

# DIRECT ACTION

THE VOICE OF ANARCHO SYNDICALISM

Paper of the Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association

IWA

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## SUMMARY

Columbus was nothin to  
celebrate, 500 years of  
fighting back

Editorial and Center pages

Building anarcho-syndicalist  
unions in Britain - A strategy  
to win

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Would you credit it? Our  
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## 500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE



*Direct Action* is the newspaper  
of the Direct Action Movement,  
British Section of the  
International Workers Association,  
which has sections in France,  
Spain, Italy, Norway, Germany,  
Japan, Australia, Argentina,  
Brazil, U.S.A. and Finland.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

THEY CELEBRATE GENOCIDE - WE CELEBRATE 500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE

ON OCTOBER 12TH, 1492, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, BLINDED BY GREED AND ARROGANCE, FIST WASHED UP ON A CARIBBEAN BEACH. NEITHER THEN, NOR IN SUBSEQUENT LANDINGS, DID HE SEE WHAT LAY BEFORE HIM - A CONTINENT RICH IN CULTURE AND CIVILISATION. THE COMPLEX SOCIETIES OF THIS "NEW" WORLD HAD EXISTED ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT CONTINUOUSLY FOR 50,000 YEARS AND SUPPORTED PERHAPS 15 MILLION PEOPLE. BY AND LARGE, THE SOCIETIES WERE ORGANISED ALONG EGALITARIAN LINES, WITH PROPERTY HELD COLLECTIVELY, WOMEN SHARED REAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER, AND WAR, AT LEAST IN THE EUROPEAN SENSE, WAS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN.

SINCE THAT POINT THERE HAS BEEN NOTHING LESS THAN A CAMPAIGN OF VICIOUS, UNRELENTING, GENOCIDE. NATIVE AMERICANS ARE STILL POR-

TRAYED TO THIS DAY, AS IF THEY ARE LITTLE BETTER THAN ANIMALS. THE RACIST IMAGES PORTRAYED IN WESTERNS ARE NO MORE REALISTIC THAN THE NAZIS PORTRAYAL OF JEWS.

IN THIS ISSUE OF DA WE SEEK TO HELP PUT THE RECORD STRAIGHT. AT THE OLYMPICS, AT EXPO 92 AND THROUGHOUT THE SO CALLED CIVILISED WORLD THEY ARE SEEKING TO CELEBRATE THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF WAR MONGERING CONQUERERS.

WE CALL UPON PEOPLE TO BOYCOTT THESE CELEBRATIONS TO DISRUPT AND STOP THEM WHENEVER POSSIBLE, WHAT WE SHOULD BE CELEBRATING IS THE INCREDIBLE 500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE PUT UP BY NATIVE AMERICANS AND OTHER INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD, WHO HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF THIS RUTHLESS "NEW WORLD".

SEE CENTRE PAGES.

## DIRECT ACTION

is the paper of the  
DIRECT ACTION  
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For a revolutionary Anarchist  
(Non-governmental) society through  
Syndicalism (the struggle for workers  
control) to free communism  
(common ownership and no state).

## LETTERS

Dear DA,

Judging from issue 79 you don't seem able to distinguish controversy from free adverts from minor party-builders.

To deal with the first letter from Guy Cheverton. He claims an "Anarcho-Syndicalist faction" can take control of a Trades Council and indeed has done so at Hull and this is much better than expecting people to read DA which is not available in a "backwater like Hull". True, DA may not be available in Hull since a person named Guy Cheverton but opposed to Anarcho-syndicalism was once entrusted with producing an issue in that city and instead produced a DA reflecting his own views, which killed it stone dead there and almost (but for rebuttals) everywhere else.

Cheverton goes on to say that his faction has "supported" CNT-AIT prisoners, and also held a meeting in support of the PLO. I recall a certain Guy Cheverton (can it be the same?) who tried to sabotage the campaign for CNT-AIT prisoners opposing genocidal repression, on the grounds that they were "terrorists". The PLO are patriots, which is quite different.

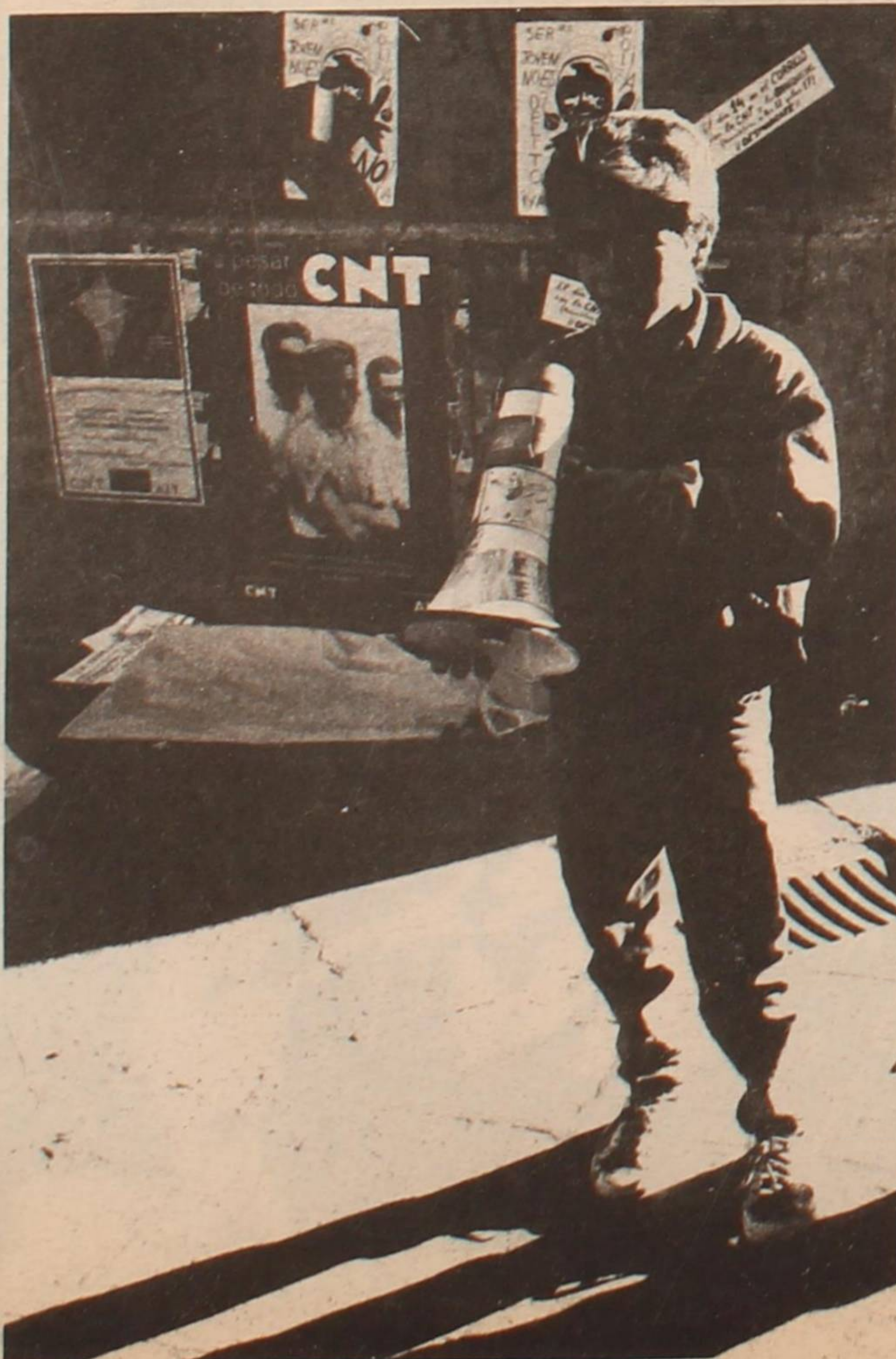
Alan Robertson is building a little empire of his own, the AWC, which has also denounced anarchist struggle as "terrorism". But, as he writes in the other letter, the "key is anti-imperialism" so they support nationalist struggles not just in emerging nations but in those which have achieved statehood. Actions to eliminate the Saddam Husseins of this world by their subjects would be unpatriotic. In countries where the workers have been totally crushed, a national leader can feel capable of tackling the Great Powers, and so qualify for being an "anti-imperialist" in new lefty jargon.

The reply to Cheverton says that in many other cities Trades Councils have been reduced to nothing. In fact

everywhere they are reduced to ghost towns, some of which may be squatted. They no longer merit attention from Norman Willis or anyone else, but what may remain of the past is the property or sometimes only the name. "Militant" seized moribund Labour Parties, but this had the aim of producing MPs (and so the Labour Party woke up to the undemocratic nature of their own organisation). Likewise

any faction, however tiny (provided they remain so) can get hold of moribund Trades Councils. This will not lead to anarcho-syndicalism but might enable a party builder to pose as the epicentre of international strike action from a "backwater".

Fraternally,  
Albert Deptford DAM



Dear DA,

In response to last month's article on S&M, whilst I agree that the court's ruling was typical Lord Lane nonsense and could have serious victimisation consequences, I felt that the article missed out on important issues.

As the author says "most S&M sex is based around mutual consent", unfortunately some is not. It has been known for some people to get off on having real "slaves", without consent. Also, the "trust" needed in S&M is sometimes broken, which is just as traumatic as being beaten by your partner in straight sex.

There is no place in a free society for those that would seek to glamorise sadism.

Fairly recently an S&M group held a workshop on Chilean Torture Methods at London's lesbian and gay centre, presumably under cover of the old excuse of "what we do in our own homes is our own affair". I'm sorry but this is not acceptable, and we need to make it clear.

Apart from being an outright insult to those that have suffered at the hands of torturers, viewing such films as entertainment could lead to dangerous tolerance of such atrocities.

This is not to say that S&M can't be fun and safe, but the power relationship IS distorted, putting people in a vulnerable position emotionally as well as physically, we should no more tolerate this in S&M than in other sex.

In solidarity,  
Philip, Deptford DAM

Dear DA,

While it is positive to see issues of sexuality in DA, "Sadism Masochism" the complex subject matter was treated too briefly.

The article seemed to contain

several contradictions and inconsistencies. It is regrettable that people have gone to prison as a result of S&M sex practices, and of course prison will have no (positive) effect on them. However, we should not automatically support any kind of activity per se which differs from the norm. We are not "anything goes" anarchists.

The question of pain and consent is an important one. As syndicalists we have never ceased to condemn other S&M practices such as self flagellation or flagellation by others in the name of piety or the catholic church and purity, as happens every year around Easter in Spain and other catholic countries. But, hang on, these whippings (often till backs stream with blood) are consensual. Where, then, do we go from here?

Surely as revolutionaries and syndicalists we neither accept nor support the above any more than having one's penis nailed to a block of wood in gay male S&M? All this does is amount to the crucifixion of sex. If "in truth most S&M sex is based around mutual consent", what do we do with the rest of it? Do we support something simply because it is consented to? In many parts of Africa and India women "consent" to circumcision of the clitoris, and males consent to castration. Often rapists say their victims consented originally, only to deny they did later.

Certainly "many socialists dislike S&M because of the distorted power relationships inherent in it" and as syndicalists we dislike anything with distorted power relationships.

As anarcho syndicalists our sexual politics must be pro sex and pro life; we do not stand for anti sex, and what is effectively the crucifixion of sex on a block of wood.

Love and Solidarity,  
Richard & Ron Manchester DAM

# EDUCATION - TIME TO MAKE A STAND

The education system is plainly in a state of decline. Academic standards, pay, conditions, student support and staff job security are all far worse than a decade ago. Bizarre though it may seem this has little to do with the recession but is more a result of a deliberate government policy of "rationalisation" of education, in an attempt to make it less of a provision for the benefit of society, and more of a profit orientated student marketing institution. Polytechnics show the worst of this, where concessions gained for higher education by a wave of militancy in the 60's are stripped away as they no longer "fulfil the needs of business" or are no longer compatible with the aims of profitable, educational enterprise. Whether we are workers or students, we are all feeling the pinch; moaning about it, however, isn't going to solve much, so clearly its time to make a stand.

## OLD SOLUTIONS

Traditionally we, as workers, have looked to our Trade unions and often to the Labour party to reverse our decline in pay, conditions and standards. However, in the post 70's breakdown of consensus politics (the cosy relationship that existed between government and unions from the war until 1979) the unions have retained little power and the leaderships of these organisations can only point to the stranglehold of Employment Legislation on their activities and urge us, who are suffering in the here and now, to "wait for Labour". This doesn't hold out much hope for working people, the Labour party remains in awe of free market torism, detaching itself from its old commitment to watered down socialism and in the same move, from the very working class it set out to defend. Finding ourselves with few allies beyond our own ranks, its about time we started representing our own interests rather than allowing some overpaid politician or union bureaucrat to do it for us.

## SEARCHING FOR ALTERNATIVES

A common solution is the concept of "rank and fileism". In practice this means we organise a grass roots based group amongst the workforce which relies on forcing the trade unions into action. A kind of pressure group. This has been tried before, more recently with the Broad Left and the National Rank and File Movement (NRFM) of the 70's. Rank and Files have however been dogged by two consistent problems. Firstly, unifying the Left in such an organisation leads inevitably to infighting. The outlook of most Left groups means that they will try to hijack a Rank and File for their own limited ends (usually recruitment to their own party), this was true of the SWP dominated NRFM, while the present Broad Left remains a convenient front for Militant in the Trade unions. The second flaw is the Rank and Files

basic aim - it can only be one to which every Left group can adhere - this usually means an anti union stance and not a lot else. A Rank and File will therefore spend much of its time criticising Union inaction but doing little about it in practical terms, as this would require a political strategy which the Left cannot agree on. It is this last point, the need for a specific political strategy, that will lead to a more action orientated stance.

Prior to the ascendancy of Labour party politics in the workers movement a common unified strategy in the struggle for fair pay and conditions existed in the form of syndicalism. This was very much grass roots based and tactically highly successful. This is where we draw our inspiration from. Plainly we have become fed up with a self appointed "Labour leadership" telling us all to lie down and be good little workers so that they can sort out the world for us. Well, we've let them play at politics in parliament some-

times and they've got us bugger all, so its about time we stood up, stopped asking and started taking!

An organisation has been set up called the Independent Education Network, a breath of fresh air to the constantly compromised workers movement within Polytechnics, colleges and schools.

The structure of the IEN reflects its syndicalist outlook - open and ultra democratic. Set up so that it is controlled by its members (not by a professional elite as in the present trade union set up). The IEN, as a result, has no permanent or paid officials, those that are given duties are recallable by the membership, have specific mandates and have a limited period in this position. It is hoped that all members will participate in these duties, and this, combined with organised self education will allow each member to fully understand their organisation and its reason for existence. Nationally the IEN remains federal, each local branch and region

able to determine its own affairs.

## PURSuing A DREAM

Its probably pretty clear by now that the IEN is proposing a more worker relevant, radical and democratic union than the present trade unions. The IEN hopes to embrace all workers and working class students in education, no matter whether they are caterers or lecturers.

In the long term we hope that our organisation can aid in the creation of an education system geared to people's needs and not the interests of big industrialists and finance capital, so that it is open to all and expands people's horizons not turning them into robots for the career production line.

Taken from a leaflet by Plymouth IEN

Contact the Independent Education Network at PO Box 29, S.W. P.D.O., Manchester M15 5HW.



## INDUSTRIAL NETWORKS

Created to gain higher wages and a shorter working week, trade unionism achieved these and found itself at a dead end. In the long run what is the point of wage increases in the face of inflation? The trade unions have no intention to do anything beyond selling our labour power to the bosses, a road littered with compromises and sell outs.

Obviously we still have to use unions to defend ourselves where we can, and encourage workers to do so; but we don't have to accept the status quo.

Tinkering with Trade Unionism isn't enough we need something better.

DAM supports the setting up of Anarcho Syndicalist unions, which unite people, not on the basis of their craft or what tools they use, but on the basis of the industry that they work within, avoiding sectionalism, allowing us to build true solidarity.

It is the best way to fight in the here and now, also these unions have a revolutionary perspective, with no false hope in any political party, only by overthrowing the bosses can we eradicate exploitation and poverty.

Obviously such unions are not built overnight, so we support the setting up of Industrial Networks. Networks bring together like minded activists to exchange ideas and circulate information, to engage in solidarity activities; and over time to set up an Anarcho Syndicalist union.

This means building an organisation that is workplace based, open to all grades of workers, based on direct action and decision making on an open and democratic basis; without bureaucrats or careerists.

What we propose is not new, in many other countries workers organisations have and are functioning successfully with similar aims and principles. Whether it be called revolutionary unionism, anarcho syndicalism or otherwise, it is workers taking charge of their own struggles, fighting a system set up to screw the working class.

Join DAM and the Industrial Networks in the fight to reclaim our lives and the wealth we create, to prepare through taking control of our own struggles, for the day when we take control of our own industries for the benefit of the community as a whole, based on need not profit.

## CONTACT:

Council Workers Network, PO Box 29, South West PDO, Manchester, M15 5HW.  
Despatch Industry Workers Union, 489 Kingsland Road, London, E8 4AU.

Health Workers Federation, PO Box 761, Camberwell, London.

Independent Education Network, PO Box 29, South West PDO, Manchester, M15 5 HW.

Transport Workers Bulletin, PO Box 574, London, SE4 1DL.

# THE NEXT ROUND

The UK has more anti union legislation (and the most repressive) than any other EC state. Nevertheless, the Tories are pressing ahead with plans for yet more. The latest plans unveiled in last years green paper, entitled "Industrial Relations", include the following:

Postal ballots for strikes, these would replace workplace ballots for all but the smallest disputes.

Strike Notice, a minimum of seven days notice after declaration of the ballot result.

Notice to employers, obliging unions to notify employers if a ballot was due to be held; to supply employers with sample copies of the ballot paper and the scrutineer's report.

Public right to sue strikers, any member of the public gains a right to sue public service workers taking "unlawful" industrial action.

Periodic renewal of the "check off", workers having to renew their agreement to deduction of union subscriptions from pay at least every three years.

It now looks like one of the proposals in the green paper has now been dropped by the government, legally enforceable collective agreements. This is because



these were overwhelmingly opposed by employers who, as the most frequent contract breakers, had the most to lose!

The draconian nature of this latest round of union legislation can be judged by the fact that they only received a lukewarm reception from the employers. The engineering employers federation stated that they did not believe postal ballots were necessary. The institute of personnel management stated that it was satisfied that workplace ballots

were generally conducted fairly and pointed out that they had a higher return rate and the CBI again stated that they felt that postal ballots were not as representative as workplace ballots.

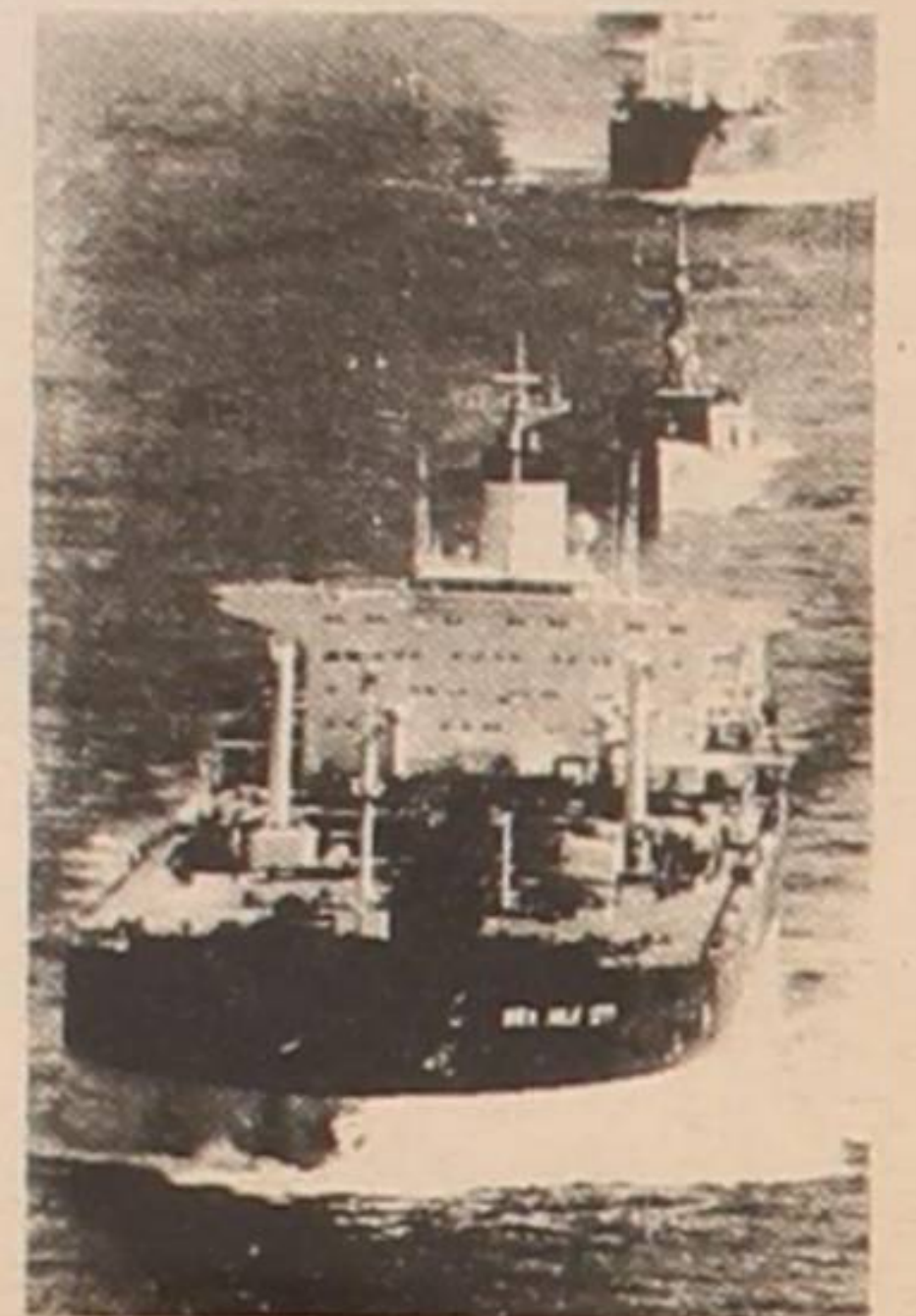
There is little doubt that this legislation has only two aims, to further weaken the right to strike, and another step in the Tories' long term aim of breaking the unions. While it is true to say that there is much to condemn about the current trade un-

ions, they are all workers have to defend their pay and conditions, and while there is a crying need to build an alternative, workers should organise to defend the unions against this blatant anti working class legislation.

*Taken from Transport Worker bulletin.*

## WORKING WHILST YOU CRAP

It seems that bosses are still not happy with the ludicrously unsafe staffing levels on ships. A new navigational aid to keep up 24hr productivity has been installed on three ships owned by Hapag-Lloyd, the German ship owners. A transparent toilet giving panoramic views of both port and starboard



has been installed on their bridges. The new toilet will allow the present requirement of at least two people on look out at any one time to be cut to one.

This will mean that the crew will now be cut to thirteen on the 30,000 ton container ships. German unions have stated that they fear for safety with just one person on duty at night on the long Atlantic crossings. Perhaps the position was better summed up by an experienced ship's pilot in a letter of protest to the German transport minister. He wrote: "To me this is an expression of utter contempt for human beings. It seems that productivity must be kept up even when shitting".

NO MATTER WHO YOU VOTE FOR  
THE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS GETS IN



### FIRST FLIGHT

THE ORIGINS OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM IN BRITAIN

Albert Meltzer

How did the British labour movement go the way it has? What is syndicalism and how did it make an impact on trade unionism? Has Anarcho-syndicalism a history? The story so far!

In memory of Leo Rosser, an anarcho-syndicalist activist of recent times.



**K.S.L.**

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## CARETAKERS' HEALTH

The results of a survey looking at the health problems of caretakers in high rise flats and residential wardens in sheltered accommodation have been published in a report by the Liverpool Occupational Health Project. The project carried out the survey in collaboration with NUPE. The results of the survey suggest problems of stress related ill health associated with a lack of freedom from the job as a result of constantly being on call, fatigue as a result of disturbed sleep and a lack of relaxation time.

The report also highlights some of the hazards in caretaking work, including physical and verbal abuse, having to work in unhygienic conditions, and stressful situations, such as having to identify suicide victims and dealing with drug problems.

Copies of the report are available from LOHP, 24 Hardman Street, Liverpool, L1 9AX. Tel 051 709 3995 ext 246. Price £5.50

# WOULD YOU CREDIT IT?

In recent years we have seen a dramatic rise in consumer credit. At the end of the second quarter of 1991, the total outstanding consumer credit was estimated at £52.6 billion. This has been put down to a number of factors, one of them being use of credit cards. Such cards are not only used to pay for expensive goods and services, but are increasingly being used to pay for food and groceries.

Whilst wider availability of credit gives access to goods and services which were previously unobtainable, more people are faced with debts which they are unable to repay.

A report published by the Policy Studies Institute in 1989 estimated that 2.4 of the 21 million families in the UK were in difficulties with arrears which amounted to £2.6 billion. Debtors in receipt of money advice owe, on average, £4-5,000 in unsecured debts. Even more disturbing is the tendency for people in debt to borrow more in order to pay off their existing debts, leading to even greater problems such as repossession of their homes.

During the 80's the Tories, in their bid to cut back the welfare state, promoted "credit" as a trendy alternative to debt. The pressure to borrow to buy was stepped up, and it became easier to get credit. As a result, the current amount of debt

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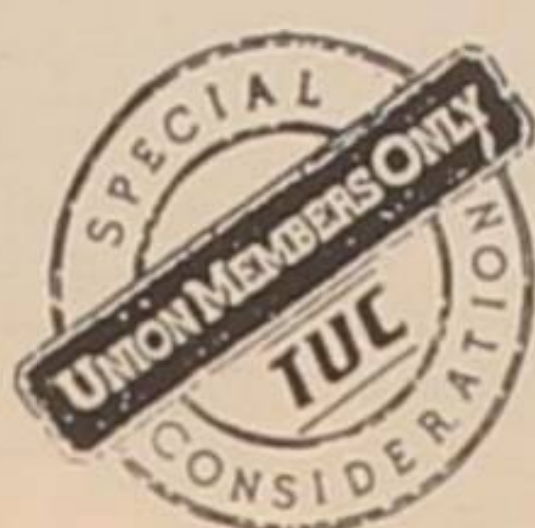
**nalgo**

Dear NALGO Member

## A New Union Benefit

As a member of NALGO many of you will already know how valuable a credit card can be. On your behalf we have now negotiated with the TUC a very special credit card programme called the the Unity First MasterCard®.

I would ask you to consider the following benefits:-



- Accepted in seven million establishments world-wide displaying the MasterCard or Eurocard signs, making it the convenient way to buy petrol, clothes or meals etc.
- A competitive APR of only 27.8% (27.9% for cash advances) which is 2% lower than Nat West Access and 3.5% lower than TSB Trustcard.
- An account for saving and spending - you start saving and earning the moment there are additional monies in your account.

owed is well in excess of £300 billion. The fact is, credit cards and loans are only given out so that those that provide them can make a fast buck.

Now we also have our Trade Unions attempting to pull us into debt. This idea of providing your members with credit cards is copied from the tactics of the US union movement (AFL-CIO). It seems odd for British Trade Unions

to look to the US for methods of maintaining membership, since the proportion of the US workforce in unions is 18% and still falling!

This tactic is symbolic of the move towards "business unionism", where unions will predominantly exist to provide "services" to members. These unions will function like an industrial RAC or AA, with no

democratic structure and with the only choices being whether or not to buy into the range of services offered.

The Trade Unions in Britain are still hoping to press-gang workers into joining them by making single union deals with employers. But, with the Tories planning more trade union legislation, this may prove less attractive to the bosses.

It becomes quite obvious from this farcical situation that the unions are failing workers in a very fundamental way. It is time to return to real working class values and action. Let them keep their yuppie cards, what we debt ridden workers need is a larger slice of the cake, if not the whole bakery.



# KILLER INDUSTRIES

In the last issue of Direct Action, we started a series of articles focusing on killer industries, where the profit rolls in, but the price paid is human suffering. This month we look at two more such industries, which between them reap approximately \$300 billion a year in profits.

PHARMACEUTICALS \$100 billion a year.

"Underdeveloped" countries spend 60% of their health budgets on medicines of which 70% are non essential and often useless (Health Action International figures). The World Health Organisation (WHO) lists 240 "essential drugs", most so called 3rd world countries import between 15 and 20,000 different drugs, resulting in \$15 billion flowing from poor to rich countries each year. In Mexico drug companies spend more on brainwashing students than the schools spend on training them. 20% of their costs (that's \$25 billion) go on advertising while only 15% is spent on research and development. Third world countries are often charged 3 to 4 times the domestic price for essential drugs by western companies, many of the drugs are ineffective or actually banned in the west. In Kenya the biggest selling medicine for diarrhoea is a kaolin-pectin mixture called ADM which the British Drug Guide says "has no part to play in the treatment of infantile gastroenteritis".

In Latin America the Parker Davis Group promoted an anti biotic "chloramphenicol" for general use, even for the common cold, whilst in the US it is only used for life threatening conditions as it has a high incidence of fatal side effects. When Bangladesh in the 1980's tried to stop the import of any but the essential drugs, the drug companies boycotted the sale of essential drugs to the country and the US threatened to cut off foreign aid.

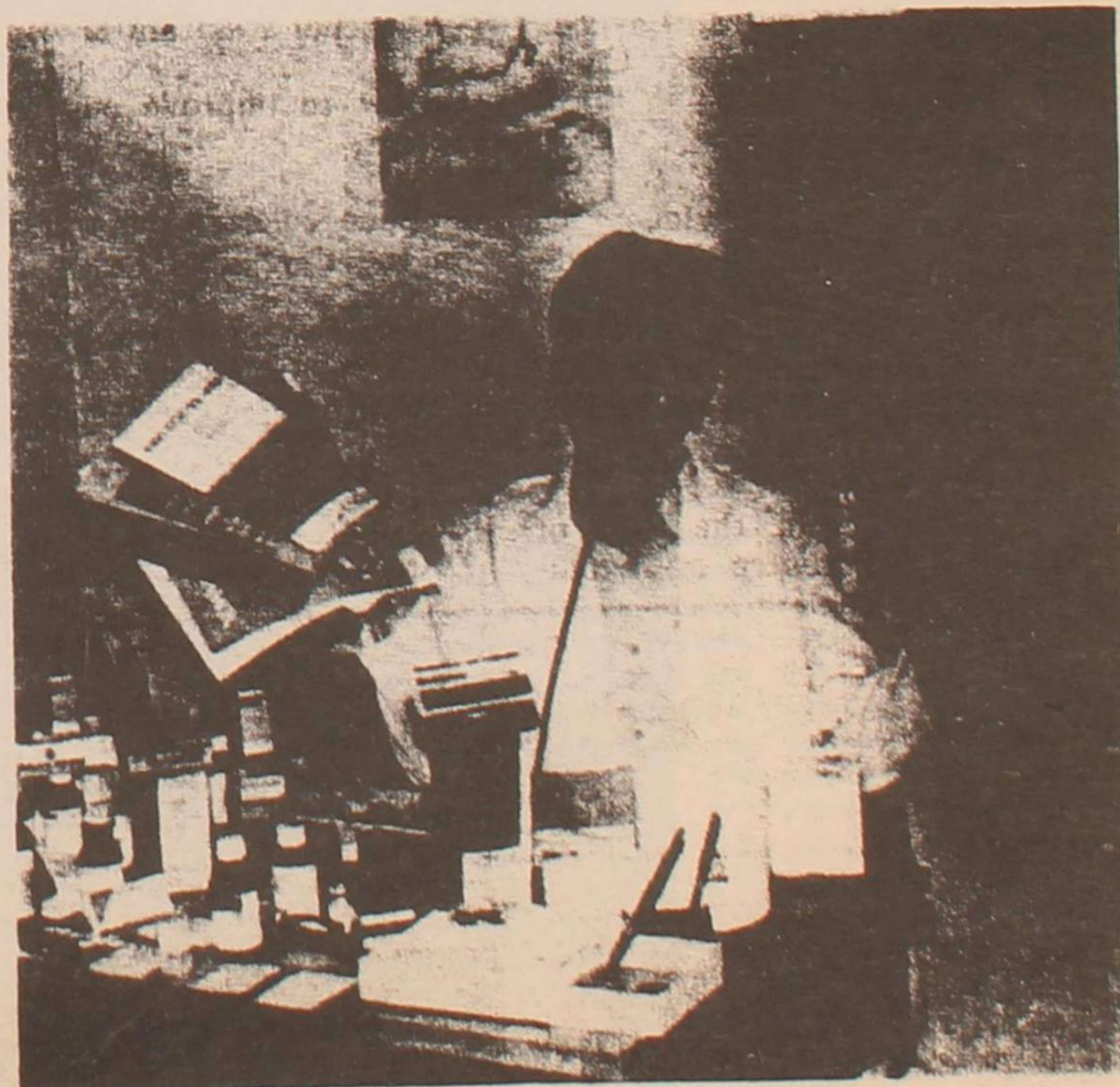
ARMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT \$200 billion a year in the US alone.

Half of the entire budget of the US goes directly or indirectly on defence, and the manufacturers receive up to \$40 billion in government subsidies. In the US \$3000 tax dollars per family may be spent on defence each year, compared with \$115 for housing and \$126 for education. 41% of foreign aid to the third world is in the form of military aid, and in 1985, 43 of the 113 governments receiving military aid were under some form of military rule. In El Salvador the level of Human Rights violations has risen in direct proportion to the level of US aid. The figures may sound clichéd but three weeks global military spending would meet the cost of primary health care needs for the whole globe for a year.

Since 1980, 45 countries have been involved in 40 wars but the character of war has changed. In WW1 it was estimated that 5% of casualties were civilians, whereas today 80-90% of

casualties are civilian. We can see then, that lies about "clinical" and accurate modern war do not describe the reality.

Next month we'll be looking at the role of International Banking, and the baby milk substitute industry, and their roles in preserving poverty and inequality.



# 500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE

1992 marks the 500 year anniversary of the Columbus expedition, which many governments and corporations are celebrating as "An encounter of cultures". The counter movement to this, under the banner of "500 Years of Resistance" seeks to counter the myths about the Columbus voyages, and events are being organised throughout Europe and the Americas towards that end.

The indigenous people of North America are survivors of a holocaust of immeasurable proportions. In the US, when many non Indian people look back through history, they cannot help but acknowledge that what occurred was an atrocity motivated by racism and greed, and many of them see cause for shame. But we all know that we cannot change the past, and maybe things would be done differently now. Also, most Americans think that these bad things ended with the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890.

But, the Indian wars did not end 100 years ago but have continued throughout this century, albeit in a more sophisticated form.

When the reservation system was set up, Indians were pushed into the lands nobody else wanted because they were not arable or good for grazing, but in the twentieth century it was found that most of the nation's mineral reserves (coal, shale oil, natural gas, and most importantly, uranium) lie under this undesirable land. So, once again, Indian people found themselves in the way of progress. The US government has colluded with private interests and violated every treaty made with the Indians, so that it can get its hands on the little land these people had left.

A central plank in this strategy was the establishment of the tribal council system, which gave the appearance of Native autonomy but was in fact controlled by the Department of the Interior. Tribal councils were opposed by most Indian tribes, but they are the only Indian voice recognised by the federal government and they are empowered to do nothing but sell or lease tribal land. The US government will stop at nothing to get this land.

In recent years it has acted with particular ruthlessness at Big Mountain in Arizona, and Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

Big Mountain is in the Black Mesa region of the Navaho reservation where hundreds of Dine families (Dine is the traditional Navajo's name for themselves) are facing forced removal from their homes on their land so that Peabody Coal can expand its Black Mesa operation, already the largest stripmine in the world. These people have been fighting relocation for the last 16 years.



Laws have been passed allowing the mandatory relocation of 10,000 Dine people, under the guise of resolving a land dispute between the Navajo and the Hopi, which was a total fabrication.

There isn't space here to describe the fate of the thousands of Dine who have already relocated, more than half of whom are now homeless, or the hardships and harassment endured by those who have chosen to remain on the land.

Although the relevant law has been ruled to violate the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, as well as five other human rights covenants, it remains the law of the land.

Relocation was to have been completed by July 1986. The Bush administration wants it all wrapped up this year because Peabody Coal has negotiated some big deals with Japan which require immediate expansion.

The Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota sits on top of the largest Uranium deposits in the US. Uranium mining has long been opposed by the traditional Lakotas but in the early 70's Pine Ridge had a tribal council headed by a man

named Dick Wilson who favoured uranium development and routinely murdered or assaulted his opponents. This led the Lakotas to ask the American Indian Movement (AIM) for help, which resulted in the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

Over the next three years scores of Indian people at Pine Ridge were murdered and hundreds more were victims of violent assaults. The FBI was in fact providing Wilson's vigilante squad with intelligence about AIM members and an impressive array of military assault weapons because the federal police were massed at Pine Ridge for the express purpose of destroying the AIM.

This terror reached a climax on June 26, 1975, when two FBI agents opened fire on a AIM camp near Oglala, South Dakota, initiating a shootout in which both agents and an AIM member were killed. Joe Stuntz's death has never been investigated. In addition, on the day of the shootout, Dick Wilson was in Washington DC illegally signing over one eighth of the reservation for uranium development.

The deaths of the two agents led to more terror at Pine Ridge and eventually AIM member Leonard Peltier was sentenced to two consecutive life terms for aiding and abetting in their

deaths. He has spent the past 15 years in federal prison for a crime he did not commit, convicted and sentenced on the basis of evidence and testimony which the government acknowledged over a decade ago was false. Leonard was recently denied an evidentiary hearing in his latest effort to get a new trial, and there is now renewed effort to get congress to convene hearings on the matter.

The two situations briefly described here reflect a pattern whose outlines can be traced all over the continent. The Columbus Quintcentennial is undoubtedly raising the issues of historical injustice and cultural genocide, but these issues are being raised with all eyes on the past. Our crocodile tears will not help Crazy Horse and will do even less for his descendents. Reality in Indian country today means nearly total unemployment and forced sterilisation, relocation, and malnutrition. It means having the highest rate of infant mortality and the lowest life expectancy. It means chronic injustice and political assassination. All these things are acts of war, pure and simple. We need to face up to the wrongs done to Indian people and show our opposition to this years

celebration of genocide. The struggles to stop relocation at Big Mountain and gain justice for Leonard Peltier are both good places to start.

International days of action have been called for on the following dates:

June 26th - anniversary of the Oglala shootout - Day of action to free Leonard Peltier.

July 6th - anniversary of the relocation deadline at Big Mountain - Day of action for Big Mountain.

October 12th - Day of action in honour of 500 Years of Ongoing Native Resistance in the Americas

This article is adapted from a leaflet written by members of the Seattle Leonard Peltier Support Group, Bayou La Rose, Red Knife Defence/Support Committee, Support for Native Sovereignty, Seattle Big Mountain Support Group.

# RESISTANCE CONTINUES



## ORGANISING TO FIGHTBACK

At the second Continental Gathering of the 500 Years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance held in October 1991 in Guatemala, 500 delegates from the Arctic to the tip of South America conferred.

An unprecedented 25-35,000 indigenous people from across Guatemala used the protection offered by the international nature of the event to gather and march for their rights.

The diversity at this event and throughout the indigenous movement arises from a rejection of the dominant political power structure and the necessity to change it.

These people have survived conquests, massacres, attempted genocide, and the loss of knowledge. They continue to exist and fightback to this day, in spite of 500 years of exploitation, discrimination, and repression.

DA hopes to carry more news on these struggles in the lead up to the October 12th international day of action.

Please write to us and let us know of any protests and actions planned in your area.

A group in Liverpool are holding a festival and rally on Saturday 15th of August, although this may end up being a liberal cop out, there may be dissident members of the group willing to carry out more protests than just a festival.

As a member of the Spanish government may be there it may also be a chance to campaign for the release of CNT prisoner Pablo Serrano, and around the issue of the CNT's lost patrimony.

## NATIVE ACTIONS TARGET NORANDA

Demonstrators targeted the Canadian mining, forestry, and energy conglomerate Noranda Inc. on 6th April for their subversion of Chippewa treaty rights. The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples (CASNP) rallied at Noranda's offices in Toronto to draw attention to their plans for an open pit zinc mine near the Lac du Flambeau reservation in northern Wisconsin.

Adequately containing the acid and toxic contamination from the wastes would be next to impossible, given that the mine will be built on wetlands, directly on an open water bog. Critics fear that downstream rivers and lakes, including rich fishing areas and wall eye spawning grounds will be contaminated. This would contravene Chippewa treaty rights.

Only those willing to risk their lives are able to uphold Chippewa treaty rights to carry out spearfishing this spring. Boats have been rammed and swamped, rocks have been thrown, and rifles have been fired from the shore.

This and other similar events points to insidious racist organising which uses the recognition of treaty rights of aboriginal people to fan resentments and underlying racist sentiment amongst the white population.

## WARRIORS GO DOWN

After almost a year of court proceedings, two Mohawk warriors Ronald Cross and Gordon Lazore were convicted of a total of 29 charges in relation to the defence of Kaneseateke Mohawk territory in the summer/autumn of 1990. On February 19th Cross was sentenced to 4 years 4 months, and Lazore was sentenced to 1 year 11 months.

Another was acquitted, and told reporters "We were right for what we did over there, we protected our land, the people, and we'll do it again if we have to".

The remaining Mohawk 39 will soon be tried. Jury selection began in March, it is unlikely that it will differ from the all white jury that convicted Cross and Lazore.

Donations to the defence fund are badly needed, send cheques and money orders to:

Akweks fund c/o Canadian Federation of Rights and Liberties, 323 Chapel St., Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 7Z2. For more information on the trial write to:

Akweks Defense Information, PO Box 633, Kanehsatake Mohawk Territory, Kanehsatake, Quebec, J0N 1E0.

# EARTH SUMMIT

## BRING YOUR OWN SUNBLOCK

I've always been a big fan of stratospheric gases which filter out harmful ultra violet rays and protect us from skin cancer. With that in mind the continuing destruction of the ozone layer by CFCs is an important issue. Important enough for the world's nations to come together at the so called "Earth Summit", even if it is likely to be scuppered by George "ozone-who needs it?" Bush, and John "what George wants, I want" Major. These two are obviously planning to set up a bit of an "enterprise" selling factor 30 sunblock cream or something. The more rational amongst us will be quite disturbed to hear the DOE say that "New scientific research shows there is significant ozone depletion over the UK". The UN estimates a sustained 10% decrease in ozone would mean an increase "considerably in excess of 300,000 cases" of non melanoma skin cancer per year worldwide.

In spite of this, and in spite of massive public boycotts of ozone damaging aerosol sprays etc, the response from the government and ICI, one of the world's largest manufacturers of ozone destroying chemicals, has been predictably inadequate. For instance, ICI have announced the closing of a CFC plant by 1993 but plan to import the CFCs they need from Holland instead.

What is needed is an immediate halt to the production of these gases

before any more damage is done, even an immediate halt in production would take years to have an effect because the ozone destroying

gases can hang about in the atmosphere for so long. Unfortunately industry will always find the cheapest way of dealing with such issues,

and putting pressure on them to change the planet with the job of repairing the damage? Time to finish off capitalism before it finishes off us I'd say.....



## GERMAN WORKERS FIGHT BACK

For nearly two weeks, from 27th April, more than 300,000 public employees, members of the public service union, the OTV, were on strike; paralysing the main industrial parts of Germany. Public transport, railway, post and refuse workers, as well as hospital clerical staff were involved. Scenes of blocked motorways, idle trams and mountains of undelivered mail were testament to the effectiveness of the strike. The problems of re-unification have led to massive tax and VAT increases and, as ever, it is the workers who are expected to pay. The government wished to impose a 5% ceiling on pay rises, and were offering a measly 4.8% to public employees. To do this, however, the government had to take on the power of the

organised working class. Public opinion was behind the strikers while the 3.9 million strong IG Metall union came out in solidarity. This resulted in the government going back to the negotiating table to accept the 5.4% arrived at by arbitration before the strike.

There has now been a return to work despite public employees' demands for 9.5% and the feeling that 5.4% is a sell out. This comes as no surprise given the involvement of reformist trade unions with overpaid bureaucrats and careerists. Nothing in the nature of the capitalist system will change. We still have to pay for economic disasters, resulting in increasing misery and more exploitation for the working people. To pay

for a system that is directly opposed to our needs, for a system that is based on corruption, quick profit for the few and poverty for the majority.

Only revolutionary unions independent of all political parties and state institutions can win more than only a 9.5% pay rise for us. We want labour and union rights, less hours, jobs for everybody, improved health and safety conditions. We can only get these conditions in direct participation of all workers in assemblies - this is direct democracy.

Taken from "Transport Worker" produced by the Transport Workers Network.

## THE INTERNATIONAL: UNION SINDICALE ITALIANA

The USI was founded in 1912 in Milan, by the end of world war one it had a membership of 500,000. Like the CNT of Spain its early years were times of great social upheaval, leading up to the seizure of state power by the fascists in 1922. Mainly because the USI were not established long enough, the social and political awareness of their membership was not that well developed and with the coming to power of the fascists, the USI were in no position to fight back. The USI held their last congress on Italian soil in 1928. During the second world war, Italy was unique among European countries, it had a large anarchist resistance movement especially in the north, but regardless of this, the USI were in no position to play an active role in the reorganisation of the trade unions at the end of the war.

It was not until the 1970s that the USI could once again begin to think of organising themselves as a union. They had throughout the 1950s and 60s worked as a small propaganda group and were at all times a part of the IWA. In 1979 they held a national conference in Parma and elected a provisional committee. By 1983 they were able to hold their first national congress as a trade union and relaunch their paper "Lotti di Classe". The USI have a long tradition of revolutionary syndicalism and have openly expressed their desire to see the IWA as an International of only revolutionary syndicalists free of the strong anarchist influence and independent of all political groupings.

# FIGHTING THE NAZIS IS NO OFFENCE !

On Saturday April 4th, the Nazi British National Party, as part of their general election campaign, met in the Lord Nelson pub in Rochdale. Rochdale has been a focus for fascist activity in the North West of England, after having no success in Manchester. The BNP see Rochdale as a launch pad for their ideas, having put up candidates in both the general and local elections. There has been a history of racist attacks in Rochdale, and it is seen by the BNP as one of their strongest areas of support outside London. The BNP state that they "wish to terminate the multi racial experiment once and for all", when they are active in an area the number and scale of racist attacks increase.

The action on the 4th by Gtr Manchester police seemed to be an attempt to stamp their authority on anti-fascists, while protecting the nazis. The peaceful but noisy protest was attacked by the police. Anti-fascists who used language or gestures that the police took offence to were arrested and dragged into the back of police vans,



one person was beaten on the legs by truncheon as he lay on the ground. Others were arrested just because they got in the way. Those arrested were kept in custody for up to 11 hours, denied even a hot drink. Two other anti-fascists were arrested the night before for flyposting and kept overnight and released the next evening to stop them demonstrating against the BNP. Those arrested face charges ranging from Obstruction to

Affray, they face fines and possible imprisonment for the crime of fighting fascism.

Over the last few months anti-fascists organised by Rochdale Racial Equality Council, Anti Nazi League, and Anti Fascist Action, have succeeded in denying the BNP an open public meeting. They have had to meet secretly or under police protection. We must ensure that these nazi

vermin find it impossible to organise in Rochdale. The BNP should be driven back into the gutter by mass opposition. That's why anti-fascists were there on the 4th, and that's why they'll always be there.

The Rochdale Defence Campaign needs your help with publicising its case, explaining why people were there on the 4th, and that fighting fascism is no crime. They need

money for legal costs and fines. We must make every effort to defend those that were arrested. Please send messages of support and donations; cheques made payable to Rochdale Defence Campaign to:

M.A.N.U.S.  
c/o Steve Biko Bldg  
Oxford Road  
Manchester.

# DON'T RECYCLE

Until the sixties many products were packed in returnable glass containers - from household cleaning products to Coca Cola. The arrival of convenience shopping and the continuing refinement of capitalism in this country has brought about the demise of such practices.

These days, we're still encouraged to throw things away, but to make sure we throw them in the right direction so that someone can make money out of them.

Recycling is now fashionable - "doing our bit for the environment" - but in most cases we are not truly recycling, merely creating mountains of segregated rubbish. The reasons for recycling are often clouded with misconceptions, and the idea of "recycling to save en-

ergy" can be very dubious.

Capitalism is built on the myth of economic growth. This can only continue as long as consumers (that's us!) can be persuaded to carry on buying. So the business world doesn't hesitate to create new fashions, encouraging us to replace what we have with an improved, updated and more expensive version.

To fuel this consumerism, an ever increasing amount of the Earth's resources are being destroyed only to end up as rubbish. Rubbish which can no longer be contained in a few holes in the ground, and will increasingly pollute our environment in the form of rubbish mountains.

In an attempt to prevent this happening we are being urged to recycle eve-

rything. We are told that recycling saves energy, but is this true? Take the glass industry for example: recycling glass collected at bottle banks and the like saves 25% of the energy it normally takes to manufacture glass. But since only 17% of all glass is currently recycled the end result is that glass recycling in Britain only saves about 4% of the energy used in glass manufacture.

Not that recycling is wrong, since any saving of energy and resources is better than none, but it's not the miracle solution that it's made out to be. Consider instead, the re-use of bottles. If every bottle was used twice before being recycled instead of being used once and chucked, we would need only half the bottles we do now, and would save nearly half the energy.

So why don't we do it? After all, we used to. Most people over thirty can remember, as a kid, "taking back the empties" to the corner shop to collect the deposits - usually to be spent on penny chews. Why don't we do it? Changes in shopping habits, encouraged by big business, makes it inconvenient. Look at supermarkets which rely on high volume sales with minimum staff (paid minimal wages) and don't want to handle returnable bottles. Thus started the throwaway, disposable packaging era.

In the early seventies Friends of the Earth introduced a campaign putting pressure on the glass industry to reintroduce returnable bottles. The response of the Glass Manufacturers Federation was that this would reduce profits and jobs. Then, in 1977 they introduced bottle banks to enable them to carry on as

before whilst appearing to care for the environment.

The rest of the packaging industry has similar problems. The common sense, and sustainable approach of avoiding unnecessary packaging, and re-using wherever possible would have a serious effect on profit and is not considered viable by either bosses or politicians. Clearly the changes needed for us to live in an ecologically sustainable society will have to come from us. The existing priorities of capitalism leave no room for such considerations, encouraging the creation of a recycling INDUSTRY and "doing our bit"; rather than encouraging practice of techniques which are both safe and environmentally friendly.

When the DAM advocates workers control, this does not mean that we want to see a self managed version of the same wasteful and polluting system of production we have at the moment. Far from it, "production for need not profit" has great implications for industry. Many of the so called benefits of our highly industrialised, throwaway society amount to a choice between 50 brands of the same product or having the luxury of choosing to use either round or square tea bags! Instead of wasting time and resources on designing and marketing fashionable new tea bag designs, we could be concentrating on meeting the real needs of society and giving people the chance to do more useful and fulfilling work at the same time. It's time to cut the crap and get on with the real task of defeating hunger and poverty.



# ODDS & SODS

REVIEW ; "FIGHTING TALK",  
OPEN SPACE, BBC2, 18/5/92.

"Open Space" is a slot on BBC2 where community and campaign groups are given a camera crew and half an hour of airtime to get their message across. Last month Anti-Fascist Action had a go. They made a truly shocking programme.

It wasn't the real life scenes of Nazis and police being kicked in that grabbed your attention as much as the fact that here was undiluted revolutionary politics on the telly - that was the shocking part!

Politics in this country usually reaches the public after being filtered, moderated, analysed and codified by an endless stream of "experts" and commentators. But here were ordinary folk talking about the need for working class people to get organised, to unite against the common capitalist enemy, and to smash fascist groups by any means necessary. Heady stuff indeed! Yes, this was a (cathode) ray of sunshine, amongst the usual dull primetime TV.

By using archive footage and interviews with participants, "Fighting Talk" traced the course of militant anti-fascism from Cable Street in 1936, through Lewisham in 1977 right up to the struggle against the BNP today. The programme backed up this history with solid arguments justifying the physical force stance taken by AFA and exposing the weaknesses of other "anti-fascist" groups like the Anti-Racist Alliance (a talking shop for the Labour Left and black middle class groups) and the Anti-Nazi League (a party building gimmick run wholly by the SWP).

"Fighting Talk" has been criticised

by some for having a go at these groups, not because the arguments put forward were wrong, but because people new to anti-fascism may have been bewildered by all the initials flying around at that point. Though this may be true of one small section of the programme, the rest of it was delivered with such pace and feeling that even the most casual viewer could not have lost interest.

Finally, we in DAM can give ourselves a pat on the back. DAM involvement in AFA at national and branch level has contributed in no small way to the success of the organisation. "Fighting Talk" can only add to the progress AFA has already made.

First Flight: the Origins of Anarcho-Syndicalism in Britain Albert Meltzer (Kate Sharpley Library £1)

How did Syndicalism start getting differentiated from Trade Unionism, and why was the term "Anarcho-Syndicalism" coined? The subject is attacked vigorously, examining the history of the working class movement to see what happened. The interesting fact emerges that British syndicalism divided first into two categories: those who viewed it as control by union leaders organising the workers, and those who regarded it as control by the workers themselves, organised into unions. It was the first of these quite different tendencies that got captured by parliamentarism; the second was hi-jacked by professional revolutionaries from whom the anarcho-syndicalists had already differentiated themselves. For other reasons the latter became isolated from the rest of the workers and Albert interestingly (though controversially) traces it to the effects of World War I.

# poll tax rebellion



Mark Simmons

Copies of *Poll Tax Rebellion* are now available, priced as follows: single copies £4.95; 5 or more copies £3.00 each; 20 or more £2.50 (prices include p&p within the UK).

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AK Distribution, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, Scotland FK8 2RD; Attack International, BM 6577, London WC1N 3XX.

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by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers movement. Any and all 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 world wide 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.

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

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## CONTACTS - UPDATE

### NATIONAL OFFICERS

NATIONAL SECRETARY, Manchester DAM-IWA, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW  
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY, Edinburgh DAM-IWA, PO Box 516, SW DO, Edinburgh EH10 5JH

### EASTERN REGION

NORWICH DAM-IWA, PO Box 73, Norwich NR1 2EB

### MIDLANDS

LEICESTER DAM-IWA, c/o 70 High St, Leicester  
For contacts in Leamington, Nottingham, Northants and Worcester, write to National Secretary

### NORTH EAST

LEEDS DAM-IWA C/o Box DAM, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS2  
MIDDLESBROUGH DAM-IWA, C/o Leeds DAM  
SOUTH YORKSHIRE DAM-IWA, PO Box 122, Doncaster, S Yorkshire  
For contacts in Doncaster, Scunthorpe, Sheffield and York, write to North East Regional Secretary, C/o Leeds DAM

### NORTH WEST

BURNLEY DAM-IWA, 12 Kingsland Grove, Burnley, Lancs BB11 3PY  
LIVERPOOL DAM-IWA, PO Box 110, Liverpool, L69 8DP  
MANCHESTER DAM-IWA, PO Box 29 SW PDO, Manchester M15  
PRESTON DAM-IWA, PO Box 172, Preston, Lancs PR1  
For contacts in Cumbria, Lancaster, Salford and Stockport, write to North West Regional Secretary, C/o Burnley DAM

### SCOTLAND

EDINBURGH DAM-IWA, PO Box 516, SW DO, Edinburgh EH10 5JH

### SOUTH WEST

BRISTOL DAM-IWA, C/o National Secretary  
For contacts in Avon, Devon and Plymouth, write to National Secretary

### SOUTH EAST

SOUTH HERTFORDSHIRE DAM-IWA, PO Box 245 St Albans, Herts  
DEPTFORD DAM-IWA, PO Box 574, Brockley, London SE4 1DL  
EAST LONDON DAM-IWA, C/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
NORTH LONDON DAM-IWA, PO Box 1681, London N8 7LE  
SOUTH LONDON DAM-IWA, PO Box 761, Camberwell SDO, London SE5  
For contacts in Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, write to South East Regional Secretary, C/o North London DAM

### IRELAND

There is no section of the International Workers' Association in Ireland, but we maintain links with:  
ORGANISE! (Anarcho-Syndicalist group based in the Six Counties),  
C/o 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast 1, Ireland

All other international contacts should be sought via the International Secretary.

### NETWORK FORUM

Donations or Standing Order payments in support in Industrial Networks should be made to:  
NETWORK SOLIDARITY FUND,  
Acc No 12282083, Sort Code 16-16-25,  
Royal Bank of Scotland, Manchester Chorlton-cum-Hardy Branch,  
44 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester M21 1AR

Send any donations, or notify of any Standing Orders, to Network Forum, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW

### INDUSTRIAL

Council Workers Network, C/o Manchester DAM and North London DAM  
Transport Workers Bulletin, C/o Deptford DAM, PO Box 574, London SE4 1DL  
Despatch Industry Workers Union, C/o 489 Kingsland Road, London E8 4AU  
Independent Education Network, PO Box 29 SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW  
Health Workers Federation, C/o PO Box 761, Camberwell, Londn SE5

### OTHER

IDEAS & ACTION (US Anarcho-Syndicalist paper), PO Box 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140, USA  
REBEL WORKER (Australian Anarcho-Syndicalist paper), PO Box 92, Broadway, NSW 2007, Australia  
ANTI-FASCIST ACTION (North/South/East/South-East London Branches), BM 1734, London WC1N 3XX

# DIRECT ACTION

## SOLIDARITY NETWORK RELAUNCH MEETING

SATURDAY JUNE 27TH 1992, 12-4PM

LIBERTY HALL, 485 KINGSLAND RD, LONDON E8.

BOX 1,  
136 KINGSLAND RD,  
LONDON E8,  
FOR DETAILS.

## ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM FOR BEGINNERS

# BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE

## WHY WE NEED ANARCHO SYNDICALIST UNIONS.

No free society can emerge fully formed as if from nowhere. It can only come about through revolutionary struggle - and through the emergence of mass working class resistance.

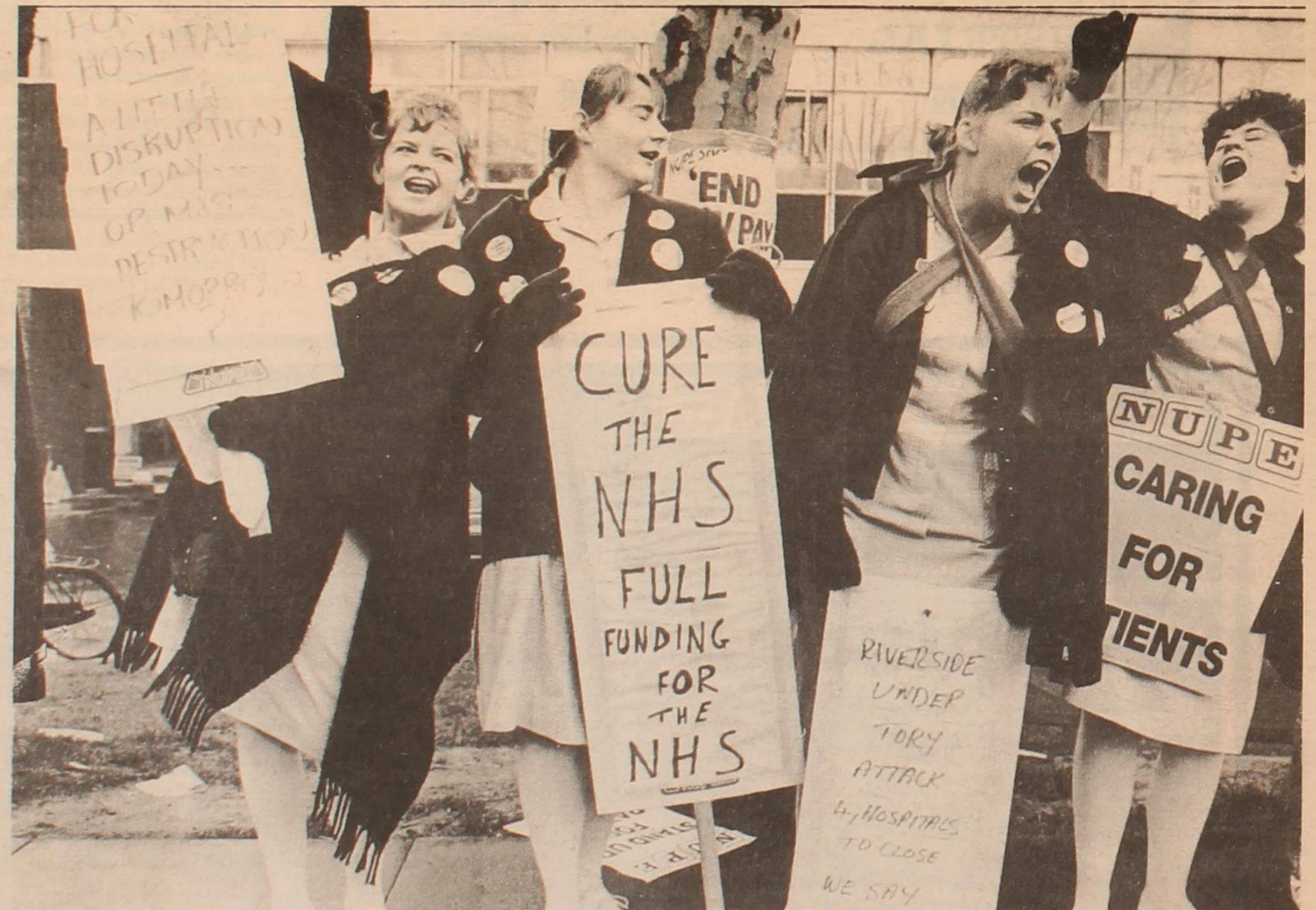
Organisation, as should be obvious, is a fact of life. We live in an organised society and have to face an organised ruling class. If revolutionaries are to move from criticizing on the sidelines, we must also be organised - in a way that is both libertarian and effective.

There are many ways to organise, and no one form of organisation - even less one particular organisation - can cover everything. Informal organisation has its place, from family, friends, and neighbours acting together; to organisations that are formed for a specific task then fade away afterwards. But, by itself, informal organisation is not enough. A complex society cannot be run on purely informal lines. The reconstruction of society on ecological lines, the production and distribution of goods etc, will depend on co-ordinated planning. "It'll be alright on the night" isn't good enough when food, fuel, and life itself is at stake.

Anarcho syndicalists, as shown in the Spanish revolution, realise this need for organisation, this is why our unions are built on the basis of federalisation and power to the base. Revolution isn't a game. Formal organisation is an essential part of revolution.

REVOLUTION - NOT REFORMISM

Anarcho syndicalist unions are tools for making our actions more effective. They are not ends in themselves. As such, anarcho syndicalists do not expect "everyone" to be in such unions before they begin to fight back. During struggles new organisations often spring up. During strikes these include strike committees and assemblies; during revolution they include factory and neighbourhood councils and



collectives. All such initiatives for workers control - in or out of the union - must be supported. But spontaneous revolt is not enough, and is no guarantee of victory. After strikes, reformist unions can re-establish control and victimise militants. During revolution, workers councils can be taken over by political parties, as the soviets of Russia were taken over by the Bolsheviks. Anarcho syndicalist unions are needed as a concrete alternative to social democratic or boss unionism, as a means of resisting periods of retreat, consolidating gains, and applying lessons learnt to future struggles. During revolution such unions can and should form the backbone of resistance - the organised core from which to push for total workers control, and prevent

political parties exploiting the power vacuum that will develop. If revolution is to succeed it needs a strong social base already prepared - a class base in both workplace and community. Though we can't plan the revolution, we can prepare for it.

### BUILDING ANARCHO SYNDICALIST UNIONS IN BRITAIN

Some say that such unions will never be on the agenda.

Social democratic Trade unionism - organised around the TUC - dominates the labour movement in this country. Therefore we should confine our work within these unions to setting up an independent rank and file movement. Outside of these unions, if people aren't organised it because they are unorganisable. There-

fore organising drives within such industries are doomed. Any attempt to set up independent unions will be crushed by the bosses and the TUC. Our answer to this is that its not enough to restrict our aim to being forever the "opposition" within reformist bodies. We want a revolutionary labour movement, not an "anarchist current" within the bankrupt existing structure. Our aim is not rank and file mobilisation to replace the union bureaucracy, but to bypass it, then displace it.

Such organisations need to be based on syndicalist principles to ensure grass roots control and independence from political parties. Workplace issues need to be politicised, to go beyond "bread and butter" issues and take on board wider class issues. Industrial networks are

the means to bring revolutionary class politics into the workplace. The supposed impossibility in unionising as yet unorganised industries is a red herring. Yes, it is more difficult, but in the USA the IWW was able to organise migrant workers and lumberjacks and in Spain, the food union of the CNT is one of its strongest. In Britain the small but significant successes of the DIWU (Despatch Industry Workers Union) are another example.

Setting up anarcho syndicalist unions is to make our actions more effective - not to create divisions. We don't promise easy victories. Our aim is a fighting alternative to the bankruptcy of reformism and state communism.