

DIRECT ACTION



paper of the DAM-IWA...the voice of anarcho-syndicalism
No 28 FEBRUARY 86

20p

SOLIDARITY

Newspaper Baron Rupert Murdoch has decided to smash NGA and SOGAT power in Fleet Street. He has moved operations to his heavily-fortified plant in Wapping, leaving 5000 printworkers out in the cold for fighting the job-destroying bosses' technology.

HOW CAN THEY WIN?

*NOT THROUGH a prolonged strike. Murdoch's well-planned distribution system means the papers he produces are getting delivered.

*NOT THROUGH mass pickets. They won't bring victory, only broken heads for the workers as at Grunwicks, Warrington and Orgreave. Thatcher's paramilitary police boot-boys are prepared.

SOLIDARITY IS THE KEY

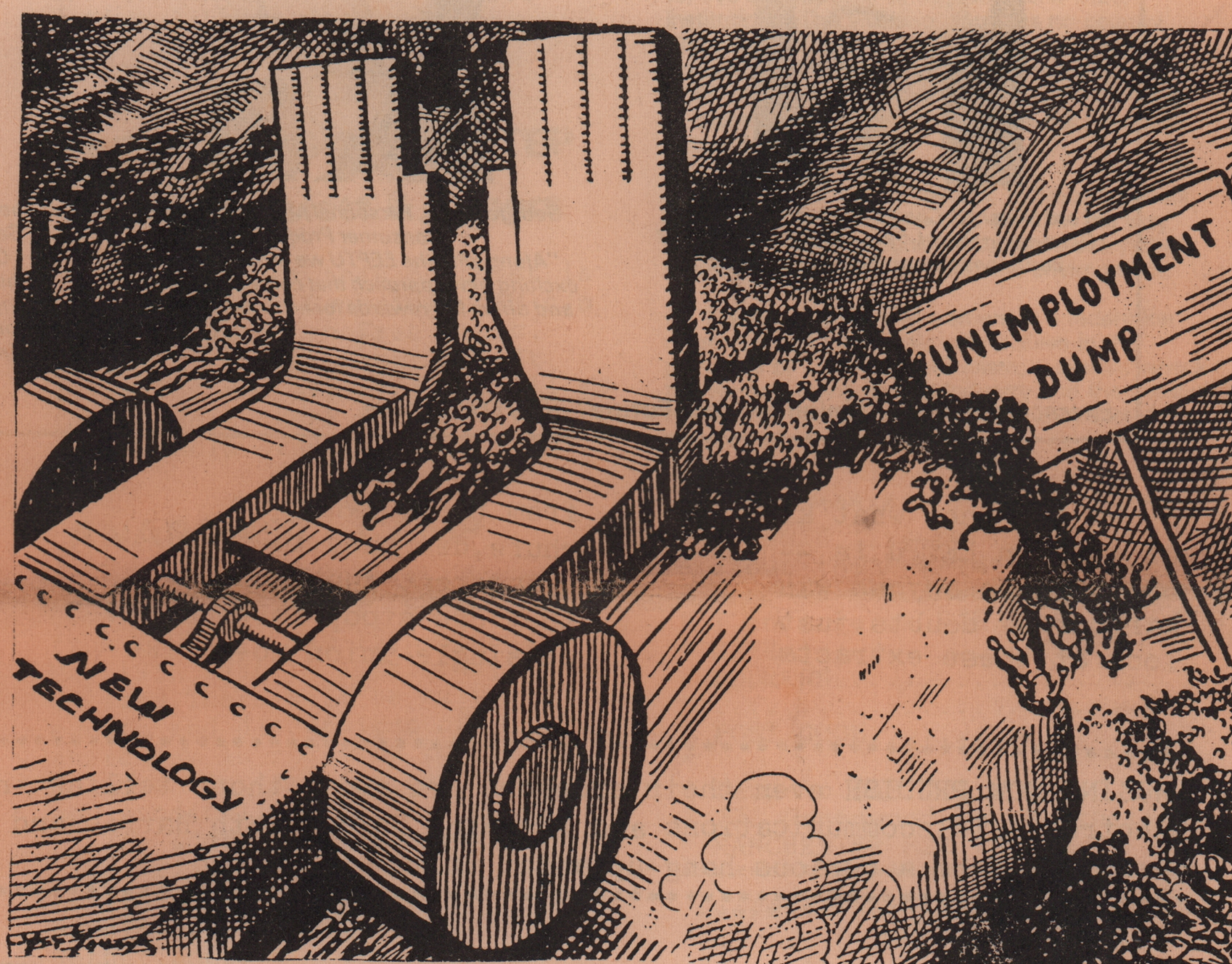
*Rank and file postal workers

must ensure not one letter enters or leaves the plant.
*Rank and file power and water workers must see that not one watt of electricity, not one drop of water enters it.
*No worker of any union should print or distribute a single copy of THE TIMES, NEWS OF THE WORLD, SUN or SUNDAY TIMES. Nor should he or she waste their time reading such scab sheets.

If power workers etc won't make production at Wapping impossible then the printers and other class-conscious workers must take the necessary measures to sabotage the plant's capability.

DIRECT ACTION

DON'T LEAVE THIS TO THE UNION LEADERS. THEY WON'T DO THIS. THEY JUST WANT TO KEEP THE PEACE. IT IS UP TO US AS WORKERS TO TAKE ACTION.



OR SABOTAGE

Secure in Fortress Wapping the Electricians betray their fellow workers in the NGA and SOGAT. They are all SCABS. Outside the multi-million pound plant 700 drivers for the cowboy distribution firm TNT are also betraying the printers. They distribute the Sun, Times, News of the World. They are all in the Transport and General Workers Union and they are also ALL SCABS. Likewise the SOGAT members who print Murdoch's colour supplements and the NUJ members who moved to Wapping. They too are SCABS.

WE SAY:

NO decent union would hesitate to expel such human refuse. NO decent union centre would hesitate to kick out trash like Hammond's bosses' union.

But the TUC and the unions involved in the print dispute won't do that; they're too scared of the loss of revenue such expulsions would entail.

These unions are a breeding-ground for the ugly "I'm all right Jack" mentality of the union scab.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED!

A PAT ON THE BACK FOR EETPU FROM NORMAN AND FRIENDS

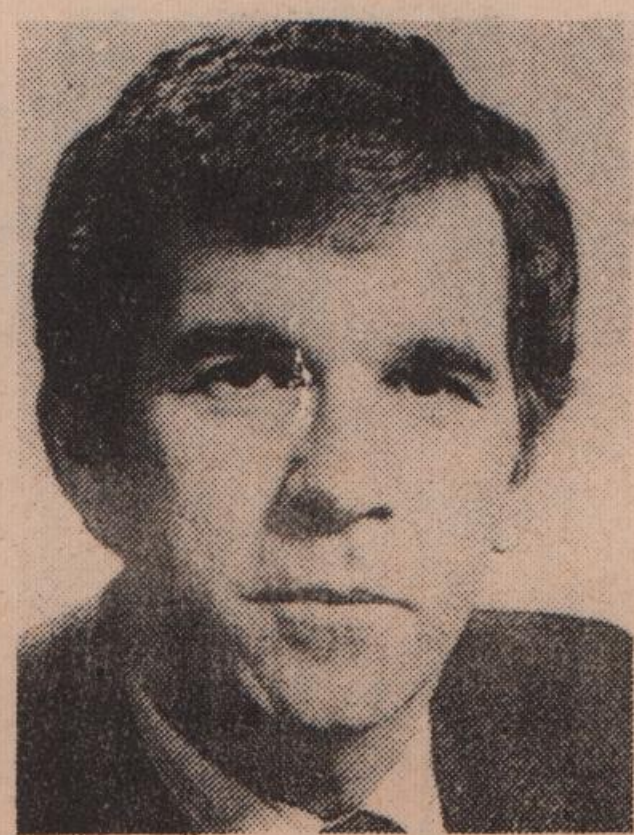
**AND FOR BRITISH
WORKERS..
praise from the
bosses**

Selling a Union

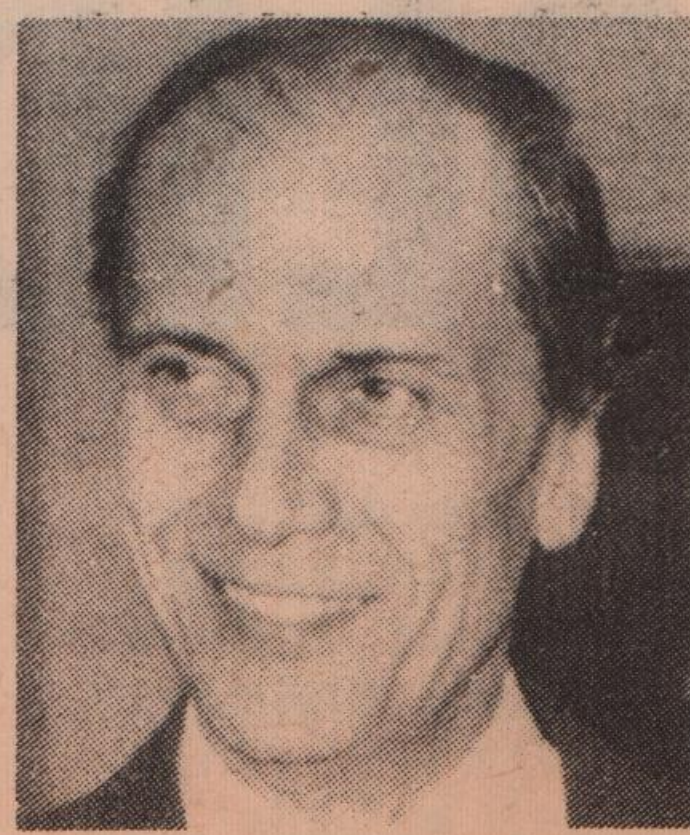
"Our progressive approach is reflected in agreement with companies like Toshiba, Sanyo, Hitachi, and Optical Fibres which have attracted widespread expert attention and the approval of objective observers and commentators. They eliminate strikes through binding arbitration and provide a radical transformation of traditional workplace job boundaries."



Lord Marshall, Chairman, Central Electricity Generating Board, "Your Union is a haven of commonsense and rational thought."



George Harris, Personnel Manager, Toshiba Consumer Products, "Along with the EETPU we have charted an exciting new approach that cuts out futile strife and offers fair rewards for all those involved."



The Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit, MP, (Former Secretary of State for Industry, present Chairman of the Conservative Party). "The EETPU not only accepts technological change, but is tackling the problems that can arise, including technical skills training. I see this as apiece with the Union's progressive approach on the shopfloor and elsewhere."

Extracts from "The Union for Your Future" EETPU brochure.

We all know what kind of a union EETPU is -- but in case anyone was harbouring doubts, just look at these extracts

from their own brochure, designed to show management just how low they can stoop to pick up single-union no-strike

sweetheart deals.

Is this the sort of company any self-respecting trade unionist ought to keep?

Yes, that's official. While the big-wigs of the CBI, the Institute of Directors and the government never tire of telling us how British industry is suffering from high wages and poor industrial relations, they tell a very different tale to their fellow capitalists abroad.

And they have set up the Invest in Britain Bureau to spread the word.

One of its glossy brochures begins, "Britain is a low labour cost country. This stems in part from the fact that wages themselves are relatively low, but also from the fact that in Britain 'on costs' (ie those labour costs which are additional to wages) are also low. 'On costs' include the cost of financing any voluntary sick pay or pension plans, and contributions to state plans".

Another, entitled "Labour Relations: We Have The Right Mix", goes on to show how British rates of pay are lower than those in France, Italy, West Germany and the Netherlands, and adds that "Total British labour rates are approximately half those in the USA".

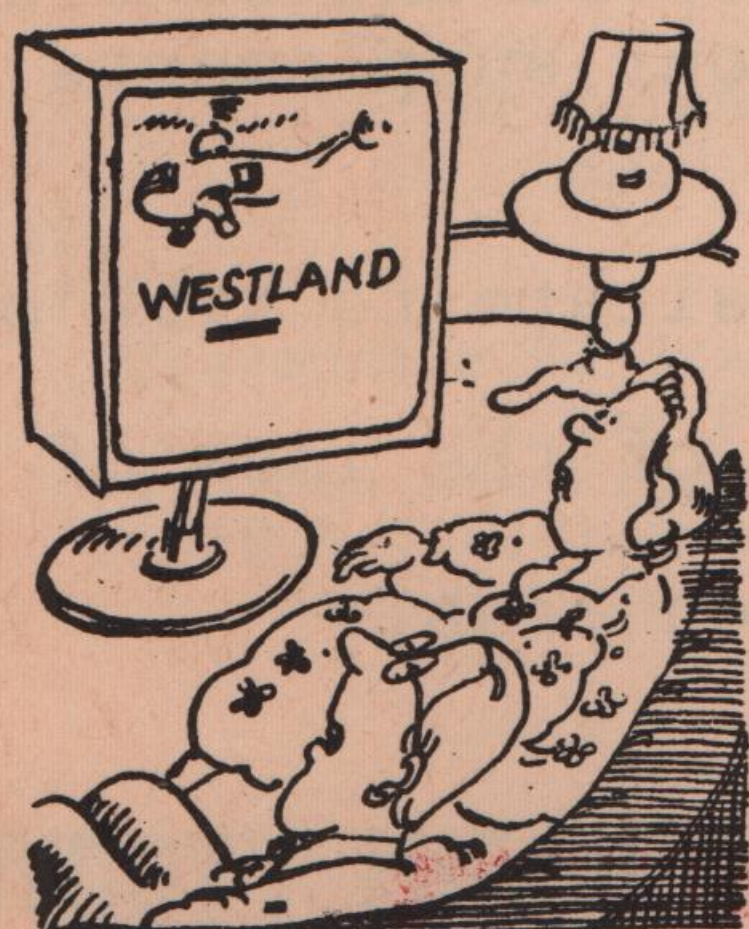
Not only this, but, according to our masters, we are flexible, highly-trained, super-productive and very, very docile.

The tame trade unions get a special mention. And, looking at the antics of the EETPU in particular, who can be surprised that the bosses love them?

AMUSING HOW PRUDISH even their sponsors are about those telling initials---(Electrical Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union). Both Harris and Tebbit (above) seem to suffer from a curious hang-up about it.

CHOPPER SQUAD

January's news seemed entirely obsessed by something called the "Westland Affair", which began as a quarrel between rival bosses as to who should control the Yeovil helicopter manufacturers and progressed to the comedy of our rulers in both major political parties making a spectacle of themselves.



EUROPE OR USA ?

The first noticeable thing about the whole affair was the small size of the company concerned. Westland is just a tit-bit compared with the multi-million mega-mergers currently taking place in the City.

But of course we must allow that the fuss was to some extent justified when we remember that Westland is the only helicopter firm in this warfare state. We can't expect the obvious answer (hand it over to the workers to make something useful, along the lines of the Lucas shop stewards' Alternative Plan) to occur to any government, let alone the present one.

Well, it was amusing to see the dilemma the situation posed to a government equally committed to the Common Market and the interests of the USA, which couldn't even allow itself to compromise by nationalising the firm.

But it was pathetic to see the workers at Yeovil solemnly deciding which bosses they would like to exploit them, and members of the union hierarchy chiming in with them.

Surely it should be obvious that the only sensible attitude for workers in this position is amused indifference?

The only thing that could colour our view of things is the fact that Sikorski are currently unable to fulfil an order placed by the South African government for military helicopters, due to the USA ban on arms sales to that country.

With a British plant they would not have this problem.

Needless to say this was probably not Michael Heseltine's main reason for opposing Sikorski, and that particular prima donna's departure from centre stage, with its inevitable flurry of media attention, should be unlamented.

But it must have been especially welcomed by Norman Fowler. It was a splendid way of distracting attention from his proposals to make tax cuts for the rich by hacking the welfare state to ribbons.

CABINET CASUALTIES

The next episode in the story was the infamous "leak" which led to the downfall of the odious Leon Brittan.

No doubt Mr Brittan thought the Prime Minister would protect his name. After all, he stood by her in the little-publicised scandal over her involvement in the sale of Harrods to a wealthy Arab.

But he should have realised — there is no honour among thieves.

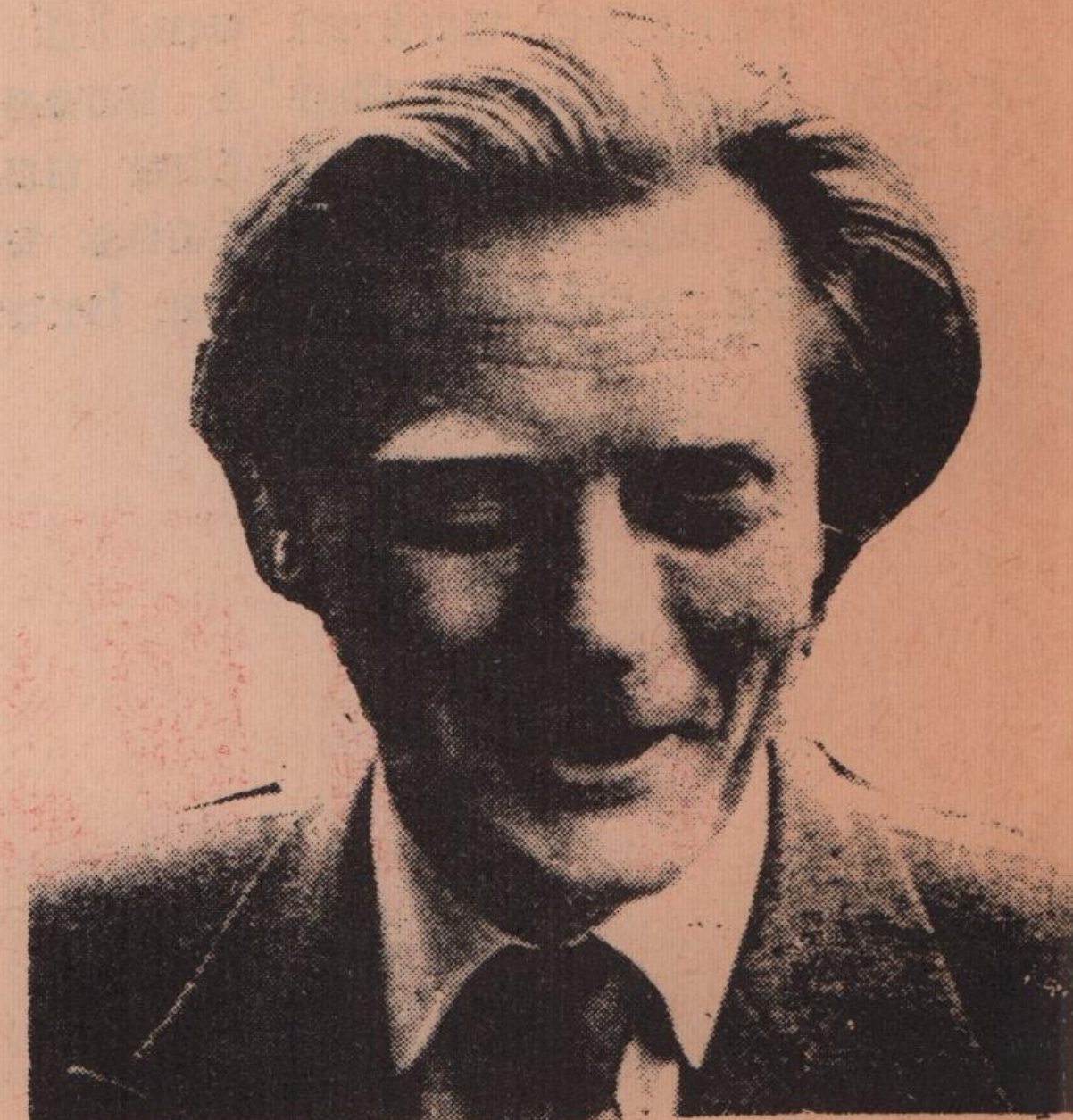
HYPOCRITES !

But surely the most laughable part of the whole business was the ridiculous way Neil Kinnock and his

friends pretended to be shocked at the carryings-on in the government.

Of course they would all do exactly the same if they were in the Tories' position. What is so laughable, so incredible, is that they imagine anyone believes for a moment that they wouldn't.

Whether the choice is Sikorski v the Europeans, or Tory v Labour, our reply is the same — a plague on both your houses!



THE GOLDEN BOY WHO PUT US ALL IN A WHIRL.



REBELLION IN THE VEINS: POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN BOLIVIA 1952-1982 by James Dunkerly. VERSO £5.45.

PERU: PATHS TO POVERTY a Latin America Bureau Special Brief. LAB £2.95.

The Bolivian Revolution has not had anything like the attention it deserves. True, Bolivia is an isolated and remote country of only some 6 million people, but it has been the scene of some of the most inspiring and bitter workers' struggles on earth, led by the CENTRAL OBRERA BOLIVIANA (COB), formed in 1952, with the tin miners' union FSTMB as its most militant section. The workers have fought against a succession of military dictatorships, each worse than the last, with the most recent — including Argentine military torturers, leading international fascists* and the Cocaine Mafia — brought down in 1982.

The reasons for the miners' militancy are rooted in the harsh conditions of the bleak barrack-like camps high in the

Andes, their workstyles, based on a gang system looking for veins of tin to exploit rather than on factory discipline, and their independent culture — many mines have their own radio station.

The FSTMB's original programme, the THESES OF PULACAYO (1946) was an application of Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Programme for the Fourth International to Bolivian conditions with reference to the unions, yet the impressive thing about the workers' organisations is that they have been above and independent of ideologies, be they Nationalist, Stalinist, Trotskyist or Maoist.

In 1952 a traditional military coup broadened out into a full-scale social revolution with the replacement of the army by a workers' militia, nationalisation of the mines under workers' control, land reform and overthrow of the oligarchy who had ruled the country.

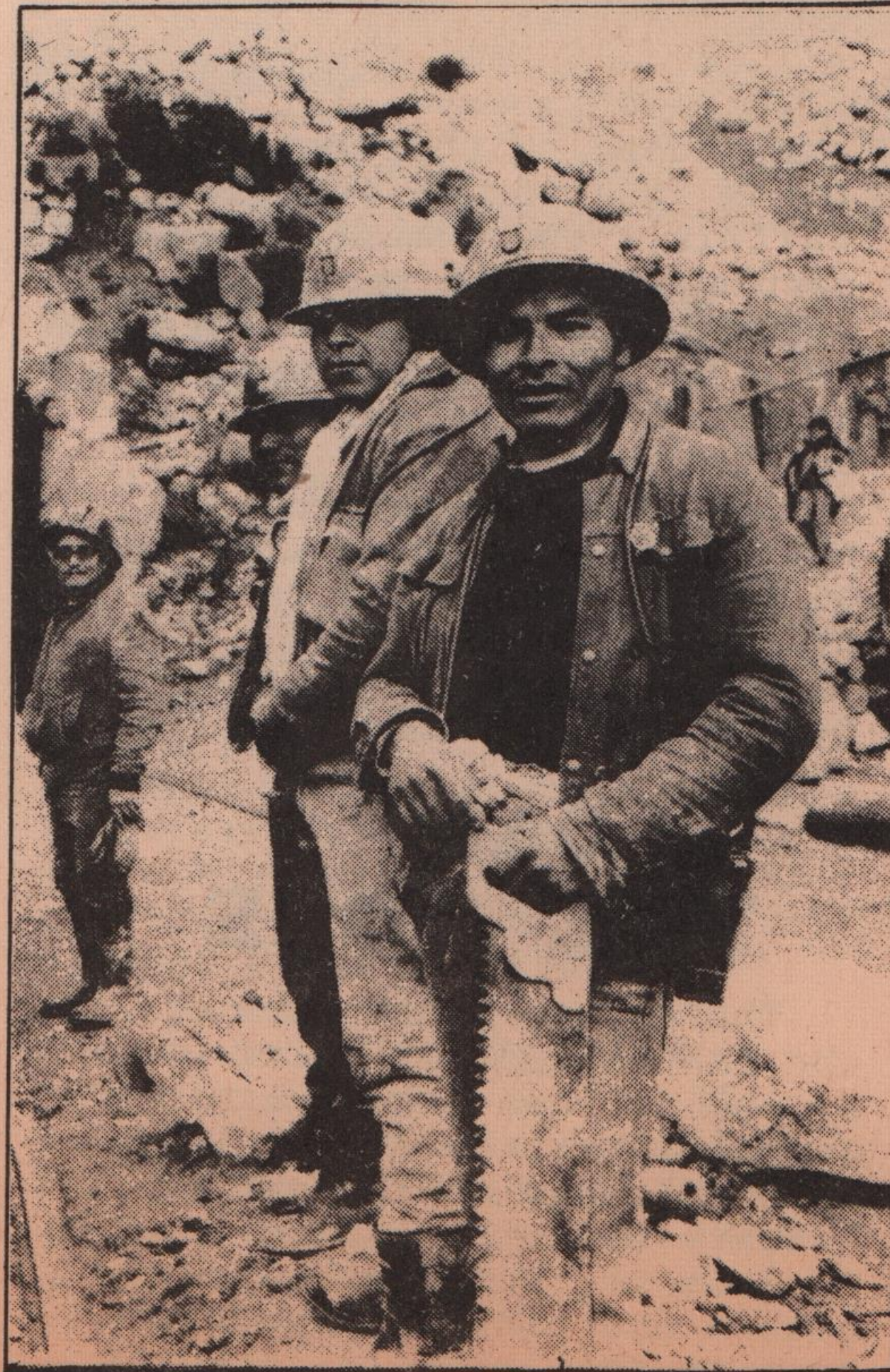
In the years that followed, as narrated by Dunkerly, several things stand out: the demobilising effect of the parties and union hierarchy; the lack of worker-peasant unity, which left the Indians open to military paternalism, and the fallacy of militarist "vanguards" such as Guevara in the 1960s. But what is most inspiring is the courage and idealism of such militants as the veteran anarcho-syndicalist Liber Forti who was acclaimed at the 1979 COB Congress for over 30 years of cultural work with the Bolivian workers.

James Dunkerly, who also wrote the LAB book on Bolivia

in 1980 has succeeded in making a difficult subject easy to read and has enlivened the book with many stories and anecdotes. I got a bit confused with all the parties and I bet others will too.

It's a pity the narrative ends in 1982, for the struggle continues with renewed vigour due to the debt crisis and worker-peasant mobilisations. But this is still a book worth investing in or getting from your public library.

The situation of Peru is altogether less hopeful, as outlined in the latest of the



excellent Special Brief series from LAB in London. As in most of South America the early workers' movement was anarcho-syndicalist in inspiration. The first unions were formed in Lima at the turn of the century, a general strike was held in 1911 and by 1918 the FEDERACION OBRERA LOCAL DE LIMA was strong enough to organise another which succeeded in winning an 8-hour day. But they failed to meet the challenge of the Communists under Jose Carlos Mariategui in the 1920s, and in the 1960s it was Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyite who led the Indians in strikes and land occupations. Although the 1970s saw a series of mass strikes by 1980 much of the Left was concentrating on elections.

Only the Maoist SENDERO LUMINOSA (full name Peruvian Communist Party for the Shining Path of Jose Carlos Mariategui!), led by a philosophy professor whose works include "The Kantian Theory of Space" offer any real opposition. They base their appeal on a "return to the Incas" — authoritarian socialism and traditional agricultural techniques.

The LAB packs an enormous amount of information into its books which always makes them good value. I'd agree with their conclusion that Sendero offer no realistic way out of the crisis. What I think is needed is a libertarian socialist alternative to restructure the economy and help the dispossessed.

TCB.

*see Stuart Christie's book on Stefano delle Chiaie, Portrait of a Black Terrorist.

What Syndicalists Think About...

CLASS

There is a lady who used to go along every month to our local Trades Council as a delegate of the AUT (Association of University Teachers). She was a once-a-month militant, but it was a social occasion she never missed; indeed the labour movement was this well-heeled philosopher's hobby.

Or there was Sammy. Sammy was an economics student at Oxford University when I met him speaking at some length at an Oxford Miners' Support Committee meeting during the strike. He was preparing to leave for Nicaragua that summer and had been promised an advisory post by the Marxist dictatorship.

Ever met the type? The well-intentioned — or quite often not — middle-class character who just has to have a finger in the labour movement pie.

There are whole Marxist parties made up of these guilt-ridden or power-seeking individuals, from the feminist CND supporters who make up so much of Kinnock's Labour Party to the rich young trendies who make up the more bizarre Trot groups such as the RCP.

We syndicalists have never really had the problem of middle-class infiltration (although we could well do with the money the creeps bring in with them!). This is because the wealthy find our ideas most uncongenial.

In any future syndicalist society there will be no positions of responsibility for the pampered few. There will be no vast officialdom, as in Lenin's Russia. No "comrade managers" or "comrade officers" — only productive workers. They may only work say four hours a day, with full employment, technology controlled by workers and production for needs not profits — but all will do their

fair share.

This sounds disagreeable to the aspiring functionaries and commissars found in the Marxist parties, where they can delight today in being big fish in a little pool, with the hope that tomorrow, after the "revolution" they will be "revolutionary" commandants, generals, managers etc.

But what about the present? What do syndicalists mean when they talk about "working class" or "middle class"? Are they as confused about this complex issue as the Marxists, who at one moment differentiate, like Lenin, between "workers" and "peasants", and at the next embrace ex-public-schoolboys on the Central Committee?

It would be hard to disagree with the basic observation of Marx — and many other people — that the difference between the ruling class and the working class is essentially to do with the ownership of capital — a worker has nothing to sell but their labour, while a capitalist owns and controls the means necessary for production of goods.

However, even in Victorian times this was a simplification. Even then working-class people differed widely in their incomes — some employed help at home, some had savings which paid interest, etc. Today's society is even more complicated, and people seem to be far more likely to find themselves in a different social class from their parents or grandparents.

Libertarians offer a further viewpoint from which to help form judgements about class — the amount of authority an individual can impose on others, or in other words, whether they usually take orders, or give them. Thus

a member of Parliament, even one who owned no shares or companies, could not claim to be working class, whatever his or her party.

By these two definitions we can see many groups in society who are indisputably ruling class — businessmen, army officers, the House of Lords, etc — who enjoy wealth and power, and many groups who are indisputably working class — for instance, cleaners, factory workers, engine drivers — whose wealth and power are insignificant.

Yet this still leaves room for groups, whose position in society is hard to define. What about an office worker, or indeed the university lecturer mentioned earlier? Isn't a prison officer or policeman a worker?

This is where ideology, not as theories handed down in books from some high priest in the British Museum, but as the working ideas of our lives and experience, plays an important role.

For example, the bosses love to persuade workers that they are in fact middle class. If you buy your council house, own a few shares in British Telecom, work in an office or receive a pittance in the form of a monthly cheque instead of weekly cash, you expected to see yourself as upwardly mobile. You are expected to identify with those who manage, control and own the wealth of society, and not with other workers whose interests you truly share.

This is the old, but still highly effective tactic of divide-and-rule. (It can work the other way as well — as we see when the press try to rob miners or printworkers of public support by stirring up envy of the relatively good

wages these workers have won through their own effective organisation.)

Thus there exist large sectors of the working class who, because of skills, education or a powerful position as essential workers, are vulnerable to a self-perception altered by the State. And the State's media reinforce this continually.

This also accounts for the people who never see themselves as other than working class, but whose role is in perpetual opposition to their own class interests (ie prison warders, police, soldiers). They are the ones whose class-consciousness is almost zero.

For to syndicalists, class is a vital factor, but class alone is not enough. Just as the syndicalist organisation can never embrace those who are accustomed to wealth and power, because it has nothing to offer them, so it cannot appeal to those who aim solely at a more privileged position in the present system for themselves alone, nor to those who are indifferent to what happens so long as they aren't forced to think for themselves.

The task of syndicalism in the present climate is to spread class consciousness and convince the entire working class of the need for united action in defence of common interests, against a common enemy.

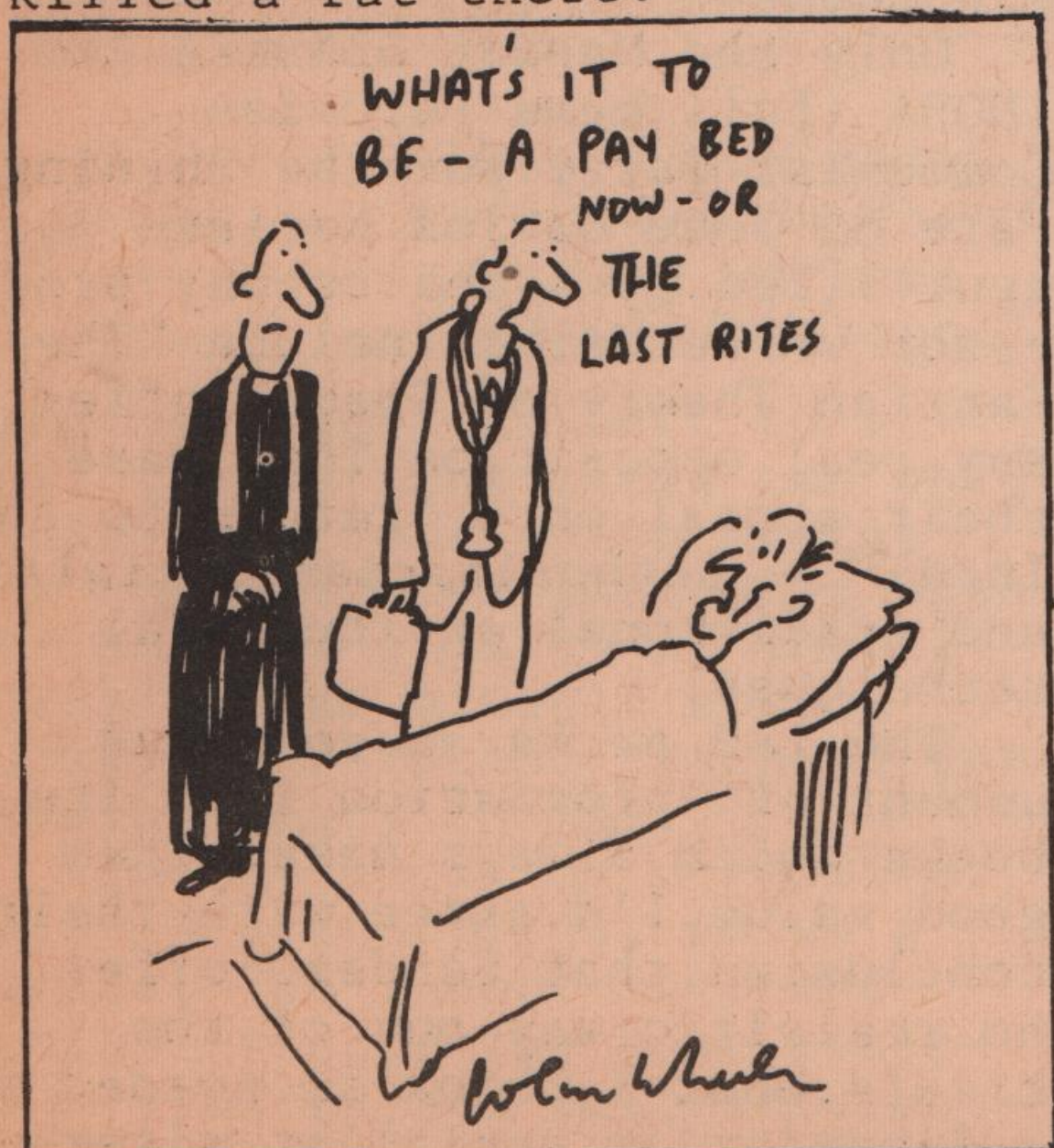
Thus we don't say only syndicalists are working class, which would be absurd. But the opposite is certainly true. And while many workers are reactionary, apolitical or even Marxist in their views, syndicalist workers are those whose class consciousness is most aware, informed and developed.

GC
AR

STANLEY ROYD- WHOSE FAULT?

The result of an inquiry into the food poisoning outbreak at Stanley Royd Hospital near Wakefield was published recently.

The outbreak of salmonella poisoning, which occurred last summer, cost the lives of several elderly patients, and is believed to have originated in the hospitals kitchens. At the time these were heavily infested by cockroaches, and a few weeks after the epidemic one of the staff caught and killed a rat there.



Salmonella thrives on dirty conditions, especially where food is allowed to remain at lukewarm temperatures — a difficult thing to avoid in busy, poorly staffed kitchens. Yet the health service is persistently trying to cut down the number of cleaners and ancillary staff of all kinds in hospitals.

In fact, most hospitals spend more on cleaning their windows than on ensuring that kitchens are free of pests.

In spite of these facts, the inquiry found that "human error" caused the deaths of these patients, and suggested that disciplinary procedures be carried out.

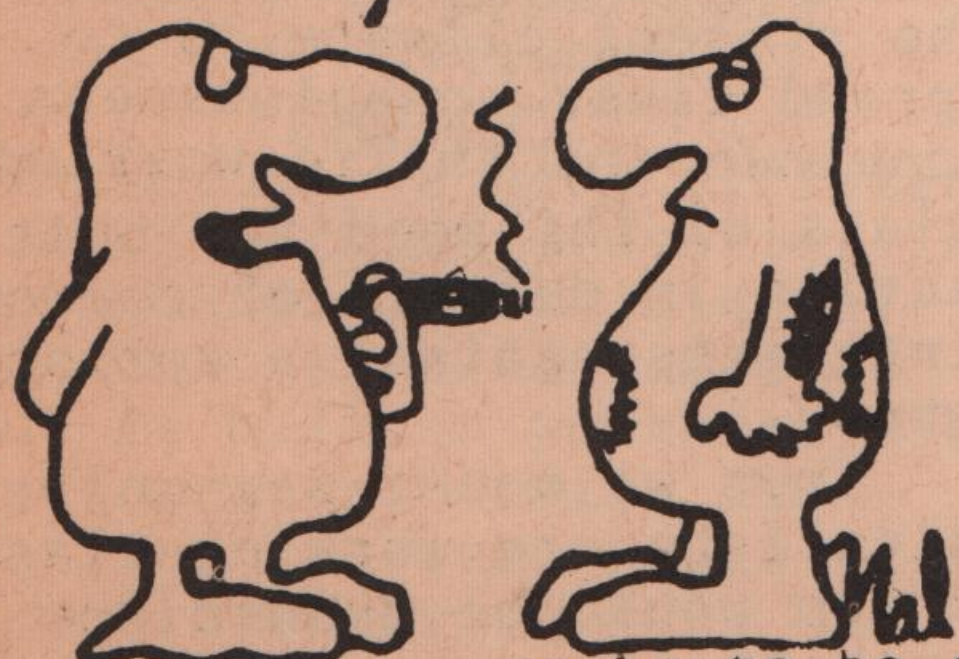
As usual, the rich and powerful blame the workers for the consequences of their greed and carelessness.

THE RATES TO BE ABOLISHED

The Tories have just published their discussion document on the rates, which they hope will be implemented in the next government and come into effect around 1990.

Their proposal to abolish rates sounds so welcome that most people won't bother to find out what's in store to replace them.

I'M RICH AND GETTING RICHER... YOU'RE POOR AND GETTING POORER... SEE, I TOLD YOU THE SYSTEM STILL WORKS!



The last time a government tried to tax us for merely existing resulted in the Peas-

ants' Revolt of 1381, which put a stop to the idea, but it seems today's Britons (no other country has a Poll Tax, except a few Feudal African states) are too craven to protest.

(Business rates won't be abolished — but the bosses needn't worry. The new rules will mean they will be fixed by central, not local government — ie the Tories.)

At present the idea is that poll-taxpayers will be all those on the Electoral Roll. Some Labour politicians are squealing that this amounts to a tax on votes, and certainly there must be many people who would recognise what a useless thing a vote is, if it cost them say £200 a year. This in itself is no bad thing.

But when the government notice this, how long will it be before they bring in compulsory identity cards?

Another civil liberty begins to be eroded.

DAM THE DOLE

The Autumn Conference of the DAM called for joint worker and jobless action against unemployment [the official figures released at the end of January are at a record level].

From the bumbling union bosses and parroting politicians to the juvenile gestures of Liverpool's council crackpots no-one has an answer to the dole queue.

Who can solve the crisis?

Certainly not the Labourites. After all, in "Socialist" Spain, of the 2½ million currently out of work over 1½ million get no benefits and half a million have no right even to see a doctor.



How can DAM help when Labour's big battalions can only offer us "paradise postponed" until after the next General Election?

plainly the policy of the DAM today is "the politics of the bed-bug's bite" — to pinch the conscience and alert the awareness of those in work. If the future of the jobless depends upon organised labour the latter will need reminding of this responsibility often.

Thus the unemployment policies of the DAM aim: to embarrass unions and state authorities with sit-ins at Job Centres and the hang-outs of backsliding union officials; to expose well-paid vested interests who run the MSC schemes; to fight Government attempts at enforced labour of young workers through the YTS and to promote solidarity between trade unionists and the jobless through our work in the Rank-and-File organisations.

Northern Worker.

FOWLER before & after

LAST YEAR Top judges and civil servants got £300 a week pay rises.
Parents got 15p a week benefit rises.

NEXT YEAR WILL BE WORSE!

This summer the Fowler Review of Social Security becomes law. Benefits will be CUT!

Your weekly money will be

CUT by £5--£13if you're under 26

CUT by £20--£36.....if you're a widow

CUT by £1.40--£6.....if you're on Housing Benefit

CUT by £15--£40.....if you're disabled

to mention only a few of the swingeing cuts the government is currently considering. The ones to suffer most will be the old, the low paid, young people and families.

Everyone claims state benefits at some time in their lives. Everyone will lose out.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Grenada: Trade unionist nears death

Over two years ago, when the US invaded Grenada, trade unionists were among the first to suffer. Two were murdered, while others have been forced into exile, imprisoned or subjected to daily harassment.

Chester Humphrey, an important figure in the resistance to the American invasion, and previously a well-respected union activist and leader in workers' education, was arrested soon after the invasion, and has been illegally detained, with only a short break, ever since.

Humphrey has not been charged with involvement in the conspiracy which brought down former ruler Maurice Bishop. Instead, he is awaiting "an expected demand for extradition to the US". This is despite the fact that there is no extradition treaty between Grenada and the US.

The US is accusing him of crimes including conspiracy against the government and smuggling arms, which could

result in 25 years in jail.

Meanwhile, Humphrey has spent over two years in prison, often in solitary confinement. It took six months before he got even ten minutes' legal advice, and visits from family and lawyers have been persistently disrupted.

In protest, Chester Humphrey commenced an indefinite hunger strike. Since 2nd September 1985 he has taken only coconut water, and is now close to death.

In support of Humphrey, there have been public demonstrations in Grenada for the first time since the US took over.

Let the Prime Minister of Grenada know what you think of the way trade unionists are treated there. His address is:

Prime Minister Herbert Blaize
St. Georges
Grenada,
West Indies.

NEWS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT



TURKEY—FRANCE—SPAIN—LATIN AMERICA

This month it is pleasant to report news of steady syndicalist growth throughout the world labour movement.

Turkey is a vicious military dictatorship which, with the support of its western allies, long ago crushed its labour movement. But perhaps they won't have things all their own way. The CONFEDERATION OF TURKISH ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS—an organisation of exiled/immigrant Turkish workers in France have applied for IWA affiliation. On returning to Turkey they hope to form a Turkish section of the International. Already they have produced propaganda in Turkish with the help of the French section of the IWA, the CONFEDERATION NATIONALE DU TRAVAIL.

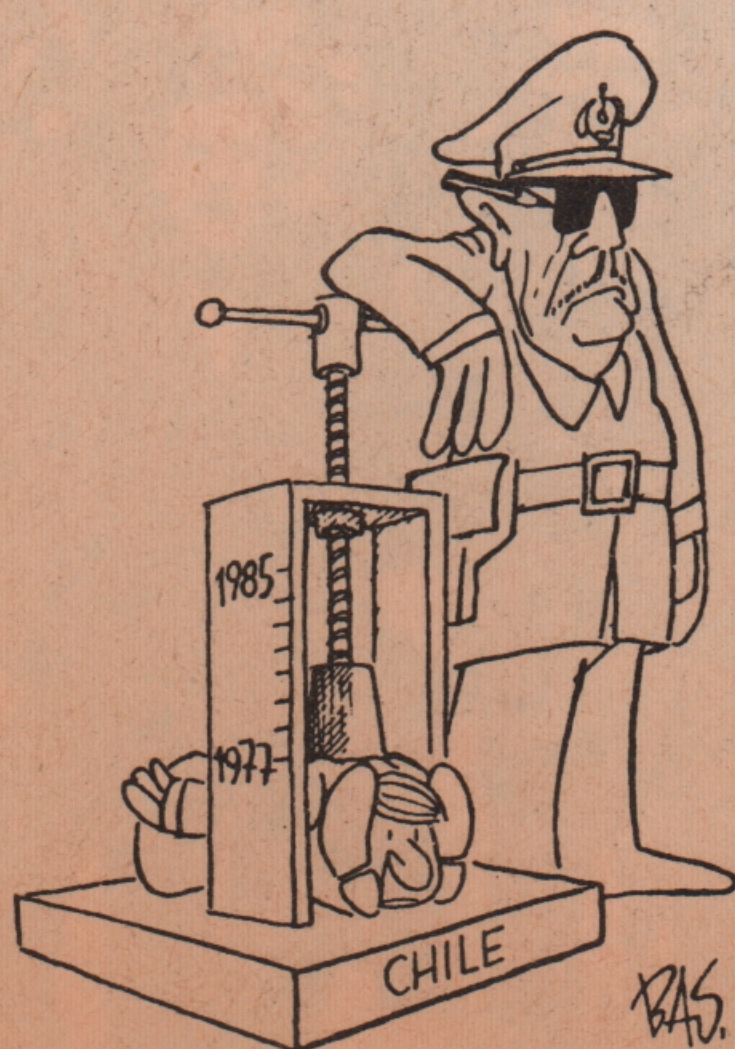
As we reported in DA 27 the CNT itself has been undergoing a period of growth. The latest development has been the formation of the CNT postal workers' union of the Rhone. This follows the decision of SAT, the independent postal workers' union, to dissolve itself. The SAT was originally set up as an alternative to the sellouts of the CFDT (Socialist union centre) postal union, but finding itself isolated, a majority of the membership voted to join the CNT. These postal workers can be contacted via CNT-PTT du Rhone, 17 rue Leyraud, 69001 Lyon, France.

Across the Pyrenees, the Spanish Anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT-AIT is still engaged in a battle for the return of its property seized by Franco and never returned by the "Socialist" government.



CNT Members recently occupied the Christopher Columbus monument in Barcelona (equivalent of Nelson's Column) to publicise the case of the millions of pounds owed them in cash, buildings and printing presses. Meanwhile the "Socialists" continue to attack Spanish industry—closing mines, steel-works and shipyards—in a very similar way to our own government!

Syndicalists have been making progress in South America. The Brazilian Anarcho-syndicalist organisation has applied for membership of the IWA and the increasing amount of activity in Latin America has meant the revival of the IWA's SOUTH AMERICAN SUB-SECRETARIAT. Perhaps the most encouraging developments have been taking place in the embattled CHILEAN labour movement—for more on how YOU can help, see page 7.



Melilla—Socialism in action

If you haven't heard of Melilla, you're not alone. It's a town in North Africa, officially part of Spain, but in reality a Spanish colony. A third of the population—25,000 people—are Arabs, whom the Spanish government now plans to expel.

On January 27th, a demonstration of 400 Arab women was broken up by Spanish police with rubber bullets for protesting against this decision.

Another fine example of Socialist internationalism!

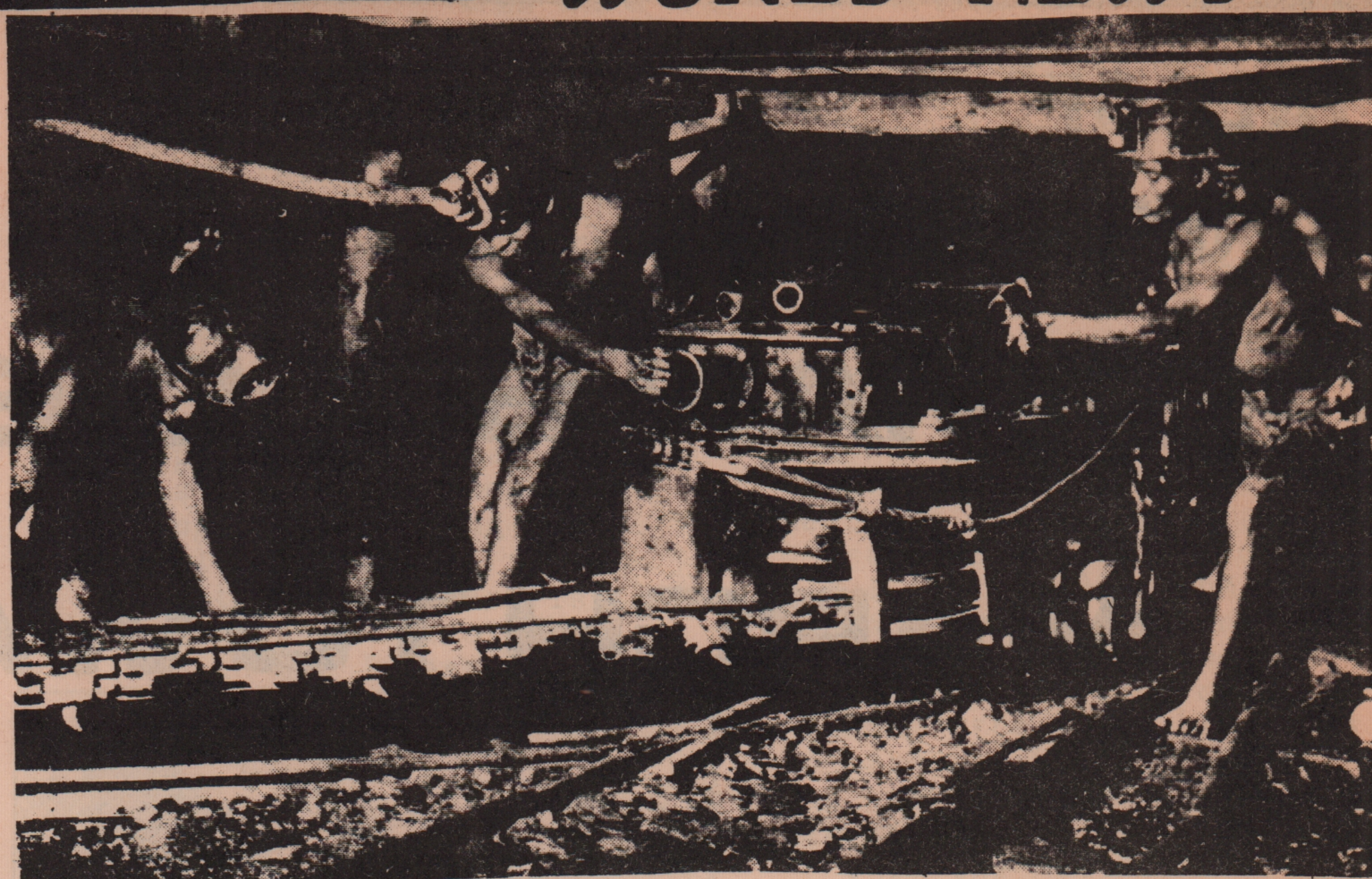
SOUTH AFRICA: IWA CALL TO ACTION

The International Workers Association, meeting in Paris last year, unanimously supported the struggle of the South African working class against racial discrimination and the inhumane exploitation of black workers.

The class-collaborationist unions of the world, with few exceptions, have given little help to South African workers. Such unions don't understand that the struggle against apartheid can restrain the multinational strategy which is creating unemployment in the Western world.

On the other hand, the lack of international union action against the South African government and the banks and companies which participate in the oppression of African workers constitutes a major betrayal of the world labour movement. Labour's most effective defence is the solidarity of all workers across all borders.

Only the international workers' struggle can get rid of racial oppression and capitalism in South Africa.



SOUTH AFRICA

It's now obvious to just about everybody (except most white South Africans) that the days of apartheid are numbered. Since September 1984 well over 1000 Africans have been killed by the South African security forces (as well as many killed in inter-tribal fighting deliberately fostered by the apartheid state). Until the present black fightback the only people to boycott South Africa were the odd leftists refusing to buy a tin of SA peaches from their local shop. Now the Co-op, Marks and Spencers etc are falling over themselves to clear their shelves of the blood-stained fruits of apartheid. They were content to sell these goods for years but suddenly it's bad for the public image.

There is such a ferment in South Africa that it appears nothing can hold it back. The black townships are in revolt, guerrilla attacks are increasing and previously friendly governments (like the British, with a big investment in apartheid) are now embarrassed to be associated with South Africa. Hence the pathetic squeals to "reform" apartheid—in other words to change things a little while leaving the set-up substantially the same.

But the regime isn't only under attack in the African

townships. In December, with the formation of the COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) another front has been opened up, for without the black workers who clothe and feed it, the regime is nothing.

African trade unions emerged in the seventies upon a wave of industrial unrest. In 1979 the government was forced to legalise the unions and today 800,000 black workers are organised. COSATU is a federation of previously separate unions and is the fruit of years of negotiation to achieve a broader union front. Bringing together 34 non-racial unions COSATU can claim half a million mostly African workers.

COSATU will not confine itself to trade union issues but has pledged itself to take a full part in the wider social struggle. With blacks organising as workers, the prospects in South Africa open up for class struggle rather than just nationalist struggle.

Apartheid is doomed. All over the world there are streets and squares named after Nelson Mandela. In five years' time, who will remember PW Botha?

During the British miners strike support was received from the South African miners, who are now a major part of COSATU. It's time for British workers to repay that debt...

NO TO SANCTIONS? DON'T YOU BELIEVE IT!

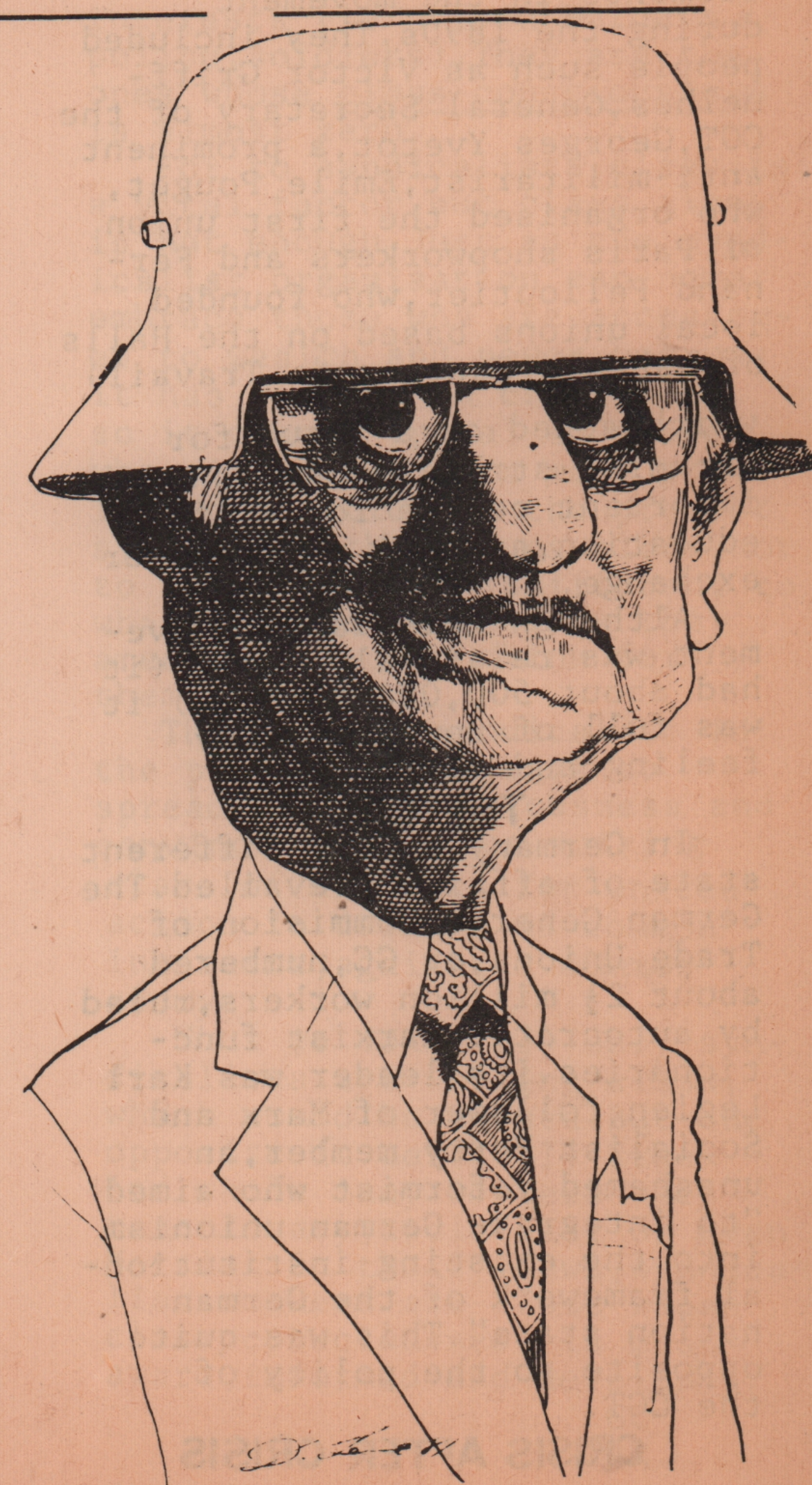
We often hear claims from the government that most black workers in South Africa are opposed to the idea of a boycott of South African goods by other countries, because it could mean more unemployment for them. In support of this view they quote Chief Buthelezi, lap-dog of the South African government, and even a "study" of black opinion, paid for by the US State Department. But another survey, by a well-known market research firm, suggests otherwise. In interviews of 800 blacks, chosen at random in ten urban areas they found:

THAT 73% WANTED SANCTIONS, including over 50% who felt it was worth while sacrificing jobs to end apartheid;

THAT 66% APPROVED OF DIRECT ACTION by blacks in South Africa;

THAT 90% WOULD LIKE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, if possible;

THAT CHIEF BUTHELEZI GOT 8% of their support—about the same as PW Botha!



A TALE OF TWO UNIONISMS : "GERMAN SOLDIERS WILL MARCH TO WAR"!

One of the best-known comments made by Karl Marx on the abilities of ordinary workers to change society was the contemptuous remark, "Left to itself the working class can only achieve a trade union mentality". He believed that only with the help of a party of intellectuals like himself could workers understand the need for revolutionary change.

History shows us otherwise. Here is a story that shows a Marxist-led labour movement achieving only the most miserably limited and self-interested "trade union mentality", whilst an independent syndicalist union practiced a revolutionary internationalism which, if successful, could have saved Europe from the disaster of World War I.

THE CGT

In the early years of this century the French CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail or General Confederation of Labour) was committed to syndicalism. It was independent of the corrupt French Socialist Party and used a battery of direct action tactics, such as the work-to-rule (used to devastating effect by the railway workers of the CGT, who would stop and check the foundations of every bridge before crossing it), and the General Strike.

Much of its revolutionary position was due to the influence of working-class anarchists who worked within the unions rather than follow the insane policy of terrorism employed by the less stable elements in the movement during the 1890s. They included people such as Victor Griffuelhes, General Secretary of the CGT, Georges Yvetot, a prominent anti-militarist, Emile Pouget, who organised the first union of Paris shopworkers and Fernand Pelloutier, who founded local unions based on the Halls of Labour (Bourses de Travail)

which acted as a focus for workers' struggles and an important centre for self-education, as well as a labour exchange.

Although this labour movement was relatively small (it had about 500,000 members) it was full of revolutionary feeling and militancy.

THE GC

In Germany a very different state of affairs prevailed. The German General Commission of Trade Unions, or GC, numbered about 2½ million workers, ruled by autocratic Marxist functionaries. Its leader was Karl Legien, follower of Marx and Socialist Party member, an unashamed reformist who aimed "to integrate German unionism into the existing institutional framework of the German nation state". This was quite opposite to the policy of the CGT.

CRISIS AFTER CRISIS

The years between 1905 and



Answering the mobilisation order, Berlin, 1914

1914 were filled with crises as the French and German states squared up to each other for another round of bloodletting.

If war was to be averted, and indeed if the revolution which the CGT worked for was to be achieved, the union movements of France and Germany would have to act together.

The French union had anti-militarism and anti-patriotism at the heart of its constitution—tragically for the European working class, the German one did not.

CLASS NOT NATION

In France, large amounts of time and energy were expended on anti-militarist activity. French workers were well aware of the role played by the army in breaking many strikes.

The Syndicalists had two anti-militarist newspapers. One of them, the "Manuel du Soldat" was specifically aimed at army

conscripts. The CGT held demonstrations, gave speeches to departing conscripts, and encouraged them to stay in touch with union militants during their military service. And, as we shall see, they recognised the importance of forging con-

tacts with their numerically powerful German counterparts.

INTERNATIONAL ATTEMPTS

Because early attempts to found a union international had failed, the French syndicalists of the CGT joined the ISNTUC (International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres). Dominated by the German union, this had only allowed reformist unions to attend its opening Congress, but the CGT nevertheless hoped to influence the European workers' movements from within it.

But at the 1903 Congress of ISNTUC in Dublin a CGT state-

ANTI-MILITARISM TODAY

Today the stakes are even higher. The two super-powers, East and West, may not be mad enough to press the button (that would be the end of their privileged existence as well as ours). But wars, ever more bloody, will continue to break out, often fought by proxy in the Third World.

We need to oppose the warfare state. Not through the theatrical token demonstrations enacted by the Greenham Common women. Not through waiting for a Labour government to change everything (it never has and it never will). But through resolute class action.

We need to act by boycotting the armed forces, disaffecting those we know in the army (not an easy task, bearing in mind that the British army consists of mercenaries, not conscripts), and by campaigning for the conversion of war industries to socially useful production.

It is not just to stop future wars that we must act. Both East and West use the army as a back-up to the police in industrial strife. The Tories used squaddies in police uniform during the pit strike, and the Labour Party have often brought in troops to break strikes, most recently the firemen's strike in the 1970s.

Even in times of "peace" the army is used against us. Military institutions represent pure state power, the power of complete destruction. We must work to convince others that the army is a dangerous political weapon.

ment on anti-militarism and the general strike was ruled out of order by Karl Legien of the GC.

Again, in 1905, the visit of the Kaiser to Tangiers brought France and Germany to the brink of war. In response, the CGT called for simultaneous anti-war demonstrations in Paris, Berlin and London. This proposal was turned down flat by the Germans.

Another suggestion by the CGT, that the ISNTUC Congress in Amsterdam (June 1905) should include on the agenda a discussion of anti-militarism in the army and the general strike as an effective means of preventing war, was again vetoed by Legien.

RENEWED EFFORTS

The French Syndicalists at this point withdrew from the ISNTUC. Not only had their efforts at internationalism been discouraged, but the leadership had it ineffectually collecting statistical data, rather than conducting a serious international struggle.

However, the CGT continued to try and forge links with their German fellow workers. Many German rank-and-file union members were most critical of the GC mandarins, and a syndicalist minority movement formed, to combat Legien and his cronies.

Therefore the CGT sent a delegation to Germany to discuss joint action in time of war. The GC leaders refused to meet them, describing them as "ridiculous anarchist braggarts".

In 1908 the CGT rethought its position on the ISNTUC, rejoining it with the aim of transforming it into an active and functioning union international. To some extent it had the desired effect.

BERLIN 1911

The new practical spirit in the ISNTUC led the CGT to approach once again their fellow workers across the Rhine, and in July 1911 forty French syndicalists left for Berlin.

It is tragic to see the hopes the CGT held for this meeting. The GC had promised a dialogue about anti-militarism but instead the delegates were treated to a three-hour rant by Legien on the Parliamentary Road to Socialism and the strength of social democratic unionism. But worse was to come.

Before an audience of 25,000 German workers, Yvetot attempted to make an anti-war speech, only to be whisked away into hiding as several dozen police made their way through the passive throng to arrest him. Such was the strength of the GC's unionism.

subhead the conflagration Both the French labour movement and the German syndicalist minority failed to move the GC in the direction of anti-militarism.

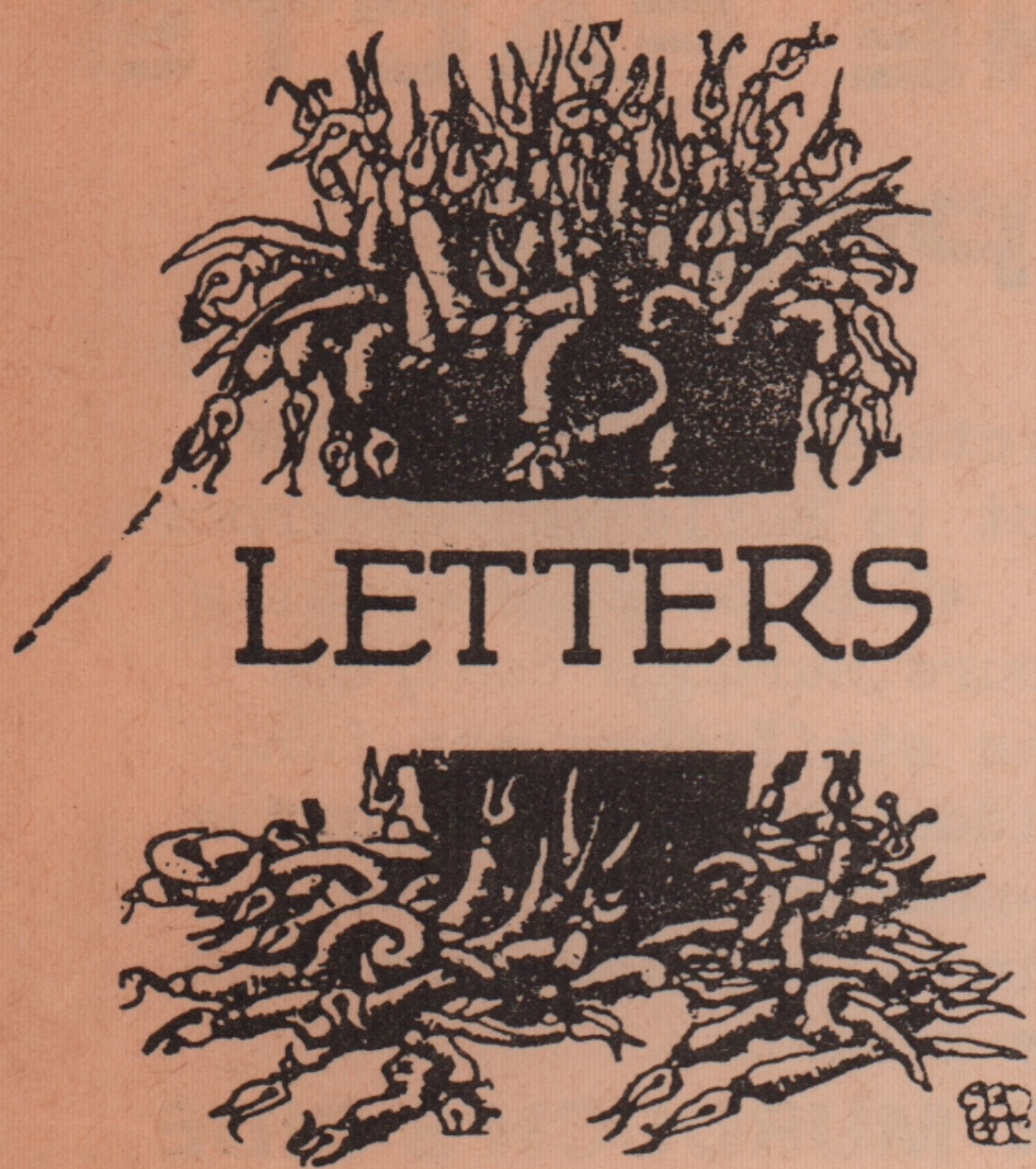
The day the Balkan War broke out in 1912 Leon Jouhaux of the CGT proposed simultaneous anti-war demonstrations in Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna, but the reply from the German and Austrian unions was in the negative.

"What would the German left do if war is declared?" asked Leon Jouhaux of Karl Legien, ten days before the World War finally broke out. "German soldiers will march to war" was the shameless reply. They did, but syndicalist attempts to stop them continued to the last moment.

The syndicalist Jouhaux sent a final desperate telegram to the GC, proposing joint action on the 30th July 1914.

The marxist Legien ignored it.

G.C.



Dear Direct Action,
I was reading the piece on page two of the January Direct Action about the T&GWU and thought I'd tell you about my experience with the T&G in Leeds. As soon as I'd got a job — in a largely non-unionised industry—I went down to the T&G office to sign up. I paid up, got my card and then asked who my branch sec. was. The woman behind the counter asked someone, over the intercom, only to get the reply that there wasn't one—"why did you ask dear? Have you got a problem?" I said no, I just thought if I was in a union I should go along to branch meetings. She looked at me in amazement. "No no dear, if you have any problems you come here. We sort out everything from this office".
No wonder the T&G is losing members when their participation in running their own union is so blatantly discouraged. People will only join a union when they see the need for it and (I hope) I can't see many workers seeing the need for monoliths like the T&G for much longer!
Yours for rank-and-file action,
CV

CHILEAN ANARCHO SYNDICALISTS NEED YOUR HELP

Twelve years after the establishment of Pinochet's murderous regime, the Chilean labour movement is beginning to assert itself again. For example there was recently a strike of dockers in Valparaiso, who appealed for aid to the IWA.
In the coming months the anarcho-syndicalists in Chile will be seeking to form their own union confederation, affiliated to the IWA. If the Marxist, Catholic and business

Dear Direct Action,
DA readers might be interested to hear of the hypocrisy of one of Hull's most "progressive" bosses. Quaker business tycoon Alec Horsley is president of the giant Northern Foods group and well known in the peace movement around here for his donations to CND, the Greenham women and suchlike. "I like nothing more than to go to a workplace and see both workers and their bosses wearing CND badges", he has proclaimed.

Recent events have shown exactly how he came by enough money to give a little of it away. He just makes sure that his philanthropy does not extend to his work-force. In several of his Yorkshire depots he is planning to slash wages by 25% for over 400 workers. Meanwhile Northern Foods' pre-tax profit in the last six months was £53.3 million.

So far the TGWU are refusing to negotiate any terms that would mean a pay reduction. Let's hope they hold firm to that position.

In solidarity,
PB.

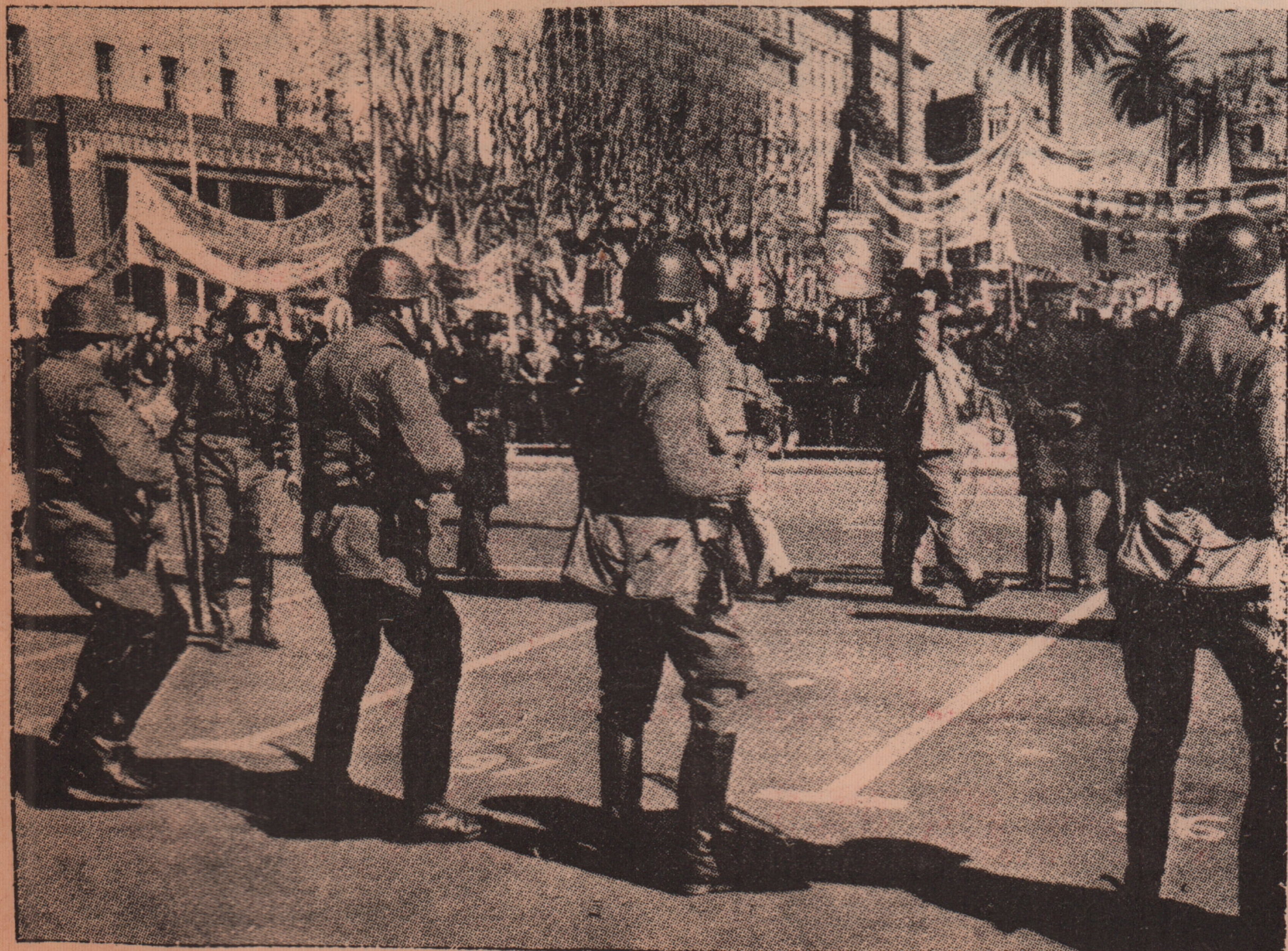
DIRECT ACTION welcomes readers letters. Send us your views before the copy date below.

For reasons of space, letters may have to be edited, but where this has happened we will say so.

unions aren't to have their own way, we MUST aid the Chilean comrades, who are far from well-off, in their efforts.

DAM is raising money for this venture. Over the next few months we are asking readers to send money to:

DAM/IWA INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY,
16 THE MEADOWS,
HAMBLETON,
SELBY,
N. YORKS.
PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY!



THE FRONT

In the week before Xmas the Lancaster-based Anarchist arts collective The Front staged two performances of a benefit production of Edward Bond's play Black Mass.

The organisers had read of the South African Allied Workers' Union in Direct Action and wished to increase local awareness about SAAWU and to raise money for them.

During the first night's performance a fierce gale lashed the building as Christ descended from the Cross to address the congregation before returning to the altar to poison the South African PM's communion wine, to the accompaniment of the loudest thunderclap heard in Lancaster all year!

The second night pulled a capacity audience. Everyone was given a free programme with an article on the SAAWU, and anarcho-syndicalist literature was sold. £75 was raised for SAAWU.

For information on The Front contact them
c/o Lancaster Musicians' Collective, 1 Lodge St, Lancaster, LA 1 1QW.

THE MINERS NEXT STEP

by Noah Ablett & Others

A reprint of this pamphlet is available from Cambridge DAM c/o Box DAM, Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge. It costs 60p and all profits will go to the Shirebrook Colliery Banner Appeal. Bulk orders are welcome.

ANARCHIST CAMP

An International Anarchist Camping Weekend will be held from Thursday May 15th—Monday May 19th 1986 in Appelscha, Holland. There will be cultural events and discussions of anarchism in relation to feminism, antimilitarism, ecology and syndicalism.

The address is—Camping "Tot Vrijheidsbezinning", Aekingaweg 1a, Appelscha, Netherlands.

Campers must provide their own equipment. More information from: Mike Alibi (IAM) Nieuwe Gracht 40, Utrecht, Netherlands.

NEW DAM GROUPS

Readers in Reading and Edinburgh will be pleased to hear of new local DAM groups in their areas. Reading DAM can be contacted c/o 22 Hamilton Road, Reading. Edinburgh DAM are c/o PO BOX 83, 43 Candlemakers Row, Edinburgh.

DONATIONS

DA received donations during January from Leeds DAM, Coventry DAM, Huddersfield DAM and BB of Southampton. Many thanks to these comrades. The rest of you, pull your socks up!

DIRECT ACTION gratefully acknowledges the use of source material from INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REPORTS, issue 13.

THE COPY DATE FOR DIRECT ACTION 29 IS FEBRUARY 20th 1985. TYPED COPY IF POSSIBLE PLEASE.

D.A.M.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

(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 community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers organisations must be controlled by 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.

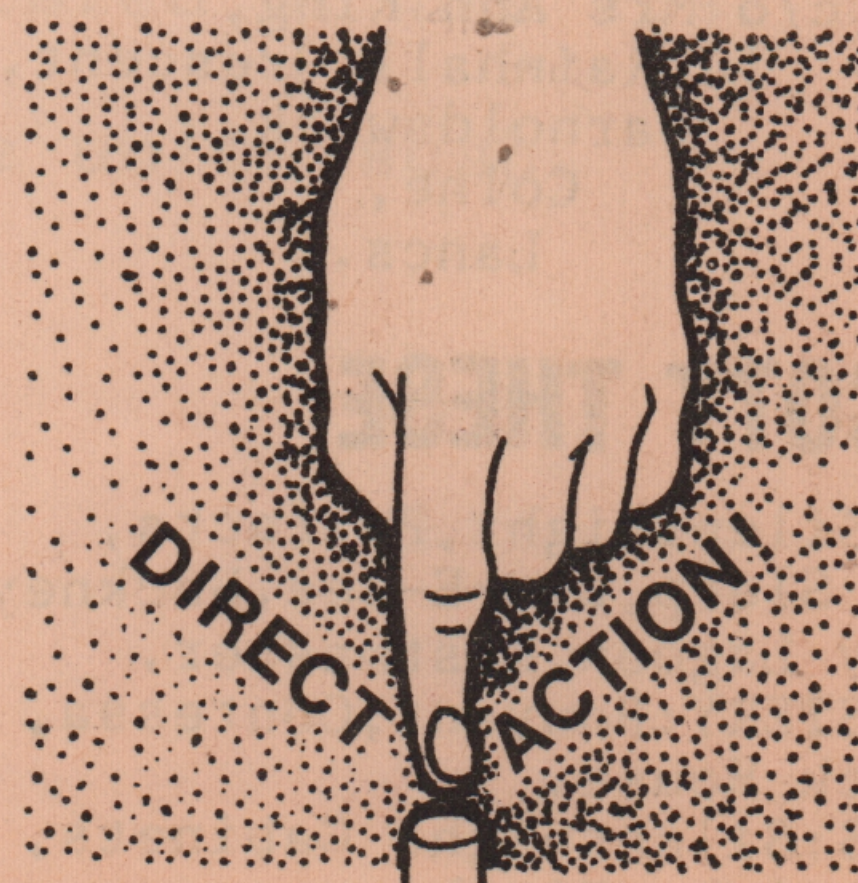
(6) We are opposed to all States and State institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all States do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.

(7) We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and the environment.

(8) 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.

* I would like to know more *
* about the DAM/IWA. Please *
* send me information. *
* I enclose an SAE. *
* NAME..... *
* ADDRESS..... *
* *
* POST CODE..... *
* *
* Send to DAM/IWA c/o *
* 223 Greenwood Rd, Benchill *
* MANCHESTER M22 7HB. *

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DIRECT ACTION

BOYCOTT SILENT NIGHT GOODS

In the year ending Feb 1984 profits fell by about 50% for Silentnight beds— they made only £2.831 million (as well as having over £17 million in reserve). Faced with this threat to the unearned incomes of shareholders (the company chairman and his family control over half the shares) the company laid off 88 employees in December 1984 and a further 52 two months later.

This was in spite of an agreement the workers had made, postponing a pay rise in return for no more redundancies.

Since 1980 the workforce at Silentnight has been slashed by 20%, while turnover has gone up from £64 million to £79 million— a big increase in productivity. As a reward the management have tried to cheat the workforce out of an agreed pay rise, and callously sacked the 500 workers on strike in protest at this disgraceful treatment.

Tom Clarke (or "Mr Wonderful" as Mrs Thatcher likes to call him), the company chairman, blames the redundancies on retailers who buy the cheapest beds and squeeze manufacturers' profits. But he doesn't mention that the dividends he pays himself and the other shareholders have remained at the same level, despite falling profits.

As usual, it's the livelihoods of ordinary working-class families that have to go to ensure that parasites like Clarke continue to grab as much money as they can.

The strike still goes on at Sutton and Barnoldswick, and the strikers need money. Send a contribution to:

Sutton Silentnight Womens' Support Group,
c/o Mrs Pat McCormack,
Northstead,
North Road,
Sutton-in-Craven,
nr Keighley,
BD20 7PG.

or,
FTAT,
Cravendale 92 Branch
Strike Fund,
c/o Mrs Ann King,
10 Rainhall Crescent,
Barnoldswick,
Colne,
Lancs.

BOYCOTT THESE

BEDS: Silentnight, Perfecta, Sealy Sleep, Lay-E-Zee, Hackney, Sleepy Lagoon, Restmaster.
UPHOLSTERY: Bouyant, Contessa, Welbeck House.
OTHERS: Silentnight Cabinets, Silentnight Kitchens.
BLACK SILENTNIGHT PRODUCTS NOW!

PUBLISHED BY DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT, PO BOX 102 HULL.

OCCUPATION AT FRENCH CONNECTION

On Thursday night, January 16th, strikers from Contracts Ltd (French Connection) occupied their factory. Within an hour the police had smashed their way in and the strikers were out again. This was the strikers' latest attempt to gain some much-needed publicity from the local media, which have almost totally ignored the strike since it began last September.



**N.U.T.G.W.
DEMANDS
UNION RECOGNITION
AT CONTRACTS
LTD./ FRENCH
CONNECTION**

The strike, now in its fifth month, is over union recognition.

Although no new scabs have crossed the picket line since before Xmas—and no machinists are scabbing—the strike is under attack in a number of ways.

Scab labour is being recruited by a job agency called SOS, which is based in Newcastle, and young people are being brought in as scabs by the YTS (just as they are at Silentnight).

Another important tactic is that work is being sent out to other factories around the North-east.

The strikers— who only receive £17 a week strike pay — have received solidarity in the form of financial help, but industrial action has not been forthcoming.

However, their local Trades Council has promised a day of action against all the factories

helping to break the strike.

Picketing of all shops which stock French Connection goods must be stepped up as well.

There is a picket at the factory every morning at 7.00am, with a mass picket each Monday.

Donations to the strike fund should be sent to:
NUTGW Hardship Fund,
c/o NUS, 4 Coronation St,
South Shields, Tyne and Wear.

MURDOCH-THE FACTS ABOUT WAPPING

WHAT MURDOCH WANTS

In the agreement put to the print unions, and rejected by them, Murdoch demands:

- A no-strike promise from the unions.

- All strikers to be dismissed immediately, with no right to appeal

- No closed shop, no minimum staffing rates, no demarcation, total flexibility..

- Any Union Representative who receives a disciplinary warning to be replaced as Union Representative at once.

- The agreement to be legally binding.

WE SAY: a totally unacceptable package for any workers.

WHAT THE SCABS HAVE GOT

- The £100 million plant at Wapping is known as "Colditz" by the staff there. Razor wire inside the site is arranged to protect the management offices from the staff.

- Photographers at Wapping have to use toilets and showers to develop

pictures, as someone forgot to build any darkrooms.

- Even outside working hours, Murdoch controls his staff: they are forbidden to use the Caxton --nearest pub to the plant--because it's used by pickets.

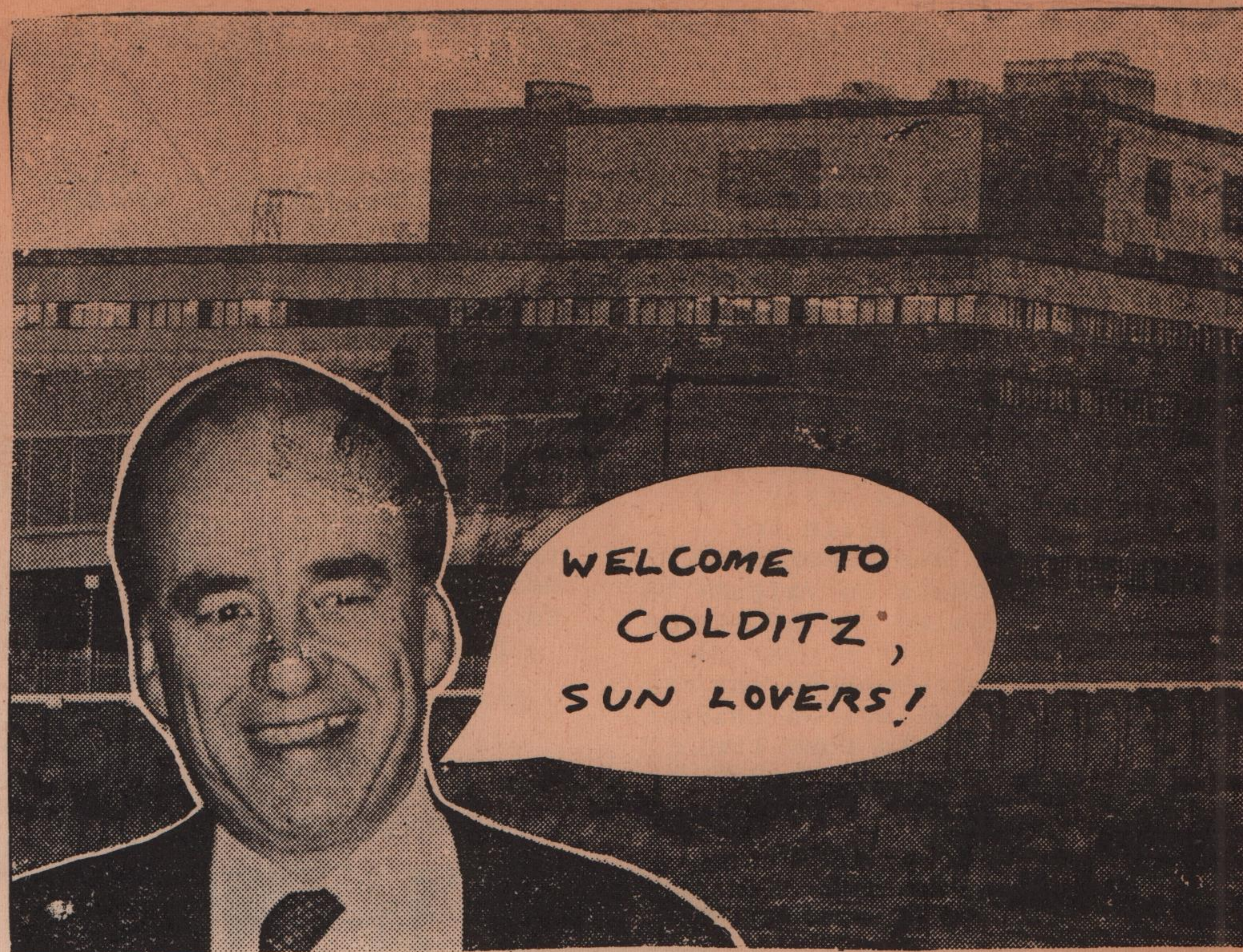
ON MURDOCH'S SIDE...

- Scab leader of the Sun journalists' union Malcolm Withers is prospective LABOUR candidate for Stevenage, Herts.

- TNT the obliging lorry firm handling distribution of papers from Wapping, is joint owner of an important Australian airline. The other owner is surprise, surprise--Murdoch's News Corporation.

- Readers may like to know that TNT's head office and main depot is at Atherstone, about 100 miles north of London. AND...

- The private telephone number of the Times is 04 01-583-9463. Unfortunately the Wapping switchboard system is having trouble coping with all the phone calls they're getting...



DIRECT ACTION SPEAKS LOUDER THAN WORDS