

ANGRY!



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PAPER OF THE HULL ANARCHIST/DAM GROUP
FREE, BUT DONATIONS WELCOME



INSIDE THIS ISSUE: FIRST THE BANG, NOW THE BOOM, HOW THEY FIDDLE THE UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS, REMEMBER NOVOCHERKASSK!, POLAND: DON'T MOURN... ORGANIZE!, PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM, REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM TODAY, BAKUNIN ON MARX, BACK IN THE USSR, BARCELONA: 1, MARX: 0, ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION, ARRESTS AND MORE...

IDEAS

WORKERS taking strike action face one of their biggest problems in the way the media can whip up 'public opinion' against them. This especially the case with service workers, as in the present health service and rail disputes. One way round this is to consider methods of strike action which hurt the boss rather than consumers (for the most part fellow workers).

The 'good work' strike means providing a better or cheaper service, at the boss's expense of course. This isn't a tactic that can be used in every situation, but it could certainly be used more than it is nowadays.

For example, HEALTH WORKERS at l'Hopital de la Merci in France, afraid of patients dying if they struck, instead refused to file billing slips for drugs, tests, treatment and therapy - usually filled out by nurses, aides, technicians and ward clerks. As a result patients had better care, since time was being spent caring for them instead of on paperwork, and the hospital's income was cut in half. Panic-stricken, the hospital gave in to all the workers' demands after 3 days.

In Lisbon, 1968, drivers and conductors on the TRAINS and busses turned up for work as usual but didn't collect

(contd. page 3)

**ANARCOSINDICALISMO
accion directa**

CNT



UN TRABAJADOR FORMADO CON UNA
CONCIENCIA REVOLUCIONARIA NO ES
MANIPULADO NI EXPLOTADO

AIT

This paper is produced by members of Hull Anarchist/DAM Group. We are not a bunch of bomb-throwing drop-outs. We are a small group of ordinary people, anarchists active in the Hull area. We publish Angry! to spread anarchist ideas and views, but we also welcome a response and contributions from our readers who will not necessarily be anarchists.

AIMS & PRINCIPLES

1. This is a class society. There are those with power and wealth and the rest of us.
2. We believe in independent, democratic working class organisation. Organisation independent of and opposed to all political Parties and trade union bureaucracies, because these do not and cannot represent the true interests of the majority of people, the working class. We oppose the self-seeking leaders, professional politicians and so-called experts who claim to speak on our behalf.
3. We reject the consumerism inherent in capitalism which reduces life to a mindless and endless pursuit of material goods and demand the right of people everywhere to take control of their own lives in the work-place and community. This can only be done through non-hierarchical forms of social organisation.
4. We therefore believe in the abolition of capitalism (East or West), wage slavery and all hierarchical forms of social organisation - the most pernicious being the State and Statist institutions (the police, courts, army etc.). Whether it calls itself "left-wing", right-wing or "democratic" the State exists only as a repressive arm of the ruling class.
5. The working class has no country. The class struggle is world-wide and recognises no frontiers.
6. We are opposed to all forms of racism, sexism, militarism etc. that divide rather than unite people against their real enemies.
7. Our ultimate aim is the creation of a free, classless society, where production shall be geared to need not profit. A society based on co-operation and mutual aid, not on competition... An anarchist society.

Angry! is produced on a shoestring budget and given out free, but we're after donations. Benefactors and eager recruits can contact us via the address below:-

BOX H.A.G.
L.A.P.
59 COOKRIDGE ST.,
LEEDS 2.

ARTICLES DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF ALL THE GROUP UNLESS INDICATED (FOR EXAMPLE THE "AIMS & PRINCIPLES").

THE REVOLUTIONARY

I am of the exploited:
Of Exploited Humankind;
I am of those who suffer and sweat,
Who toil and create the wealth of the Earth:
For I am of those who are robbed-
Whose stomachs are plundered
By worms with wolves heads.

I am of the order-takers:
Of Order-taking Humankind;
I am of those who are regimented,
Who are the pawns of the Manipulators:
For I am of those with a number not a name-
Whose lives are not their own,
And are imprisoned at birth.

But I am also of those who revolt:
Of Revolutionary Humankind;
I am of those who will not be subjugated,
Who will not stay on their knees:
For I am of those who struggle-
Whose sinews and vision will soon prevail,
And we, the People, will be our own Masters.

(Michael Tobin. Chelmsford Prison 1972)



IDEAS

continued from page 1...

any fares, in protest at their wages not being raised. Thus transport ran normally but the company suffered a large financial loss. Not suprisingly, public opinion was behind the take-no-fare strikers.

Again, on the Paris metro, tickets are punched as passangers come onto the platform, and a ticket bought on one day can be used on another. Selective strikes by ticket-punching personnel enable hundreds of thousands to travel free. Such strikes, while hitting the company hard, are not resented by the passangers.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World union in an American canning factory put labels for the most expensive cuts onto the tins of spread and vice versa. Thus those who could only afford spread got the very best salmon while the rich got spread!? Needless to say management conceded the workers claim quite rapidly.

Really, there are quite a few alternatives to long, drawn out strikes in many situations. For example clerical staff in the gas and electricity industries could destroy records of how much people owe, postal workers could refuse to handle letters except those without stamps etc. etc. So, let's get to work, right?

D.

FIRST THE BANG, NOW THE BOOM!

ARMS MANUFACTURERS hoping for big money-making orders to replace equipment used or lost in the Falklands were delighted to hear that the cost of the war would not be counted against the defence budget. The capitalists, as ever, will be the ones to gain from war. Among the more important orders are:-

* Harriers. Ten were lost and will probably be replaced. British Aerospace and its subcontractors will be asked to deliver as soon as possible.

* Helicopters. 25 were lost. Many were obsolete Wessex and will be replaced by something more modern. Whatever the final choice it's certain Westland will make most of them.

* Missiles. The Ministry of Defence refuses to say how many missiles were fired in the Falklands. But many expensive (£7,000 - £11,000 a go) Sea Dart, Sea Wolf, Rapier, Sea Cat and Blowpipe anti-craft missiles will have to be replaced. Their manufacturers, British Aerospace, Dynamics, and Shorts of Belfast will make a bundle.

* Harpoon missiles. Submarine launched Harpoon missiles had already been ordered from McDonnell Douglas. To patrol the Falklands the RAF's Nimrod long range patrol aircraft are being fitted with the air launched version of this sea-skimming missile.

* Ships. The navy wants its four escort ships and the transport ship the Sir Galahad replaced. But the Defence Secretary Mr Nott might opt for a couple of subs instead.

* Vulcan-Phalanx. Radio directed six barrell guns, firing 3,000 rounds a minute and designed to shoot down missiles like Exocet. Have been ordered. General Dynamics and Americas General Electrical will profit.

Who said there was nothing to be gained from a nice little war, provided (of course) not too many lives were lost?

Ian.

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HOW TO FIDDLE UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Did you know that the Government uses the following tricks to keep the numbers on the dole down?

1. For adults, the Temporary Short Time Compensation Scheme: firms refrain from sacking workers, the Govt. pays (up to 9 months) half the workers' normal wages (177,000 workers).
2. For older workers, the Job Release Scheme: tax free payments to workers retiring before pensionable age, providing a replacement is recruited from among the unemployed (59,000 workers).
3. For young people, the Community Industry Scheme (7,100 people).
4. For long-term unemployed, the Community Enterprise Programme: jobs of "benefit to the community" (26,500).
5. For would-be trainees, the Training in Industry Scheme: grants to firms taking on additional trainees (34,000).
6. For school leavers, Youth Opportunities Programmes, YOPs: employers subsidised to take on unemployed 16/17 year olds. In 1982/83 630,000 young people will do an average 23 weeks at £25 a week. Estimated cost £702,000,000.
7. For people of all ages but mostly under 45 - the Armed Forces (315,000 people at an estimated cost of £1,400 million a year).
8. An extra years compulsory education for those young people aged 16/17 unable to find work. Numbers and cost at present uncertain.

STATE PAID GANGSTERS

Over the weekend of June 5/6/7 members of the Direct Action Movement, the North East Anarchist Federation (among them yours truly) and the South London Anarchists took to the streets of London in several demonstrations.

On Sat. 5th a picket was placed by the NEAF on the Soviet Embassy. The picket was in support of Russian anarchist Arkadiy Tsurkov, and lasted for over an hour. Leaflets explaining the case of Tsurkov were handed out to passersby. The police took the name and address of the picket organizer three times (it seems they don't trust one another). Tsurkov was arrested along with other members of a commune in Leningrad (see page 12). They called themselves the "Revolutionary Communards" and their centre became a focal point for debate between the various revolutionary ideas of marxism, anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism. Tsurkov is the only member of the commune still in prison and isn't due for release until 1985.

On Sun. 6th a group of over 200 anarchists and sympathisers led the Waterloo section of the CND march to Hyde Park. The day saw a lot of harrasment, ending in the arrest of 48 people in Oxford Street. It started at the assembly point and continued all along the march. Police photographers were very interested in the anarchists at the front. As were the CND stewards who, with their police friends, made repeated efforts to force the anarchists to the back of the march. In Lower Regent St., the police attacked some of the anarchists under the pretext of stopping them from sing bad language, which as you can easily imagine had the opposite effect. The only reason there wasn't more trouble was because people weren't loosing their rag at the continual provocation.

Inside Hyde Park the anarchists were immediately cordoned off from the other 150,000 demonstrators and people were being threatened with arrest just for handing out leaflets.

Tiring of the politicians and in an attempt to escape their very own police guard, most of the anarchists decided to march down Oxford Street in protest at the war in the Falklands. This quite peaceful demonstration was followed by screaming police vans of the Special Patrol Group. They attacked in numbers near Bond Street tube station and skirmishing developed between those trying to protect banners and the cops. Other comrades were dragged off and many people were injured by police batons while trying to head for safety.

-4-

48 were arrested and charged with criminal damage, assault & obstruction. A defence committee has been formed to defend the "Oxford Street 48" which can be contacted at Box 48, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

Mon. 7th anarchists took part in demos outside the American Embassy, protesting against Reagan's visit to Britain. Only one black flag was present as police stopped everyone carrying black flags and took their names and addresses before telling them to get rid of their flags or be arrested. This was in marked contrast to the great number of banners from the pathetic Left.

Hudd.



BAKUNIN ON MARX

Michael Bakunin, anarchist, philosopher and revolutionary was born in Russia in 1814. In his early twenties he moved to Germany. With an interest in philosophy and politics he went through Hegalism, the pan-slavic movement, anti-colonial groups, then into socialism. Through the influence of the French school of anarchism and the works of Proudhon he was converted. He soon became the most famous exponent of anarchism at that time.

During the revolution of 1848 he fought on the barricades; was arrested and deported to Russia. In the same year he was imprisoned in the notorious Peter and Paul Fortress.

Eventually escaping in 1861 following a transfer to a Siberian prison, he fled to London, getting involved in the International Workingmens Association.

The German sector bitterly opposed the anarchists. Led by Karl Marx they continually attacked Bakunin on a personal level, trying to discredit him at every opportunity. Marx and his lackies eventually succeeded in driving Bakunin out of public life, breaking up the International in the process. In 1876 Bakunin died whilst living in Switzerland.

(continued page 12)

REMEMBER NOVOCHERKASSK!

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the Novocherkassk workers' uprising. On June 1st 1962 the government of the USSR announced price rises for meat and dairy produce - already expensive and in short supply. At the same time price rates at the Novocherkassk Electric Locomotive Works (NEVZ) were cut, in some cases by 30%. For many this was the last straw and their anger exploded in action.

On June 2nd workers at the NEVZ forge and foundry stopped work and held a mass meeting. Kurochkin, the works manager, arrived and tried to persuade them to return to work. When asked what workers faced with price rises and wage cuts were to live on he replied: "You've been stuffing yourselves with meat pies. Put jam in them instead". The workers exploded and Kurochkin barely managed to escape with his life.

By noon the whole works was on strike and runners were sent to other factories to bring them out. Workers ripped up the railway lines to build barricades and slogans were painted proclaiming: "Down with Krushchev" and "Use Krushchev for sausage meat". Meanwhile the police had moved in to arrest 30 ringleaders of the strike.

In a bid to free their arrested mates, the workers decided to march from the works into the town and set off carrying pictures of Lenin and red flags. As they marched they were trailed by tanks which fired a few blank shots.

Soon the march was in Novocherkassk's main street. Some workers tried to break into the police station in this street, but were driven off by pistol fire. At the end of the street was a square containing the CP offices which were guarded by a cordon of troops.

A group of workers broke into the empty offices, the Party Committee having fled, and started to make speeches from the balcony. Troops moved in to arrest them. Pliet, the officer commanding the troops, gave the order to fire. This order went unheeded, an officer committing suicide rather than fire on unarmed workers. Quickly the troops were pulled out and replaced by other, non-Russian, troops.

Then the shooting started. A hail of dum-dum bullets flew into the crowd; kids who had climbed trees to get a better view fell dead into the street. The crowd fled, returned and was fired on again. At least 70 were killed. Buses were requisitioned to take away the bodies.

That afternoon 6 leading members of the CP Central Committee including A. Mikoyan and F. Kozlov flew into Novocherkassk. Despite appeals for calm, the delegation's arrival brought the workers back onto the streets. A workers' delegation met the Central Committee members. This delegation informed the crowd that they'd been promised an investigation would be made and those responsible for the deaths punished. The delegation called on the workers to go home.

But go home they did not. Instead the crowd grew larger. Rumours circulated that the CP had resolved to deport the whole town. Tanks moved in, shots were fired and finally the workers went home.

The next day Mikoyan and Kozlov made broadcasts denouncing the strikers and demanding their punishment. Novocherkassk was surrounded by troops and the wounded and the families of those killed were sent to Siberia. Many strikers were put on trial. At one trial 9 men were given death sentences and 2 men received 15 years. Thus ended the first major workers' revolt in Russia since Kronstadt.

This article was taken from "VOLYA", which is the bulletin of the Campaign for Solidarity with the Soviet Working Class, currently published on a quarterly basis. The current issue also includes articles on political prisoners in Bulgaria, workers' struggles to form free trade unions in Romania, crackdown on dissidents in China, and more. "VOLYA" can be obtained in return for a small (or even large) donation, from: VOLYA c/o 83 Gregory Crescent, Eltham, London SE9 5RZ. They welcome contributions; i.e. letters, articles, news items, and money. Please make cheques/postal orders payable to T. Liddle.

POLAND

INTRO.

The struggle for freedom of the Polish workers has captured our imagination, and everyone from Reagan to the Euro-communist Parties of most European countries have rushed in with support and advice, of differing kinds. Instead of giving our advice, we feel that it is necessary for people here to understand precisely how Solidarnosc was and is organised, and the kind of ideas which have been used as a basis for action.

Since 1945 Polish workers have rebelled several times against the Russian-imposed state capitalist regime. Poznan in 1956, Warsaw Polytechnika in 1968, the Baltic coast in 1970, Radom in 1976. Each time the revolts were sporadic, un-coordinated and localised, and were all put down with varying degrees of force.

The cycle of rebellion and repression didn't break the opposition movement - at that stage there was little organisation to break, as the revolts were almost elemental reactions to poor working conditions, corruption and price increases.

Each revolt, and the need to help friends and work-mates survive subsequent repression created the basis for organisation in the future: networks of dissidents united by a common opposition to the state.

KOR.

A crucial element in the growth of these networks was KOR - composed almost entirely of members of Poland's intelligentsia, including novelist Andrzejewski (author of Ashes and Diamonds) and dissident Marxists such as Kuron and Lipinski. KOR was small, starting with only 17 people but it provided a focus and an example.

Jacek Kuron has a long history of opposition. With Karol Modzelewski he was sentenced to 3½ years for distributing "An open letter to the party". The open letter argued from a left-Marxist position, that Polish society was divided between the working masses and a 'ruling bureaucracy' that exploited the labour power of the workers as ruthlessly as capitalism.

KOR's initial role was to organise help and political support for imprisoned and sacked workers after the 1976 riots. It raised money for the legal defence and family of strikers, and campaigned for an amnesty and parliamentary enquiry into police brutality. Its bulletins were openly

circulated, describing specific incidents of harassment and oppression, often naming the policemen involved.

Its activities expanded, and it began publishing an information bulletin ROBOTNIK (worker), intended for workers. When the first 'free trade union' groups were formed they were usually connected to KOR through local supporters of ROBOTNIK.

These industrial groups, like KOR, were small often numbering no more than 12 people, and formed spontaneously. KOR's existence, its crucial role as a focus for the growing opposition, and its intellectual composition resulted in its emergence as the theoretical mentor of the free unions.

KOR did not create the free trade union groups or Solidarnosc but it did influence its nature and for this reason its ideas are important as they were a source of strength and weakness.

DON'T

Firstly KOR accepted certain elements of the status quo: the geo-political domination of the USSR, which threatened invasion if the opposition pushed too far. Secondly, it recognised the important situation of the Polish church, which historically was closely identified with revolutionary nationalism. Thirdly, they accepted the continuing dominance of the Party.

These three factors certainly assisted the growth of the opposition, the formation of Solidarnosc, and the paralysis of the state machine. The end result, however, was that Solidarnosc was a curious hybrid - a revolutionary organisation with reformist aspirations.

The ideas that KOR drew on were very mixed: its model for industrial organisation was the formation of the Spanish Workers Commissions which had been formed inside the fascist unions by dissident workers. These small, tightly-knit groups would not initially make demands of their own, but would become the embryo for a new organisation.

KOR's ideas on self-management stem from the Yugoslavian example, but also from the ideas of the anarchist theoretician, Edward Abramowski, who argued that socialism in Poland would be achieved through the formation of worker and consumer cooperatives inside the existing order (which in Abramowski's day was capitalism).

Some members of KOR also explored the ideas of Machajski - another Polish anarchist - who developed Bakunin's ideas by arguing that intellectuals using Marxism as their ideology would become the new ruling class and that consequently the workers should make their own revolution. Interestingly, after achieving its aim of setting the workers in motion, KOR formally dissolved its organisation last August. Several KOR members, including Kuron, who was moving towards an increasingly reformist position, continued to play an advisory role.

The third connection between Solidarnosc and anarchism is the propaganda for anarcho-syndicalism that was produced between the two world wars by the Anarchist Federation of Poland, which published a whole series of newspapers and bulletins, including WALKA KLASS (Class Struggle) and GLOS ANARCHISTY (Anarchist Voice) as well as a number of local papers such as WOLNY PROLETARIJUSZ (Free Proletarian), and many pamphlets and leaflets, which were distributed in thousands. The anarchist movement in Poland was used to repression - in 1929, for example, one member of the AFP received a four year prison sentence for simple possession of

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anarchist literature. It was however, unable to survive the dual combination of the Nazis and Stalinism. Much of the membership died fighting in the resistance, although it was able to re-group for propaganda purposes between 1945 and 1947. After this the movement was ground down by repression, emigration and the incorporation of the syndicalist organisations into the state machine.

It's not possible to prove any direct connection between Solidarnosc's organisational structure and the anarchist movement in Poland, and given Solidarnosc's tendencies towards Catholicism, and charismatic leadership it would be futile to even try, although underlying these features there are important similarities.

Solidarnosc was an organisation created in struggle and its structure reflects this difficult birth. One of its key features is its regional organisation formed by spontaneous affiliation of groups of workers in different workplaces in the same area. This

regional structure is important in providing a central focus for organisation and overcoming rivalries between blue and white collar workers and the existence of wage differentials.

The regional structure has strengthened the weaker groups, with miners and steelworkers threatening strike action unless health service workers demands were met. It also enabled Solidarnosc to put forward demand relating to the community: the organisation of public transport, food distribution or problems connected with education or the environment.

It is the strength of this regional structure, with its emphasis on local initiative and local decision-making which has enabled Solidarnosc to survive in spite of the wide-spread arrests and the military clampdowns. Local bulletins are still being produced, and workplace organisation appears intact. Active grass roots members, including several anarchists, remain free and active.

What went wrong? It's tempting to blame the streak of bureaucratization within Solidarnosc, and the reformist leadership for the reversal in Solidarnosc's fortunes, but to do so would be to ignore the factors that reinforced bureaucracy and reformism. By far the most important factor was the international isolation experienced by the Polish working class. Without revolutionary organisations in other East European countries, and the absence of any revolutionary movement in the West forced Solidarnosc's members into a realistic acceptance of the Russian threat, and hence reformism, in an attempt to buy time. Slowing down the pace ~~XX~~ and nature of social change put time on the side of the Polish State which had only to organise its repressive apparatus to orchestrate a clampdown. The situation remains one of stalemate, and is likely to remain so until the workers of both East and West can join together to bring down both of the barbaric systems that dominate Europe.

M.E.

(This article taken from 'Direct Action' No. 9. DA is the paper of the Direct Action Movement, address on back page. For info on the continuing situation in Poland we suggest 'PSC News', paper of the Polish Solidarity Campaign, available from:

Marion Pitman,
29 Hampton Rd.,
Twickenham,
Middlesex. (30p & post).

ORGANIZE!

PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM

1. Revolutionary Syndicalism, basing itself on the class war, aims at the union of all manual and intellectual workers in economic fighting organizations struggling for their emancipation from the yoke of wage-slavery and the oppression of the State. Its goal is the re-organization 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 organizations of the proletariat are alone capable of realising this aim, and, in consequence, its appeal is addressed to workers in their capacity as 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 view of economic re-organization.

2. Revolutionary Syndicalism is the confirmed enemy of every form of economic and social monopoly, and aims at their abolition by means of economic communes and administrative organs of factory and field 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 organization of labour; against the Government of people, 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.

3. 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 organization 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 conduct 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 organization, 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.

4. Revolutionary Syndicalism is opposed to every centralist tendency and organization, 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 organization from top to bottom, which hands over en bloc to a handful of people, 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 organization; that is to say, an organization, from below upwards, of a free union of all forces on the basis of common ideas and interests.

5. Revolutionary Syndicalism rejects all parliamentary activity and all cooperation with legislative bodies. Universal suffrage, on however wide a basis, cannot bring about the disappearance of the flagrant contradictions existing in the very bosom of modern society; the parliamentary system has but one object, viz., to lend the appearance of legal right to the reign of lies and social injustice, to persuade slaves to fix the seal of the law onto their own enslavement.

6. 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.

7. It is for these same reasons that Revolutionary Syndicalism opposes militarism in all its forms, and considers anti-militarist propaganda one of its most important tasks in the struggle against the present

(continued over...)

REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM contd...

system. In the first instance, it urges individual refusal of military service, and especially, organized boycotting of the manufacture of war materials.

8. 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 struggle 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.

9. Although enemies of all forms of organized 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 organizations of the workers, so also the defence of the revolution should be in the hands of these economic organizations, and not in those of any military or other organizations operating outside the economic organs.

10. It is only in the revolutionary economic organizations of the working class that is to be found the power apt to carry out its emancipation, as well as the creative energy necessary for the re-organization of society on the basis of Free Communism.

(Adopted by the First International Convention of the International Workers Association (I.W.A./A.I.T.), Berlin 1922.)

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM TODAY

The International Workers Association (Asociacion Internacional de Trabajadores I.W.A./A.I.T.) is the anarcho-syndicalist International. It was formed in 1922 as a revolutionary alternative to the Red Trade Union International (a front organization for the Russian Communist Party). In the inter-war years the AIT had a membership of several million and sections in 25 countries. As dictatorships came to power throughout Europe, the revolutionary unions in Italy,

Germany, Spain and Portugal were smashed. Other sections in Bulgaria and Argentina were also forced underground. The nightmare rule of fascism, the devastation of world war and the subsequent cold war reduced the AIT to a mere husk. Only now has the revolutionary union movement begun to rise from the ashes of these historic defeats. Today the anarcho-syndicalist International is undergoing a period of expansion and renewal. This is a direct result of the rebirth and amazing growth of the AIT's most prestigious section: the Spanish CNT.

The Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), Spain's anarcho-syndicalist union federation, was the major organization of the Spanish working class up until the victory of Franco in the Civil War. At its peak it had over 2 million members. Four decades of fascist repression reduced this to a mere 20,000, which was its size when it emerged from the underground in March 1977. With more freedom to organize, it began to expand rapidly and re-assert itself as the most militant of the organizations of the Spanish working class. By October 1978 it had more than half a million members and was still expanding, making it the largest revolutionary organization in the world (unless you consider the various "Communist" Parties revolutionary). Inspired by the success of the CNT other sections of the AIT began to re-animate themselves.

In Italy the USI (Unione Sindacale Italiana) played a crucial role in some of the most famous episodes of Italian revolutionary history (such as the Red Week in 1913 and the factory occupations in 1920). At its height it reached 800,000 members but was destroyed by fascist violence when Mussolini came to power. After its re-founding in 1978 it too is building up rapidly.

In Germany the Freie Arbeiter Union (Free Workers Union) which had 200,000 members until crushed by Hitler, is also being reconstructed. In Norway the Norsk Syndikalistisk Forbund (Norwegian Syndicalist Federation) was re-formed in 1976 as a rank & file grouping in the social democratic trade union central (LO). Its greatest strength is in the Oslo local of the Iron & Steel Union. Other sections of the AIT include the CNT in France, another CNT in Bulgaria (exiled and underground in Bulgaria), the Argentinian FORA, the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalists grouped around the paper 'A Batalha', and propaganda groups in New York (Libertarian Workers Group) and Britain (Direct Action Movement).

Then there are 3 revolutionary union organizations which aren't sections of the AIT but which maintain friendly links with it.

(continued page 11)

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION-AN ATTACK ON SCHOOLS

"We had better be without education than be educated by our rulers."

Why attack schools? Surely we should be defending education from the vicious cuts inflicted by the capitalist state? You may well wonder. Well I would suggest that schools have hardly anything to do with education, and a lot to do with that very state, which any sane person will agree should be kicked in the head. Who funds schools? The state. Who controls, inspects and provides teachers for schools (even so called independent ones)? The state. And what is perpetuated by schools? The state. Schools are in essence just concentration camps where kids spend at least 10 years being indoctrinated. They learn the mental mentality that suits the state - obedience, rules, uniforms, Christianity, consumerism, and patriotism. Most of all they learn to

WHAT DID YOU DO IN SCHOOL TODAY, DEAR?...

Well, first we were all fingerprinted, then our photos were taken for our ID cards, then we spent a few minutes talking on "freedom in America"...



accept institutions and hierarchy. The medium is the message. The schoolkid sees everywhere around the school hierarchies of class, of sex (most senior staff are male), of race (how many black head-teachers? How many black cleaners?), of age. Educational priorities are decided by those with power not those getting educated. Educational materials have sources such as big businesses (Mars Ltd. about tooth decay) and the Ministry of Defence (Protect & Survive etc).

Do we really need to teach most people what a tiny few want them to know? Do we really need to conceal from kids the answers to their awkward questions while ramming down their throats a load of irrelevant nonsense they don't even remember? In whose interests is it to keep kids too busy to ask why - it's just a soothing ritual that screens from us our lack of control and keeps going a few false outworn bourgeois myths - freedom, democracy,

equal opportunity & other bullshit. When kids catch on to the only thing worth learning from this shambles - that the system is there to evade, cheat, ultimately perhaps destroy - then the system applies coercion, both moral and physical. And the result of this is the more or less aimless alienation of the so-called juvenile delinquent or more often the conformity of those who feel that the failures of the system result from their own personal inadequacy and hope at best for "reformed" or "improved" institutions; e.g. "comprehensive" schools, the "workers' state".

"But" you may point out, "don't schools really exist to teach people reading, writing and other useful skills?" Well, do they? In the first 4-5 years of a child's life (years ignored by the so-called education system unless a labour shortage creates a need for custodial care for under-5s to release their mothers into the labour-market), his/her capacity to learn is extraordinary. S/he learns everything s/he gets the opportunity to. Language, a far more complex skill than literacy, is learnt without the aid of school for example. Moreover half of what is learnt has to be unlearned at school (e.g. self-reliance, initiative). Schools aren't even very successful at what they claim to teach & fail to offer skills such as literacy and numeracy to those who need them. Besides, schools themselves, in the name of the state, define what is worthwhile to learn and what is not. How many of us leave school knowing the things lawyers, accountants, big business and the Ministry of Defence would rather we didn't?

I don't believe anarchists can demand freedom while we send our kids to school where their minds are put in chains. Education can be a means of powerful social change and we can use it to challenge the system. Why should schools have a monopoly on education when they can hardly begin to supply it? Let schools die out for lack of customers. Let's take our education into our own hands. There's nothing so difficult about it; for one thing the state is so confident that we've all been indoctrinated that it isn't even against the law (that is, children are not legally required to receive their education through schools). For another thing there is an abundance of everything needed to get an education. How many people know no-one who can read, write, do basic maths & practice at least one other skill, be it guitar playing, baking or bricklaying? These abilities are easy to share. There is no reason why any tools, books or other useful educational facilities should not be available to everyone either as personal possessions or through (continued...)

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION contd...

sharing. Apart from the lunacy of the system there is no reason why, with modern technology and co-operation between individuals, any parent should not be able to spend many hours a day teaching and learning from his or her children. By opting out of schools NOW we can make a step forward to the end schooling and the beginning of education.

Sue.

P.S. If you are interested in education outside the system please contact me via Angry!

Under the classroom door
trickles
a thin stream of blood

For here begins
the massacre
of the innocents

Miroslav Holub

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM TODAY contd...

The SAC (Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation; Swedish Central Workers Organisation) is Swedens syndicalist union. It has 18,000 members and organises lumber, construction and foundry workers as well as a growing number of service and white-collar workers.

Little known in England, the OVB is a Dutch union organized on syndicalist lines. Its initials stand for the Independent Alliance of Industrial Unions and it exists as an autonomous workers organization of more than 13,000 members. The membership is mainly in the West, South and North, and works in building, fishing, docks, taxi-driving and metal-working though now public sector workers (ex. teachers and social workers etc.) are joining. It also has a growing youth section.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) - better known as the 'Wobblies' was founded in 1905 at a convention in Chicago with socialists, anarchists, trade unionists and revolutionaries present. Though the delegates differed on many issues, they agreed that the American Federation of Labour (their TUC) with its craft unionism, class collaboration and "pure and simple" trade unionism, had to be replaced by an organization which stood for industrial unionism, organization of all workers regardless of skill, sex, colour or nationality, and the establishment of a new social system to

replace capitalism.

The IWW went through 2 splits and emerged by 1908 as a revolutionary union devoted to economic activity, opposed in general to political action, and seeking its goal of the "one big union"(OBU) through direct action, sabotage, passive resistance and labour solidarity.

The history of the IWW is a long list of strikes, free speech fights, set-backs, and the murder, deportation and imprisonment of wobblies. There have been many notable victories and the lives of many workers changed drastically for the better. The union is today best remembered for its martyrs such as Joe Hill whose advice to the members on the eve of his judicial murder was, "Don't waste time mourning for me... organize!".

During the First World War the union took a strong anti-militarist stand. This led to attacks on the union such as the "Criminal Syndicalism" Law used to great effect for many years (it was only repealed in 1972).

The IWW have continued to organize as they always have, but with much fewer numbers than in the old days. Until recently that is, the IWW too is in a period of expansion it seems.

* * *

An explanation of the terms used:

Syndicalism. At the turn of the century anarchists entered the trade unions in France and for a time turned them into revolutionary organizations. As a result the word "syndicalisme" (French for trade unionism) came to mean "revolutionary unionism".

Anarcho-syndicalism. Is the movement which sees revolutionary unionism as the method but "anarchy" as the goal (anarchy being a classless, Stateless society based equality and freedom).

N.B. The IWW, which developed out of different conditions prefers to call its brand of revolutionary unionism "industrial unionism", but it has obvious similarities with syndicalist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations.

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DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT. British section of the I.W.A./A.I.T. Small, but growing. Members in Hull. D.A.M. Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. Small syndicalist group active in Britain. Can be contacted at: I.W.W. (British Section) Box 48, Oldham, Lancs OL1 2JQ.

BACK IN THE USSR -12-

The Western media is quick to pounce on any news of dissidents in Russia who would prefer to live in the "free" world. They point to these examples in a propaganda attempt to back up their claims that communism means complete suppression, whereas here in the West you are free. They conveniently forget to mention the number of dissidents in the East who, if the opportunity arose, would not prefer to live in the West, but would rather there was a world of REAL communism - these are the dangerous ones because they realise that the Eastern bloc countries are not communist, nor is the Western world "free".

One such group of dissidents in Russia were active in Leningrad from 1976 until their arrests in 1978 as members of the anarchist/communist New Left Opposition. Several of the prisoners have been released, but two of them are still held. One is Arkadiy Tsurkov, charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, organizational activity against the State, and participation in anti-Soviet organizations.

He was tried on 3rd April 1979 and sentenced to 5 years in a corrective labour colony (he was moved to Christopol prison in November 1981) and 2 years internal exile. During the trial the telephones of his family and friends were disconnected, and many were placed under house arrest. Only his mother was allowed into court. In January of this year he was visited by a friend who reported that his eyesight has faded considerably.

He is just one example, there are several more, most of which are probably unheard of. A country which holds prisoner anyone who questions the basis of the State, can in no way be regarded as socialist.

But how many criticisms of Russia do you hear from the Left in Britain today? Although many condemn the Soviet States and would agree with our criticisms, they are not so quick to leap at atrocities in that part of the world as they are to attack (quite rightly) the West.

Some are blatant in their defence of the Soviet "workers' state". (The existence of dissidents in Russia, and events such as have taken place recently in Poland should dispel this myth right off). Others, who claim to be the inheritors of the Bolsheviks and wish to distinguish themselves from other trotskyist groups, say that the Soviet Union is State-capitalist (i.e. the State owns and controls the wealth and power), which it is, but may I remind them that the anarchists saw the dangers of marxist ideology long before the Russian revolution. In 1873, Bakunin predicted that the outcome of a marxist revolution would be that the

leaders of the Communist Party would become the new ruling class. Within Russia itself the anarchists were the first to analyze and condemn the new regime as State-capitalist, for which the Bolsheviks proceeded to wipe them out. The latter-day Bolsheviks have learnt their lesson too late.

This attack on the Soviet bloc countries should not be seen as pro-Western. By ignoring the East and concentrating all criticism on the West, the Left is seen as being pro-Russian. Now that we, as anarchists, are taking up issue with the events in so-called "workers' states" we will no doubt be criticized by various factions of the Left of supporting the West.

Not so. We reject all states as artificial boundaries separating workers from workers. The free world is not free, the communist world is not communist.

Mez.

LETTERS OF PROTEST DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ARKADIY TSURKOV SHOULD BE SENT TO THE USSR EMBASSY (VICTOR POPOV - AMBASSADOR), 13 KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS, LONDON W8 4QX. (These in themselves will not get Tsurkov released, but at least it lets the Russian authorities know we know).

BAKUNIN ON MARX continued...

TO THE MARXISTS

"Who are the Marxists, these partisans of so-called scientific socialism? They are the doctrinal revolutionaries, who have assumed the mission of destroying the existing powers and orders to create their own dictatorship upon the ruins. They are the enemies of the actual powers only because they want to take them over; enemies of the actual political institutions only because the latter exclude any possibility of the former dictatorship. They are never the less the most ardent friends of State power, which they know must be maintained; without it the revolution, after having really liberated the people, would remove from this pseudo-revolutionary minority any hope of fastening them to a new harness and winning their favour with Government measures."

THE MARXIST STATE

"For the proletariat, this will be, in reality, nothing but a barrack regime, where the standardised mass of men and women workers will wake, sleep, work and live to the beat of a drum; for the clever and educated a privilege of governing; and for the mercenary minded, attracted by the immense international speculations of the State bank, a vast field of lucrative jobbery." (Letter to Liberte, 1872).

BAKUNIN ON MARX continued...

"The leaders of the Communist Party, namely Mr. Marx and his followers, will proceed to liberate humanity in their own way. They will concentrate the reins of Government in a strong hand. They will create a central bank and control all commercial, industrial, agricultural and even scientific production. The mass of people will be divided into two armies - industrial and agricultural - under the direct command State engineers, who will constitute a new privileged and political class." (Statism and Anarchy, 1873).

* * *

MARX = 0

BARCELONA = 1

In 1871 Karl Marx wrote to Engels denouncing the idea of workers' control. Stressing the inability of workers to manage without 'management' "Go and run one of the Barcelona factories without direction, that is to say, without authority!" Marx wrote.

Unfortunately for Marx he chose a bad example. For in the 1930's Spanish workers took control of their factories and workplaces. Catalonia saw all industry and public services under workers control. In the Levante region the figure was 70%. Workers throughout the country followed this example. 2,000 agricultural collectives were also formed.

Amid the struggle against the State and the fascist coup the Spanish people proved to the world that workers left to their own devices do not cause chaos and disaster, and that a liberated people, free from the State, can live and work together in relative harmony. Producing and providing for the benefit of all, not lining the pockets of a parasitical few!

If Karl Marx had been in Spain at the time he would have been a sight to behold, skulking around with his tail between his legs, tightly clutching his crumpled manuscripts.

-A--A--A-

HEALTH SERVICE STRIKE

The health workers pay claim is still dragging on, and the defeat of ASLEF by the Government (aided by their counterparts in the TUC leadership) will make the claim that much harder to win. The Government has been forced to up its offer from the original 4% for ancillary staff and 6.4% for nurses to 6% for the

ancillary staff and 7.5% for nurses. Wow! this'll mean the good life for health workers! Not really. The increased offer will be gobbled up by increased meal charges, lodging, tax, and the ever increasing cost of living these days.

The health workers have held several national token strikes, usually one day affairs, culminating in the three day stoppage with emergency cover only starting on Monday 19th July. There have been two marches in support of the demand through Hull, on the 23 June and 20 July. Both were well supported (the biggest marches in Hull yet?), with thousands of NHS staff coming from the picketing and being joined by workers from other industries (for the lunch break at least).

It's obvious that the pressure on the Government has to be increased, and the weak-kneed TUC bureaucrats with their ineffectual campaign aren't the ones who are going to apply it. On the positive side Council dustmen in Hull have come out in support on the days of the strikes recently (the first group to do so here), in a show of practical working class solidarity. Hopefully the trend will increase and spread before the ineffectual TUC-led campaign starts pissing people off and support declines. But there's also much more the NHS staff could be doing themselves. I don't mean just the inane cry of some of the neanderthals of the Left for an "all-out strike". NHS staff are understandably hesitant about action which harms the patients, and would alienate much support. Some alternatives that NHS staff could use are outlined in the "Ideas" article. They themselves will know the best ways to mess up the hospital without harming patients. With a bit of imagination they could bring the hospital administration and bureaucracy to a standstill. This, and a bit of added pressure from workers with more "muscle" will force the Government to open its coffers.

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SERVICES RENDERED

So, Joe Gormless is now a governor of the State owned BBC. This part-time post will only pay his pocket money, as it is a mere two and a half thousand a year. Mind you he shouldn't complain, a lot of people'd sell their souls for a job these days. Oh well, as a friend to the Government maybe he could 'negotiate' a pay rise as a charge for services rendered. Or was that paid up in kind by the seat in the House of Lords?