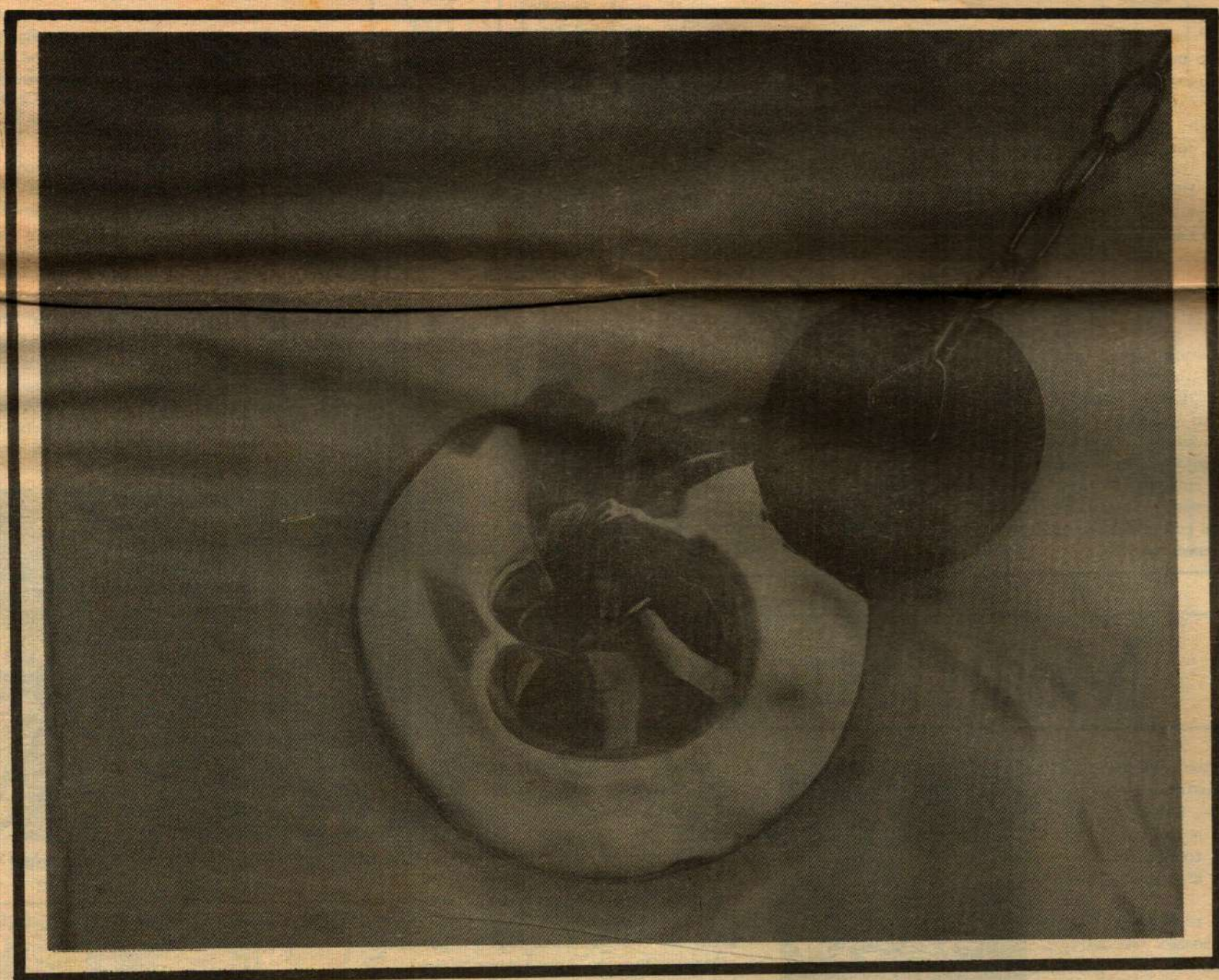


POLL TAX



Going Going.....

Independent Education Network

NATFHE has failed and failed again to protect the interests of ordinary members.

We have seen our conditions worsen, our pay eroded, colleagues whom we respected broken and forced into early retirement. All over the North West College sites which actually serve the interests of working class people in the community have been closed. NATFHE has also consistently ignored and never really allowed part-time workers a voice.

E.R.A

This is not all. The union bureaucrats' only real fight has been to preserve their union positions. Members are faced with the erosion of agreements as the Education Reform Act devolves almost total power to Establishment Heads and their business-minded Governing Bodies, who, in any case, only do as they are told.

What about educational provision? In all the cuts, the loudest voices have been those who needed our support in their struggle for education. NATFHE has done nothing to defend the service provision, nothing for students interests, except to collaborate with the bosses in the destruction of education as an entitlement for all.



RESOLUTION

The NORTH WEST INDEPENDENT EDUCATION NETWORK comprises education providers and consumers from Colleges, Polytechnics and Universities across the North West. We believe that the corruption and lack of representation within the existing Trade Unions cannot be reformed from within through organisations such as the "Broad Left" or "Socialist Teachers/Lecturers Alliances". Getting a resolution through to National Conference (soon to be every TWO years') is not going to succeed in changing the way our lives are controlled by union officials and management alike.

Our interests lie in forging links between all workers and students in educational establishments. In this respect, of course, NATFHE has done nothing to inform members of the way the present pay dispute is proceeding.

Our immediate aims are in developing those links to protect ourselves now, based on the principle of mutual aid and solidarity. We believe in education as a right for all members of the community, and in the provision of education that meets the needs of the community. People have the right and the ability to define those needs themselves. This is one of the principle aspects of our organisation: self-management. Running things for ourselves by ourselves.

The North West area of the Independent Education Network now has Branches in the following establishments:

BOLTON INSTITUTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF LANCASTER
MANCHESTER COLLEGE OF ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY (MANCAT)
MANCHESTER POLYTECHNIC
UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD

For further information write to: IEN, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15 5EW.

Workers At Risk

Workers at two women's hostels in Manchester returned to work after a week long strike claiming victory with the withdrawal of disciplinary letters sent to them by the housing department management.

Trouble began with attacks by gangs on the staff and residents of the hostel. The night shift refused to work until their safety could be guaranteed. Attempts to reach a solution failed with management responding with dismissal notices. In response to this, the workers went on strike.

UNITED ACTION

The Housing Department then had to employ special security guards at a much greater cost. The united action of both NUPE and NALGO members paid off and the management were forced to back down.

The ironic thing is that it is only recently that 'violence to staff' guidelines had been circulated for comment with the local authority claiming to have staff safety uppermost.

The fact is that cuts in staffing throughout the council's services, especially in education and social services, as well as housing, is putting workers at greater risk. Disciplinary letters such as

these are typical of recent knee-jerk responses by city council management to challenges by council workers.

AT RISK?

For example, within a new social services restructuring, the second in as many years, some workers' jobs have been declared "at risk" simply because they have challenged management over the re-structuring process.

Behind the heavy-handed approach lies a hidden agenda. That is that Manchester's 'socialist' city council is trying to break the strength of its workers unions. Both NALGO and NUPE have built up strong organisations within the city. This has come about by strong workplace organisation with workers knowing that when they take action they will have support.

Recently, actions have been taken against initial advice, to prevent closures and the unions have been forced to support the workers.

The fact is that the council workers in Manchester make advances by taking direct action. The trouble is that it is sporadic and that different departments do not coordinate on a regular basis.



NALGO and NUPE leaders: workers must take action despite them

of the clients with them as possible.

COWBOYS

This is the best way to take the carpet out from underneath the feet of the cowboys. They will have no workers and no clients - they will go bust and good riddance.

Whichever way you look at it, 1991 is going to be a tough year for couriers. The bubble has burst in the

despatch industry and the next twelve months or so are going to be a struggle. There has never been a better time to join the Union.

From "Despatches", the paper of the Despatch Industry Workers Union.

For more information about the DIWU, write to:

DIWU
496 Kingsland Road
London E8 4AU

Mean Streets

The recession has hit the despatch business with a vengeance. November and December normally mean loads of money for couriers but that didn't happen in 1990.

For all the boom years, the despatch bosses virtually had a licence to print money. They bought themselves fast cars and fabulous houses in the suburbs from the profits of our labour.

Now, at the first sign of a recession, quite a few firms are cutting their rates, increasing radio fees and generally penny-pinching - supposedly to get more accounts. However, it is always the workers who



suffer most in situations like this, having to work twice as hard for the same money or less.

GODS AND SHIT

If you reflect for a moment, you realise that the despatch bosses treat the clients like gods and the workers like shit. This is a

dangerous job we do and we should be paid well for it, not breadline wages.

As the recession bites harder in 1991, most companies will inevitably be feeling the pinch. In this situation the immediate task of the DIWU is to defend pay and conditions. For workers at firms where the wages are particularly bad, the riders and drivers should get together, form a Union branch and take action for more money.

Most bosses capitulate at the first sign of industrial unrest, but if your boss won't pay more even after industrial action, then all should leave, taking as many

WE SAY

The national poll tax demo on 23 March was billed as a victory parade by the Anti Poll Tax Federation, despite no concrete replacement. Placards declared "we have won" and "we've sunk the flagship".

This may be true, but the flagship has turned into a submarine which seems to have disappeared, but may surface at any time in one of many different forms.

With the apparent victory, continued resistance will slump even further than it has in a lot of areas.

For political groups to be claiming victory when all the enemy has done is withdrawn and not even as far as the original boundaries, is political game playing. We expect such things from the left, but unfortunately, some in the anarchist movement are also falling for the same game.

The poll tax is not dead, it is not even mortally wounded. It is just licking its wounds. To turn our backs now could result in an attack just as bad if not worse than before.

Conference

When the poll tax was introduced, the anti poll tax campaign warned that it was a direct attack on local services which would lead to drastic cuts in every area. We knew that a combination of council cuts and centralisation of business rates would force councils to make cuts in services and to further increase the poll tax.

After all, the whole point of the poll tax is to force councils to spend money only on 'essentials' - they must cut back on 'extras' such as housing, libraries, and schools. The rich can always pay for these things privately. The poor will have to do without.

Now the effects we predicted have actually materialised and, instead of supporting the poor in their financial difficulty, councils - including Labour controlled Lothian and Strathclyde - are attacking us and blaming us for their cuts and the increases in poll tax rates.

ONE IN THREE

The movement to refuse to pay the poll tax has been fantastically successful. The latest official figures reveal that 1,250,000 summary warrants have been sent out to non payers in Scotland. When you add the tens of thousands not even registered, more than one in three are not paying.

With resistance in England and Wales also being massive, the government is now not only thinking the unthinkable, but are actually debating how to dump the poll tax.

But we cannot be complacent. In some areas sheriff officers are using heavy-

handed tactics to try and intimidate non payers - these thugs must be driven out of our communities.

Even after the abolition of the tax, the fight must go on till all arrears are written off. And we now need to build on our success and help create a movement to resist the cutbacks in public services. Learning from our experiences in the anti poll tax movement, we will need to base this movement not on politicians or trade union bureaucrats, but on grass roots organisation in the community and in the workplace.

MAY CONFERENCE

Independent anti poll tax groups and activists throughout Scotland are coming together in a conference in May to discuss and plan for the next stage of the battle against the poll tax and against the cuts.

The conference will aim to widen the scope of the campaign on the basis that the poll tax is an intrinsic part of the government's attempt to cut public spending, decimate the power of local government and impose centralised state control.

We would like to invite anti poll tax campaigners AND those fighting cuts in services not only to attend but to participate in organising the event. The conference is on Saturday 11 May in Edinburgh.

Conference Secretary
"Common Sense"
PO Box 311 SD0
Edinburgh EH9
Scotland

The Other Victory March

The sun didn't shine, but who cared anyway. Two days before, the government had announced the final demise of the hated poll tax and Major had earlier been forced to admit that the tax was uncollectable. We were in London to celebrate a historic victory for the working class - the torpedoing of the flagship, one of the most vicious anti working class measures for decades in Britain.

Some people did a roaring trade in whistles and before long a right old racket was raised with drums, whistles, tin cans and hooters and the lot of us surged through the streets in noisy celebration of what can be achieved when working people get organised.

PHOTO OPS

The anarcho contingent was

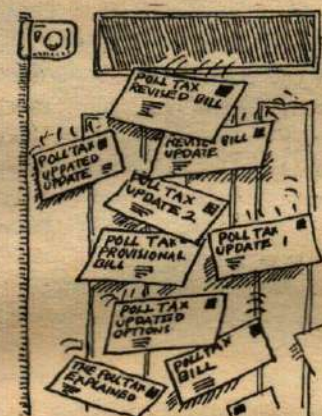
bit of friction with the over-zealous Militant organised stewards and their collaborators in blue. (The police big-wig in charge actually came on TV afterwards to say what wonderful people the ABAPTF stewards were - there may be jobs for you yet, Sheridan and Nally!.)



More effective in limiting arrests were the watchful eyes of the pink-bibbed Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign Observers.

In the park, the same old Millies were droning on and on and people amused themselves by lighting bonfires of placards, trot

and have done nothing to fight the poll tax (again rich coming from bureaucrats who have monopolised and neutered national campaigning as well as opposing the grassroots



anarchist and non militant left who have been doing the important spadework.)

CREEPS

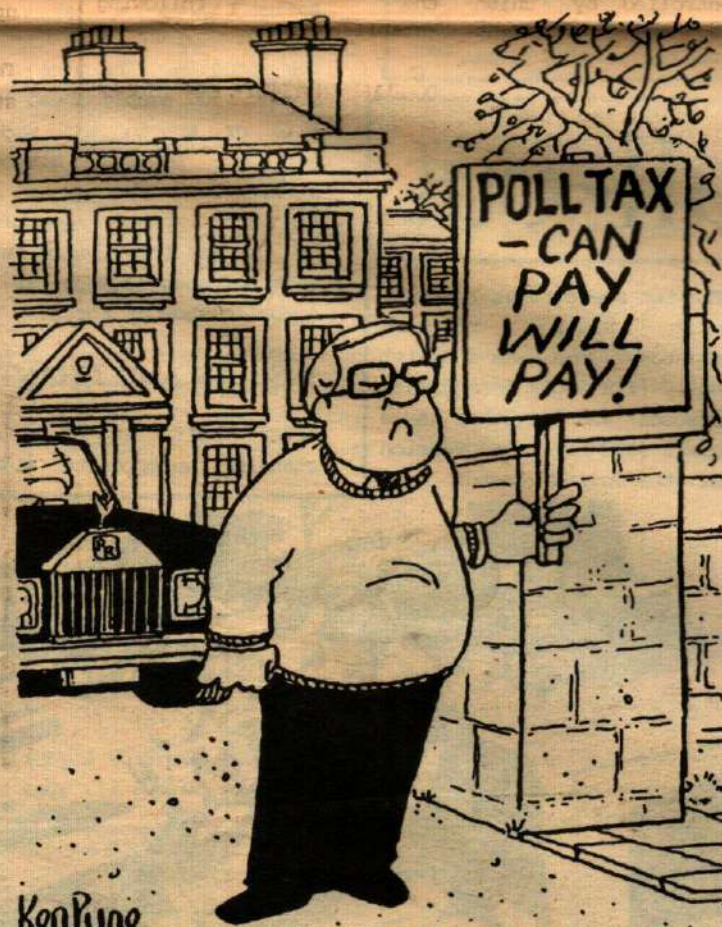
Anyhow, who needs these creeps? It would be nice if the libertarian left could take up the Class War Fed's suggestion and set up alternative platforms at these events, rather than waste our energy shouting abuse or getting intimate with hefty stewards.

Still, a good day was had by most. But the battle's not over yet - they are putting up prices to save themselves from the voter's wrath and the wonderful replacement to the poll tax looks like another proverbial crock.

The prisoners should not be forgotten (the scaffolding-welding protester shopped by her mum was sent down the day before the demo) and we are still being hauled through the courts. Bailiffs must be opposed and communist solidarity built.

Hopefully, the fight over the poll tax will give a boost to the confidence of the working class of Britain, Europe and beyond. With the world environment and economy in a right old mess, there are no prizes for guessing who will be made to pay. The poll tax struggle has been a chink of light in the darkness, a promise of things to come...

P. Doncaster



one of the largest on the demo, flags and banners aloft in the alternating bursts of light drizzle and sunshine. The all-singing, all-dancing Class War crew at the front made the most of each photo opportunity in the best tradition of media folk devils.

Meanwhile, the assembled anarchos managed to reach the park with only the odd

papers and poll tax bills while others got on with the serious business of selling papers or annoying the cocky Militants.

Sheridan and Nally got the predictable response from the crowd when they spoke and so ranted on about agents of the state (rich coming from our 'namers of names!') and "extremists who are not part of our movement

Solidarity ~ Not a Luxury

The vain hope that Trade Union bureaucrats know, or even consider the meaning of solidarity was recently dealt yet another severe blow.

Officials of the engineers' union, the AEU, have booked into Blackpool's Imperial Hotel for the TUC's 1992 Congress. Never mind that the hotel has been boycotted ever since Trusthouse Forte took it over, refusing to recognise the unionised workforce.

MOAT HOUSE

It's hardly as if this is an isolated incident, as it brings to mind a dispute of a few years back, when a hotel in Liverpool owned by the Moat House group sacked dozens of its workers for having joined the TGWU. After weeks of picketing, the workers had their union rights recognised by management.

But don't hold your breath, their jobs had been filled by scabs, and the TGWU claimed it a great victory that it now had negotiating

rights for them. Those who had fought to be in a union were left with token compensation and the dole queue - a strange victory.



What price solidarity?

But there again, who can expect union bureaucrats, who have more in common with insurance firms' management, to care less. Working class solidarity and victories depend on working class control and organisation, not self-interested law-abiding leaders who have more with the boss class than the working class.

Gulf Fall-out

The bombing of the two nuclear reactors in Iraq shows the high regard with which the United States views international treaties such as the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, to which both Iraq and the US are signatories.

Radioactive debris will have been spread over a large area by the attack on these fuelled reactors and the resulting fire could have well sent a radioactive cloud over Baghdad, only 15 miles away.

GLEE

With obvious glee, General Colin Powell (chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) announced on 23 January that the two reactors at Tuwaitha were "gone. They're down. They're finished." On 29 January General Schwartzkopf announced that the nuclear research centre in Baghdad had also been destroyed. It seems that the American government have invented a new concept in the mad world of nuclear power politics - decommissioning by air raid!

The two reactors at Tuwaitha were small research reactors. One was a Soviet built (ITR 5000) 5 megawatt reactor and the other was a small (500 kilowatt) version of the Osirak reactor from



GULF TROOPS: Victims of US hypocrisy.

France. Because of the small size of the reactors, the attack cannot create another disaster on the scale of Chernobyl.

However, there could be serious off-site contamination. The fire which was reported at the larger reactor could have led to radioactive material being blown over Baghdad, depending on wind speed and direction.

Brick Lane Sunday Market in London's East End has been a regular selling pitch for fascists since Mosley's days before the War, and it remains their only regular pitch in London.

There have been many confrontations on the spot over the last few years all of which have turned out favourably for anti fascists. But, as this is their last haven, they are not likely to move off without a fight.

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

On Sunday 17 March, Anti Fascist Action called a demonstration to oppose the fascist paper sellers. The objective of this demo was to draw more people into anti fascist activity and also to be a more visible presence to the locals, something that is lacking when more covert action is used and when the resulting confrontation could easily be mistaken for football hooligans or mods and rockers to passers-by.

Though there was a large police presence at the assembly point, they kept a low profile. The march of around 500 people moved the mile or so to the paper selling point without hinderance. The group of fascists who had assembled to protect their pitch fell back without so much as a symbolic show of force.

INSULTS AND CHANTS

After half an hour of standing on opposite sides

of the road separated by police and exchanging insults and chants, we withdrew to picket the pub where they drink after paper selling. This resulted in the fascists having to retire to another pub. After claiming a symbolic victory, the anti fascists withdrew and dispersed.

Although this was tame in comparison to a lot of anti fascist activity, it was a success on many fronts. The police allowed us to assemble and move at will despite the Public Order Act. The fascists, despite a national call out had only a weak force defending their

about between visits to the pub. This is an image put about by those who claim "fascism was defeated by the Anti Nazi League in the 70's" and "Anti fascism drives the white working class into the hands of the fascists".

These excuses cover up a number of things, the main being "we can't sell papers". The truth is that anti fascist work is serious politics which requires serious commitment. It is true that militant anti fascists tend to be male and in physical confrontation the more physical come to the fore. But this is only a

THE ONLY
GOOD
FASCIST
...IS A
DEAD
ONE

sellers and they never got the courage to physically confront us. New people were drawn into anti fascism and a presence was shown, something which wouldn't have happened if a more select group had resorted to a hands-on operation.

VISIT THE PUB

Anti fascism has got the image of macho men running

small part of anti fascism and there is work to do for all who wish to be involved.

We do not expect everyone to be a street fighter. We do expect everyone to combat nationalism and racism on a day to day level and to give full support to those engaged in direct action against fascism.

Malc,

Cuts on Kids

Privatization of local council services does not stop at refuse collection or catering services. The London Borough of Bromley actually privatized their children's homes.

They put them at tender and the franchise was won by the 'Kindericare' organisation. However, the National Association for Young People in Care (NAYPIC) challenged on the grounds that none of the children in the home was consulted.

the Soviet Union have just ratified the first addition to the 1949 Geneva agreement in which they promise not to attack IAEA inspected nuclear installations in wartime.

From "Anti Nuclear Network News" available quarterly from:

Anti Nuclear Network
c/o 265 Seven Sisters Road
Finsbury Park
London N4 2DE

Three children took the council to court but unfortunately too long had elapsed and although the judge did comment that he would have found for the children, he was unable to do so.

Then, to rub salt into the wound, Bromley are now claiming their court costs. Who from? The three children in care! Another caring council.

WORTHLESS TREATY

As a signatory to the Non Proliferation Treaty Iraqi nuclear installations are regularly inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The last IAEA inspection in Iraq was in November 1990. The bombing tells us something about the worthlessness of this treaty.

The Western countries and

HOMES, NOT GAMES

If you live outside of South Yorkshire, you are probably unaware of the awesome event which will capture the hearts and minds of Yorkshire people this July - the World Student Games. If you do live around here, you are probably so sick of the hype surrounding this non starter of an event that you can't even bear to read this article!

The bid to host the Games was won by Sheffield. Exactly why and how this is so remains a mystery as Sheffield's bid (estimated to cost the city £25 million) was against Edinburgh's bid (estimated to cost that city only £1 million). Why? Because Edinburgh has the facilities to host such an event because the Commonwealth Games were held there. Sheffield has no such facilities.

THRILLED TO BITS

Anyway, the World Student Games are coming and

everyone in South Yorkshire - especially in Sheffield - is thrilled to bits. Or so the ruling Labour mafia and their pet newspaper hacks keep telling us.

Take off the rose tinted glasses and you discover that local people are either totally apathetic about the Games or else furious over the huge financial burden Sheffield has to bear.

This area of England was once known as the Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire, renowned for cheap and efficient public transport and for a forward looking and equitable Council, similar to the good old days when Red Ken ruled the GLC in London or perhaps when Dazzer ruled Liverpool.

But those days are long gone and would you believe that when the going gets tough, the bureaucrats don't resign en masse in the name of the great socialist principles

they love to mouth, but rather they stick the knife in and sustain themselves on the blood of the poor.

For that's what's happening around here. The Labour Councillors are all doing very nicely, thank you very much, but the buses have been tendered off, old people's homes are being sold, schools and community centres are being cut back and, to top it all off, council housing is being sold off to pay for charades like the World Student Games.

One reason behind all this (aside from corruption and plain old mismanagement) is the wildly inaccurate cost calculations made and because sponsors have been dropping out, realising the Games are not going to net them huge profits.

JOBS FOR ALL

The Council, in an effort to soothe the anger of the people of Sheffield, tell you that the Games, like



Hyde Park Estate: to be done up for the students

"our" mega-mall Meadowhall (biggest mall in Europe !) will attract businesses to the area and create jobs. Yes, a few jobs are created - for a short period there have been a fair number of jobs for builders but when they go, the only prospects are jobs in low-paid, poorly protected sectors such as fast food, sales and cleaning. Someone makes a nice packet - but you can bet it's not the workers.

Meanwhile, no new homes are built and the Council even has the nerve to convert an estate into temporary housing for the student athletes (later to be sold as yuppie flats - which may not be so easy as the recession begins to bite). To add insult to injury, they've even appealed to local people to come and do up the flats on a voluntary basis! Why don't they also ask people to drown themselves in the Olympic pool as a sacrifice to the glory of the Games and the Council!?

Of course, people aren't fools, and hardly anyone's been daft enough to put themselves forward to do up the flats or to perform any other slave tasks for the Council (they call it civic duties, we call it exploitation).

And, some people have made the connection between the squandering of local people's taxes for the Games and the lack of sufficient housing in Sheffield.

SQUAT THE LOT

The Sheffield Squatters Support Group are currently working to convince the Council to let them keep their homes whilst also publicising homelessness to the people of Sheffield.

There are 1,400 empty properties in the city, of which the squatters occupy only a tiny proportion. And, of course, their homes are in better nick than empties because they've been done up, heated and maintained, whereas homes without residents quickly become derelict.

The Squatters have gone from house to house, flat to flat in their area, collecting names of support from neighbours who'd far rather live next to squatters than next to empties which can become glue dens or arson targets for kids.

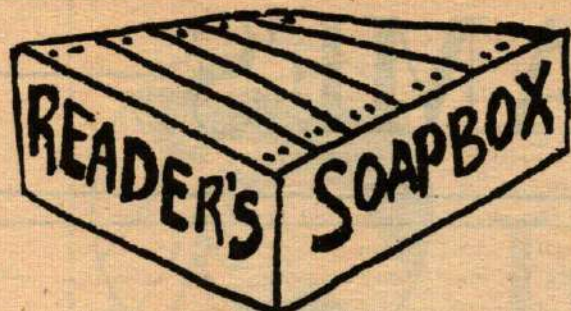
As the Council is far from popular these days, the support the squatters are getting may just do the trick. Bureaucrats are terrified of two things - losing votes and direct action, and as the squatters have used the latter and encouraged the former, they might just win their battle.

But it is only one battle in the on-going war against those who line their pockets with our money and who gamble with our quality of life and who, in utter hypocrisy, continue to mutter homage to socialism and say they work in our class's interest.

We say only we can work in our own interest - by using direct action, mutual aid and solidarity. Only when we organise ourselves on this basis can we hope to create a world where the homeless are housed and where potentially fun things like a world athletic event can be a part of a community, not a drain on it.

Donna, South Yorkshire





— Terrorists? —

There have been attacks by the IRA on targets both in the Six Counties, on the mainland and on the continent, which have been both 'soft' military targets but also, with the bomb attacks at London railway stations, have resulted in civilian lives being lost.

This has led to the usual condemnations by politicians, branding them criminal acts of evil men. Little or no thought is put into the underlying reasons behind groups taking up such methods of struggle. Of course, State leaders are not going to do this as they wish to brand such actions as insane with no reason behind them.

RESISTANCE

Terrorism has always been an emotive word that is banded around by world leaders who use it to condemn any group who take up armed struggle or resistance. Often a group that one state considers to be terrorists another state may consider to be freedom fighters, while the group in question usually see themselves as the leaders in a struggle for national liberation.

What states object to ultimately is not the use of violence for political ends, since they themselves use, or threaten to use, violence to maintain or extend their control. Rather, it is the **illegitimate** use of violence, i.e. when not sanctioned by a government. In the West especially, it is considered unconstitutional or undemocratic to go beyond the usual political channels.

Yet when states resort to violence to maintain the status-quo or to extend their influence, it puts terrorist acts into perspective. What terrorist group can compare with the mass murders of Hitler or Stalin, the Bolshevik terror, the death squads of Latin America? Only states can napalm large areas, send tanks into a foreign city. And it is only states who

threaten the use of nuclear weapons to gain political ends. The bombing of cities is used as a terror tactic to break civilian morale.

AUTHORITY

In contrast, the assassination of a dictator is considered a terrorist act, as is resistance to an occupying force or a totalitarian government. This is because it is not backed by the authority of the state.

present time is Nelson Mandela.

CONFUSION

States will often use the word **terrorist** simply to discredit opposition groups or to cause confusion. They will also interchange the label indiscriminately with others like **anarchist**, **marxist** or **maoist** to blur the concepts in the public's minds. One of the classic terrorist images is of the mad bomber dressed in black which became synonymous with anarchism toward the end of the 19th Century. This period is notable for a series of highly-publicised assassinations or bombings by certain individualist anarchists.

However, during this time many political factions used this method of dissent. It was a period of great state oppression in reaction to the increasing political

were often shaped by the state and its media. Usually the old style terrorists operated alone and had no common political ideology or no ideology at all. There was no coherent plan beyond the idea that the great example was better than any number of words.

MAU MAU

Modern groups are different. Since the world war there have been a number of national liberation struggles centred around guerilla groups. The Vietcong, the Mau Mau in Kenya and others used armed resistance to force the withdrawal of their colonial masters.

In the aftermath of the Cuban revolution, an attempt was made for the first time to develop a coherent theory of guerilla resistance by the dissident marxist Regis Debray. His theory was to be later taken up by many guerilla groups and had a widespread influence including Che Guevara.

It was named the 'Foco Theory' and was initially the main influence on the

Emphasis was on military, as well as political considerations, with a small, tight-knit group of guerillas being able to inflict defeats on a larger conventional army. This would then inspire the local population by the example and, in Debray's words, would be "the small motor that sets off the large motor".

MIDDLE CLASS

This inspired several rural guerrilla groups, consisting mainly of middle class rebels, students and intellectuals. None were able to exert any lasting influence or enlist the local population to any great extent. Their failure was symbolised by the death of Che Guevara in Bolivia after he attempted to put the theory to the test.

After the failure of the rural guerillas there was an attempt to adapt the Foco Theory to the cities with the rise of the urban guerilla groups in the 1970's. They were attempting to take advantage of the tremendous rise in the urban populations that took place in Latin America.

TUPAMAROS

This was exemplified by the Tupamaros in Uruguay, where the urban population accounted for 80% of the total, nearly all in the capital Montevideo. Their strategy, in common with other urban guerilla groups, was to attempt to create conditions whereby the state would have to show its true, oppressive face. Their action, they believed, would bring together revolutionary forces under a unified command, creating a vanguard to spearhead revolution. They sought an efficient method of channelling violence in order to secure political power.

They had three main aims: to demoralise the state's police and armed forces; to win over the working class by facilitating a political process for the seizure of power by their example; and to prepare themselves for eventual political power with on-the-job training for their cadres.

RULING CLASS

They tried to conduct psychological warfare to contribute to the moral disintegration of the state. They believed that by using terror tactics a split would occur in the ruling elite. However, like the rural guerillas before them, they



Of course, the situation is complicated by the differing perceptions of various states. To the Nazi regime the resistance movements in Europe were terrorists, but to the Allies they were freedom fighters. More recently, the Contras in Nicaragua and the Sandanistas before them were, according to your viewpoint, liberators or terrorists.

An actual victory for the 'terrorists' changes their status and their leaders can become heads of state. A classic example at the

awareness of the working class. The anarchist incidents covered three years and resulted in the deaths of perhaps 20 people. Compare this with the destruction of the Paris Commune a few years before, which resulted in the state murder of 20,000.

One of the reasons that anarcho-syndicalism developed is that working class militants realised that individualistic acts, 'propaganda by the deed', only resulted in alienating the working class, whose perceptions of such actions

emerging rural guerilla groups in Latin America in the 60's. The idea was that a small band of dedicated revolutionaries could spark off a mass movement by becoming a focus for revolt. Their influence would spread downwards throughout the rural population, the cities would be isolated and then eventually taken.

Debray based his theory on the Maoist strand of marxism and on his perception of the Cuban experience. He claimed that if a small liberated area could be established it would act as the springboard from which the whole of a country could be won.

TERRORISTS?

Continued

remained totally isolated from the class they were supposedly going to lead.

It was often workers themselves who suffered at their hands, being often the most vulnerable to the guerilla actions. When the states did react, again, the workers' organisations were the first to be affected by any crackdown. Many working class people unconnected with the guerillas were imprisoned or killed, all of which only served to isolate the groups. Being detached from any popular movement and being unrelated to the social situation, no working class support emerged and the groups went into decline.

The urban guerilla movement also developed in Europe, most notably by the Baader Meinhof group in West Germany and the Brigate Rossi in Italy. They kidnapped and killed leading establishment figures. Again, their isolation from the mass of the working class, coming almost entirely from student and middle class backgrounds, was used against them by the state to easily discredit them.

For the past two decades the PLO and the IRA have been perceived by the public as epitomising a modern terrorist group. Both have changed and adapted their tactics over the years, with both military and political wings being pushed at various times.

force, yet only represented a minority within the population. In this respect they had characteristics in common with both national liberation movements and the urban guerilla groups. Unlike the latter they were able to build up substantial support amongst sections of the population, and that, along with their two-front approach, has enabled them to survive for so long. But they have also used some of the tactics of the urban guerilla groups and have had similar structures.

GOVERNMENT-IN-WAITING

The PLO have recently been able to transcend their old classification as a terrorist organisation and are now widely seen as the alternative government-in-waiting. For the IRA it has been more difficult and they have been unable to move beyond their base in the catholic working class. Even then there are other groups offering alternatives, and their desire for a united Ireland of the type they envisage is not widely shared in the Republic.

The IRA abandoned their bombing campaign of the early 70's and switched their focus to community and electoral politics. Their recent campaign seemed to be the beginning of a new direction for them. However, it highlighted the difficulties in taking such actions, with mistakes being made as well as the possibilities of rogue groups taking the campaign a stage further than intended.

the streets of Britain. The state uses any deaths to its own advantage and no matter how the targets are justified this is not perceived as such by the working class. It is also ironic that the campaign has begun just as the state's judicial system is under question following the recent releases of the Guildford Four and Birmingham Six.

INDISCRIMINATE

The idea that small group, answerable to no-one but themselves, can bring about fundamental change through their actions is one that should be opposed. In some cases armed struggle is vindicated and the national liberation movements had little or no alternative but to take on their colonial masters militarily.

This course of action is harder to justify for groups like the IRA, especially during campaigns that use indiscriminate bombings and shootings as the main weapons. In fact, these tactics actually alienate the very supporters that the groups who use them hope to enlist.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Anarcho-syndicalists have always seen that social revolution cannot be brought about by a small vanguard operating outside of the working class. Violence is inevitable in a social revolution as the working class defend themselves against state attack. This however is fundamentally different from the actions

why people take to such methods to bring about change and often the state's actions can mean that the workers have little choice but to take up arms against it. But in most cases it is a tactic that harms the very class it supposedly is trying to help. It is no

of social revolution. In times of repression there can be a need for clandestine organisation to maintain opposition. Ultimately, though, this type of organisation, alienated from the class by adopting 'terror' tactics, will become, and remain,



surprise that its proponents and advocates come mainly from outside our class.

Only organisation based fully in our class and democratically controlled can hope to achieve the goal

elitist and vanguardist. Even if it did manage any social change it would be a superficial one, simply a change of leadership with the working class still in much the same position as before.

ST, Manchester DAM



Fidel Castro holds a ground-level conference. Raúl Castro is at the extreme right.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

They differed from the earlier groups in that they saw themselves in a struggle against a foreign, occupying

With the more recent bomb attacks, as well as the mortar attack on Downing Street, it seems as if the IRA are still prepared to bring the Irish war on to

of terrorist groups as it will be sanctioned by, and accountable to, the class that uses it.

We can recognise the reasons





Our International

THE PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM



REVOLUTIONARY Syndicalism, basing itself on the class war, aims at the union of all manual and intellectual workers in economic fighting organisations struggling for their emancipation from the yoke of wage slavery and from the oppression of the State. Its goal consists in the re-organisation of social life on the basis of Free Communism, by means of the revolutionary action of the working class itself. It considers that the economic organisations of the proletariat are alone capable of realising this aim, and, in consequence, its appeal is addressed to workers in their capacity of producers and creators of social riches, in opposition to the modern political labour parties which can never be considered at all from the point of economic re-organisation.



REVOLUTIONARY Syndicalism is the confirmed enemy of every form of economic and social monopoly, and aims at its abolition by means of economic communes and administrative organs of field and factory workers, on the basis of a free system of councils, entirely liberated from subordination to any Government or political party. Against the politics of the State and of parties it erects the economic organisation of labour; against the Government of men, it sets up the management of things. Consequently, it has not for its object the conquest of political power, but the abolition of every State function in social life. It considers that along with the monopoly of property, should disappear also the monopoly of domination, and that any form of the State, including the form of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will always be the creator of new monopolies and new privileges: it could never be an instrument of liberation.

THE DOUBLE TASK of Revolutionary Syndicalism is as follows: on the one hand it pursues the daily revolutionary struggle for the economic, social and intellectual improvement of the working class within the framework of existing society. On the other hand, its ultimate goal is to raise the masses to the independent management of production and distribution, as well as to the transfer into their own hands of all the ramifications of social life. It is convinced that the organisation of an economic system, resting on the producer and built up from below upwards, can never be regulated by Governmental decrees, but only by the common action of all manual and intellectual workers in every branch of industry, by the running of factories by the producers themselves in such a way that each group, workshop or branch of industry, is an autonomous section of the general economic organisation, systematically developing production and distribution in the interests of the entire community in accordance with a well-determined plan and on the basis of mutual agreements.



REVOLUTIONARY Syndicalism is opposed to every centralist tendency and organisation, which is but borrowed from the State and the Church, and which stifles methodically every spirit of initiative and every independent thought. Centralism is an artificial organisation from top to bottom, which hands over en bloc to a handful of men, the regulation of the affairs of a whole community. The individual becomes, therefore, nothing but an automaton directed and moved from above. The



interests of the community yield place to the privileges of a few, variety is replaced by uniformity: personal responsibility by a soulless discipline; real education by a veneer. It is for this reason that Revolutionary Syndicalism advocates federalist organisation; that is to say, an organisation, from below upwards, of a free union of all forces on the basis of common ideas and interests.



REVOLUTIONARY Syndicalism rejects all arbitrarily fixed political and national frontiers, and it sees in nationalism nothing else but the religion of the modern State, behind which are concealed the material interests of the possessing classes. It recognises only regional differences, and demands for every group the right of self-determination in harmonious solidarity with all other associations of an economic, territorial or national order.



IT IS FOR THESE same reasons that Revolutionary Syndicalism opposes militarism in all its forms, and considers anti-militarist propaganda as one of the most important tasks in the struggle against the present system. In the first instance, it urges individual refusal of military service, and especially, organised boycott against the manufacture of war material.

REVOLUTIONARY Syndicalism stands on the platform of direct action, and supports all struggles which are not in contradiction with its aims, viz., the abolition of economic monopoly and of the domination of the State. The methods of fight are the strike, the boycott, sabotage, etc. Direct action finds its most pronounced expression in the general strike which, at the same time, from the point of view of Revolutionary Syndicalism, ought to be the prelude to the social revolution.

ALTHOUGH enemies of all forms of organised violence in the hands of any Government, the Syndicalists do not forget that the decisive struggle between the Capitalism of today and the Free Communism of tomorrow, will not take place without serious collisions. They recognise violence, therefore, as a means of defence against the methods of violence of the ruling classes, in the struggle of the revolutionary people for the expropriation of the means of production and of the land. Just as this expropriation cannot be commenced and carried to a successful issue except by the revolutionary economic organisation of the workers, so also the defence of the revolution should be in the hands of these economic organisations, and not in those of the military or other organisations operating outside the economic organs.



IT IS ONLY in the revolutionary economic organisations of the working class that is to be found the power able to carry out its emancipation as well as the creative energy necessary for the reorganisation of society on the basis of Free Communism.

(Founding principles of the International Workers Association, 1922)

International Workers Association



DEMOCRACY

We are told that we live in a democratic society and, not only is it a democracy, it is as near perfect a democracy as you can get. There may be a few questions and quibbles about proportional representation and the House of Lords, but these are seen as the fine tuning of a well running machine. It may be a cliché, but according to this kind of democracy, our power lies in a handful of X's on a ballot paper. As anarchists, we reject this democracy as a sham!

We don't have to go into great detail to expose the hypocrisy of our present society. Just one example is the total U-turns by politicians and parties in power that we witness all the time and which are an accepted part of the political system we live under.

These U-turns aren't simply a result of an inborn predisposition of politicians to lie - it has to do with the fact that real power and authority are not in the hands of elected bodies but with industrialists and generals.

This is the first reason why we reject this democracy as nothing is ever going to change unless we direct our energy against those with the real power. The second reason is because in this society democracy is based on electing people into power and authority over us rather than electing people to carry out specific tasks.

INGRAINED

The problem we as revolutionaries face is that this so called democracy has become ingrained into people's consciousnesses. This becomes obvious when we look at how popular movements such as miners support work or anti poll tax activities are organised. Once things go beyond local group activity elected people become seen as leaders who should be followed rather than directed by everyone else. Even within local groups there is a tendency to look on the chair, secretary and treasurer as "those who know best".

It is this understanding of democracy we must confront if we are to build a new society within the hearts

and minds of working people. The first thing we must do is describe what we mean by democracy.

AUTONOMY

The first principle by which we organise is that of autonomy. This means that different groups are free to govern their own affairs, be they political, industrial, community or workplace groups. But, as nothing exists in isolation, individuals and groups must be held accountable to the wider society: a factory to its community, an anarchist group to the wider anarchist movement and, most importantly, those coordinating bodies or officials to those who appointed them.

CONSENSUS

Another principle by which we organise is consensus decision making. In doing this, we totally reject operating simply by majority rule. Rather, we believe it is important that when people are deciding what to do that they get the agreement of all the different units necessary to carry out that decision.

This doesn't mean that everyone is going to agree on everything, but rather that people consent to either do something or that others do it. In a free society, there's no way around this as without consent (which arises not from sterile motions and proposals but from informed debate) then coercion or manipulation occur.

In order to practice and understand how a new society will run itself, it is important to use the principles of organisation in the here and now. People learn from experience, from trial and error, and therefore we all need to work at these new forms of free organisation which are so different from the ones we are brought up with.

We must reject the accepted practice of "the ends justify the means". Only by accepting that the way we organise now is the way a future society will turn out, can a truly democratic and revolutionary form of organisation have the strength to defend itself in

the present society. This understanding is a process that takes education

whatever term you wish to call it by, is to start using these principles in

right label or have read the right books. It is only by the creation



as well as practical experience. It cannot be written in laws or rules that are blindly followed but must be flexible and grounded in people's various situations and experiences.

THE WAY FORWARD

The way forward for building a wider understanding of anarchist organisation, libertarian democracy or

our organisations and groups. It is from these experiences that activists will gain the ability to apply these principles and practices of real democracy to all kinds of situations.

But first these groups must take on a radical alteration. They must adopt a policy of including people rather than excluding them because they do not wear the

of militants and activists who understand the concept of freedom and who can apply this in day to day struggles and organisation that a new world can be built. Party hacks who can argue the line but who have to be told what the line is are of no use to us either now or in the future. What we need are militants who think with their hearts and fight with their heads.

REVIEW

Long Day's Journey Into The Night by Eugene O'Neil

(Royal National Theatre - on tour til end of May.)

Eugene O'Neill was a figure as romantic and tragic as his plays suggest. He also had a reputation as a radical and was part of the 'Greenwich Village Scene' that included Emma Goldman, John Reed and Louise Bryant as portrayed in the film 'Reels'.

His plays were slated by critics as morbid and shut down by the police for obscenity. O'Neill often said he was a man divided between despair at the triumph of cynical

materialism and his ever-renewing commitment to an ennobled human spirit.

This production is not for those who like short or light drama, but it is well acted and produced and still has interest and relevance. In his day, O'Neill touched on taboo subjects like alcoholism and drug addiction, breaking the stiff conventions of bourgeois theatre as Ibsen and Strindberg did.

Like Arthur Miller (*Death of a Salesman*) he punctures the 'American Dream' - all is not well in the 'land of the

free', even for the reasonably well-heeled. He wrote of America that "supposing someday we should suddenly see with the clear eyes of the soul the true valuation of all our triumphant, brass band materialism, see the cost... why, we are the tragedy, the most appalling yet written or unwritten!"

It is in this light that *Long Day's Journey Into Night* should be seen - a cry of pain in the face of all-too-familiar reality of this brave new world we live in.

P, Doncaster

LETTERS



Dear DA,

It was sickening to see such blatantly sexist cartoons in the February issue. We refer to the 'Anti Poll Tax' and 'Barbie and Ken' cartoons. In both cartoons, wimmin are portrayed as mindless and submissive. Both play on heterosexual patriarchal images. Things such as this turn many wimmin away from anarchism.

DA should be true to its Aims and Principles. For whatever reasons these cartoons were printed, they came over as SEXIST PAP. It is not acceptable for an equality-based movement to promote dangerous heterosexual propaganda which does nothing but damage the reputation of anarchist politics.

Does the DA Editorial Group really think that these negative images of wimmin are acceptable? Does the DA Editorial Group really think it can produce a credible paper when it is promoting sexism and denying half the population control of "their own lives and environment"? Would a cartoon with similar racist innuendo be acceptable?

If these cartoons (especially the 'Barbie and Ken') are meant to be a mockery of sexism, or at worst a joke... who's laughing???

Several people working with the DAM in Norwich are put off joining and will not while this mindless crap remains a part of DA. We hope that you will seriously revise your editorial policy on graphics.

Norwich DAM and Supporters

REPLY: After reading and re-reading the above letter several times and puzzling over what it could possibly mean, we still find ourselves confused as to how to reply.

Apparently, a cartoon ('Anti Poll Tax') which shows a man and woman (presumably husband and wife) together promotes sexism and heterosexism. Or are we to understand that it's the article of clothing - the pinny - which causes such

offence. Do Norwich DAM and "Supporters" believe that images of men and women together (here actively fighting the Poll Tax) are inherently sexist and heterosexist?

We thought these words described people who demeaned and patronised people solely on the basis of their gender and sexuality - we didn't realise that showing people fighting together came under this category.

As for 'Barbie and Ken' - yes, this was meant to be funny. Barbie and Ken dolls are stupid stereotypes for children to play with and learn. By putting this cartoon with its caption was TAKING THE PISS. Anybody who fails to see this, who is so defensive that they can't see the humour in using 'establishment' images in an 'anti establishment' way and who calls us sexist just because their idea of humour is different - IS TAKING THE PISS.

As for claiming the cartoon is heterosexist, well, all we can say is would the cartoon have been ok if we put two Barbies together? Should one of the Barbies have also been black? Let's hear it for tokenism...

Lastly, we wonder if Norwich DAM and "Supporters" have paused to think whether any of us are women - or does the fact that we spell our gender properly and make fun of sexist toys (and possibly also sleep with men and wear pinnies) negate our opinions? At least we don't presume to speak for "all women".

DA Collective

Dear D.A.,

"Nobody enjoys war, but we're here to do a job." This quote was used in DA to show that "squaddies don't know what the fuck they're doing (in the Gulf) or don't care." Well, what would you say for the cameras if you were a squaddie camped in the Saudi desert?

In fact for a lot of

ordinary blokes the army is just a job - better than the dole, and a chance to travel and maybe learn a trade. You may not see the ugly side before you join up, but on "active service" the image begins to crack. And no, I haven't forgotten about Ireland.

Britain doesn't have a conscript army, but that doesn't mean all soldiers are morons. In the US, Viet Nam veterans and Black working class communities, whose young people join up to get out of the poverty trap, have been taking action against the war. This is what we need - and more! How the hell can we expect the guns to "turn on the real enemy", yet treat squaddies with total contempt?

Come on DA, get your act together. Cut the crap - what the hell is "prognosticating" supposed to mean anyway? - and let's have some real class consciousness, not this lukewarm mixture of rhetoric and garbage.

Ashleigh, London

REMEMBER MAY DAY

And so another Mayday comes around. Hopefully it will continue to regain its old meaning and importance, in line with the excellent heckling and abuse that Gorbachev and co. got in Red Square last year.

Comrades in the West should follow the Soviet anarchists' example and use the opportunity of our self-appointed leaders' Mayday marches to get our point across. Anarchist, anti-fascist or anti-poll tax contingents should be built for Mayday marches around the country to show the bureaucratic bastards who 'run' the Labour movement that we know that Mayday is about the tradition of the Haymarket Martyrs, the fighting capabilities of the working class and the dream

of a better tomorrow.

GENERAL STRIKE

It is not about the opportunity to boost the prospects of some boring, Poll Tax-implementing toady in the local council elections, or give support to Neil Kinnock's New Model Labour Party (blink and you miss the difference with the Tories).

We look forward to the day when the British working class has regained enough confidence to re-establish the tradition of the General Strike on Mayday, and join with their brothers and sisters across the world to demand a society without bosses and bureaucrats.

Long live Mayday!
Workers of the world unite!

WINNING THE CLASS WAR

REVIEW: Winning the Class War: An Anarcho-syndicalist Strategy by the Direct Action Movement.

Winning the Class War is probably the most important anarcho-syndicalist publication for decades. As it says in the introduction, it is not a blueprint for the creation of a revolutionary working class movement. It is, though, the first step towards introducing the idea of such a movement to the public.

Its direct and combative style share the essence and approach of the pamphlet. For too long our class initiatives and actions have been hijacked by social democrats or social democracy in marxist-leninist clothing, all vying for power and influence over us. This has led to apathy and cynicism within our class as well as a loss of confidence in our ability to organise ourselves and win.

Winning the Class War clearly states what is wrong with current organisations which purport to be working class and how activity within the workplace is attacked not only by the bosses, but also by the

bosses in the unions.

The social democrats from the left to the centre all believe that we are incapable of thinking and acting on our behalf - they believe that they alone have the intelligence and wherewithal to organise us. But their type of organisation does not call for the end of capitalism, only for their collaboration in the running of that sinking empire.

WINNING THE Class WAR

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST STRATEGY

We all know that the system is wrong - apart from the hacks, that is. We don't actually need books and pamphlets to tell us that. **Winning the Class War** goes beyond criticism to consider the idea of networks as a means of bringing the new society and an end to capitalism, closer. These

networks cut across all false divisions created to divide us - trade lines, paid work/unpaid work, workplace activity/ local activity.

These networks are non hierarchical and are a means of re-empowering our class. They are a means of taking control and responsibility for our lives. These are the seeds which will grow into a formidable force for change. Such a means of organisation is not easy - it will take much of our energy and time. But what are these compared to the complete overthrow of capitalism?

Don't be put off by the cover of **Winning the Class War**, you get used to it. This is a valuable tool for all anarcho-syndicalists and sympathisers. Use it wisely to give our class the means once and for all of destroying capitalism and building a truly libertarian communist society.

J, Doncaster

FOR YOUR COPY OF WINNING THE CLASS WAR, SEND 1.25 (P&P INCL) TO:

PO BOX 106
Rotherham
South Yorkshire S60

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Donations, large or small, are always gratefully received. Remember that another way of showing your support for Direct Action is to take out a Supporters Subscription. For 12 you get 12 issues of DA sent to your home, a copy of the book, *A Year of Our Lives* (the story of the Miners Strike in a Doncaster pit village), and our undying gratitude!

Deadline
April 12th

Where are we?

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c/o Manchester DAM.

DAM International Secretary:
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SCOTLAND:
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OTHER CONTACTS:
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• ASP (anarcho-syndicalist
publishers), BCM Box 3714,
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(anarchist monthly), BM
Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX •
Organise (anarchosyndical-
ists), 7 Winetavern St,
Belfast 1

Who are we?

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

WANT TO FIND OUT MORE?

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

D.A.

Direct Action has been putting the case for anarcho-syndicalism since 1945, when it was launched as the monthly paper of the Anarchist Federation of Britain. In 1950 the AFB became the Syndicalist Workers Federation, and when, in 1979, the SWF were central in forming the Direct Action Movement, DA became the paper of the DAM.

- 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.

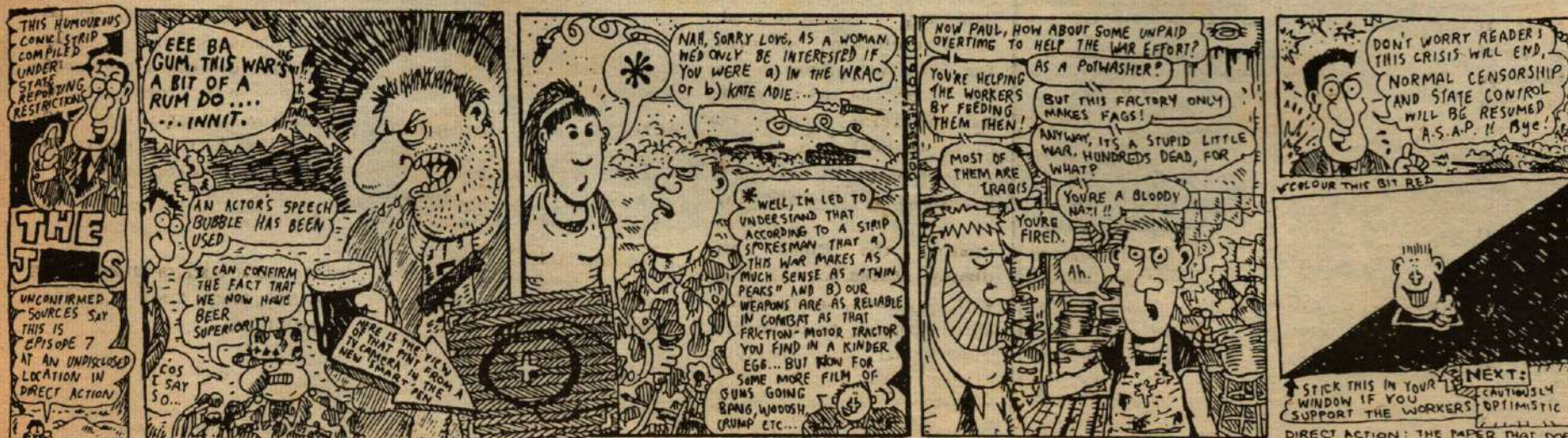
SORRY

Apologies to all our readers for the late arrival of the March issue of DA. This was due to problems at our printers in Glasgow. As a result of those ongoing problems it is likely that the production quality of this issue will be reduced. However, as of May DA should be looking better than ever!

Produced and published by the Direct Action Editorial Collective (members of South Yorkshire and Manchester DAM). All correspondence to:

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SOUTH YORKSHIRE S60 1NW.

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PO Box 239, Glasgow G3 6RA.



DIRECT ACTION

Anti Poll Tax Conference

Edinburgh 11th May (see pg 2)

WAR AND REVOLUTION

In October 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, with the aid of militant workers in Moscow and Leningrad. The Bolsheviks then set about constructing a system based on the ideas of Marx and Lenin. It was this system of State Capitalism, that they were to pursue for the next 70 years, that has led to the Soviet Union being on the verge of economic collapse.

STATE CONTROL

The instituting of complete state control has led to the economy grinding towards a halt, due to the inefficient and bureaucratic methods of production and distribution. The state of the economies in Eastern Europe and the lack of food in the USSR is testimony to this.

The reason the Soviet government has attempted to change over to a market system is not because Gorbachev wanted it, but simply because the present system has gone as far as is possible and is now no longer able to compete with Western economies.

However, the reality of this changeover has proved too much for the Soviet authorities, and now the talk is of military dictatorship in order to prevent the complete disintegration of the Soviet Union. This would almost certainly be controlled by hardline Leninists who would attempt to reinforce the bankrupt Marxist-Leninist system developed by the Bolsheviks. The Soviet working class could then only descend into greater poverty than now, as the system becomes more and more ineffective.

Western investment is the only thing that can save the transition to a market economy, but the world-wide

recession, the cost of the war in the Gulf and instability in the Soviet Union have made Western capitalists reluctant to invest heavily in the country. The introduction of a hardline Communist regime would kill off what little interest there is now. Such a regime would just take things back to square one, with the authorities left with nowhere to go. The Soviet workers would be left with a choice - submit or revolt.

food becomes harder to find, the working class as a whole will become increasingly restless, now that they have had a taste of change. Faced with an unpopular and intransigent regime with no room for manoeuvre, it would seem that only revolution could satisfy the desires of the Soviet people. It is probably for this reason that no troops were sent to fight against Iraq (along with memories of the Afghan war).

The Soviet authorities seem

is highly unlikely that the Soviet working class will be so easily crushed by military might.

UPRISINGS

In 1917, the Russian Revolution overflowed into Central and Eastern Europe, resulting in numerous revolutionary uprisings. Western governments sent in troops and artillery to crush the revolutions, but had limited success because of strikes at home, troop

Should this situation arise, we will no doubt be bombarded with anti-revolutionary disinformation and told that it is simply a nationalist/pro-capitalist movement. It is unlikely that the Soviet workers will be fooled by a political party again.

Although nationalist movements are an impediment to social revolution, the strong Ukrainian nationalist movement that existed in 1918 was swept aside by the anarchist Makhnovist movement. This movement liberated large areas of the Ukraine and set up a non-hierarchical society, only to see it destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

KRONSTADT

In February 1921 (February is a critical month in Russia as the long cold winters draw to a close), the workers and sailors at Kronstadt rose up in support of strikes in Moscow and Leningrad against the hated Bolshevik regime. Kronstadt was regarded as the most revolutionary city in Russia and launched the 1921 uprising in order to create a society of free soviets - a society with no class system or state and an end to private ownership of industry. The Bolsheviks acted typically, isolating the city and massacring the revolutionaries, thus ending any effective revolutionary movement.

The anarchist thinker, Peter Kropotkin, stated after his experience of revolutions in the last century that "in any country, a revolution starts off where the last one finished". Looks like it should be even more interesting next time round!



REVOLUTION

Already the miners are fighting back, and as poverty begins to bite and

unable to accept the political changes that result from economic change. This is what happened in China two years ago, but it

mutinies and general war weariness. No doubt they will respond in the same way as in 1918 if revolution breaks out in Russia again.

Duncan, Norwich DAM