

Direct Action

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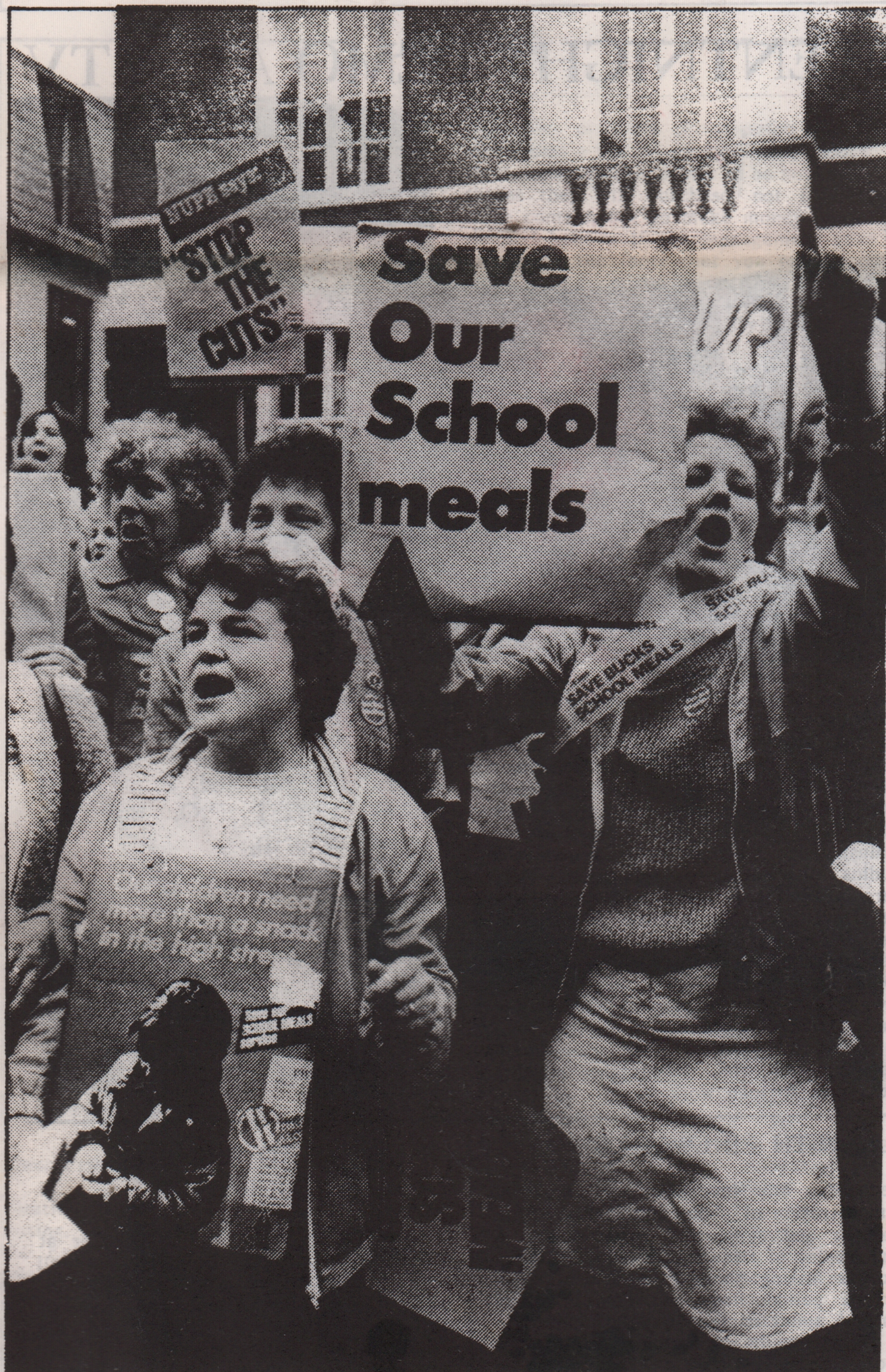
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TELEPHONES, NHS, BUSES, GAS.....

PRIVATISED - WHAT NEXT?



WORKERS FIGHT TO DEFEND JOBS AND SERVICES

Privatisation is much in the news these days. Under a smoke screen of popular share ownership and clever advertising campaigns the reality is lost to most people. Privatisation is a key part of this government's attack on the working class. While each privatisation makes profits for the Tories and their friends the cost is mass job losses, worsening wages and conditions and poorer services for us, the consumers.

We have already seen privatisation in the National Health Service, British Telecom, the Gas Board and on the buses; their sights are now set on council services, the railways, coal and more services in the N.H.S. and schools.

Like the political fanatic that she is, Thatcher sees her attack on nationalised industries as an attack on what she believes is socialism. It is nothing of the kind - nationalisation has about as much to do with socialism as a politician's promises has to do with the truth. True socialism means workers and consumers owning and controlling industries directly running them for need not profit. Did the miners feel that they controlled the NCB when it was throwing them on the dole? Or do you think you own British Gas when a bill comes through your letter box? Of course not! That's because the state owns and controls them just as it owns and controls us.

A boss is a boss whether they are running a nationalised industry or a privatised one. Workers are still wage slaves with no control over their own lives. Only when we have common ownership and democratic control of society's resources will we have complete justice and security.

While such a society remains in the future we must struggle to protect our hard won conditions and services from further attacks by those who rule and exploit us. We can do this by taking the initiative ourselves, both in the workplace and the community, and not by putting our trust in politicians and union bureaucrats, no matter how attractive their lies and false promises might be.

NO TO PRIVATISATION, NO TO NATIONALISATION,

YES TO WORKERS' CONTROL

Paper of the Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association

TRADE UNIONISTS THREATENED WITH JAIL

Last month two trade unionists were fined £15,000 and threatened with a prison sentence by a High Court judge just for holding a union meeting. The 2 men (NGA Father of Chapel, Tom Harrison, and his deputy, Billy Wells) were prosecuted after they called a meeting to discuss Robert Maxwell's proposals for a new London paper, **The Daily News**. Maxwell was rumoured to be trying to exclude "traditional print unions" from the plant producing this paper, so Harrison and Wells called a meeting to discuss union action against this. However, Maxwell anticipated the move - he got a court injunction against union meetings being held on company premises without management permission. Unfortunately for Maxwell he had truly released the full evils of the state's anti-union legislation. The two officials were taken to court for contempt. High Court judge Justice Mars-Jones fined them £15,000. He further said that their conduct "warrants a prison sentence" but held back on this (no doubt knowing the fury that would result).

KINNOCK BRIBED?

Robert Maxwell is reported to have desperately tried to get the court proceedings dropped and has been rumoured to offer to pay the fines. Maxwell obviously realised the bad publicity that would follow for himself. There are already calls for "radical" elements within the Labour Party to throw out Maxwell. But Kinnock would hardly cut his own electoral throat by throwing out a millionaire and newspaper owner. It might also bring an end to the peerage Maxwell is said to have bribed Kinnock into giving him.

Most amazing of all was the reaction of the men's union, the National Graphical Association. NGA general secretary, Tony Dubbins, muttered vaguely about attacks on union rights but flatly refused to pay the fines. The two



Maxwell: Will he become "Lord Scab"?

men therefore have to hope for Maxwell's generosity or pay the fine themselves.

Strangely enough the whole incident has been rapidly swept under the carpet. This blatant attack on our right to organise must be publicised and resisted. As Larry Hyatt said - see interview in DA 32 - "this should have been used as a means to escalate the action (i.e. the News International dispute) across Fleet Street". It seems obvious that Maxwell, as well as that well-known "left" paper, the Guardian, intends to move his printing plant and perhaps remove the "troublesome" print unions. The only way to resist this is for rank and file printworkers to take the initiative and not to wait for the union leaders sell them out.

Willis Crawls to Bosses

In a speech to the Institute of Personnel Management Norman Willis, the TUC General Secretary spelt out what he and Neil Kinnock mean by the new catch word - consensus.

The message was simple: even though unions have lost two and a half million members since 1979 and have been shown to be totally useless when it comes to even their most basic function - to defend workers' jobs and conditions - there is no need to despair. The unions, we are told, are capable of adapting to the political and structural change that has taken place. In Willis' words "the union movement is now lifting its chin from the floor and raising its sights". Yet in the same speech he stated that "unions, in order to get a foot in the door, have had to be prepared to lower their sights in terms of what they can and cannot negotiate about ... employers are pressing for single union agreements and often getting them".

OUT OF TOUCH?

So what's it to be? Raising? lowering? - he can't seem to make up his mind. He emphasised the sharper management style of companies and the need to win greater commitment from employees. He then went on to attack shop stewards for - wait for it - "being out of touch". Not surprisingly, Willis sees the post-war Shop Stewards' Movement as a hindrance to the smooth running of capitalism and realises the disruptive influence shop stewards could have on the new corporate strategy in which he and Kinnock have placed so much faith.

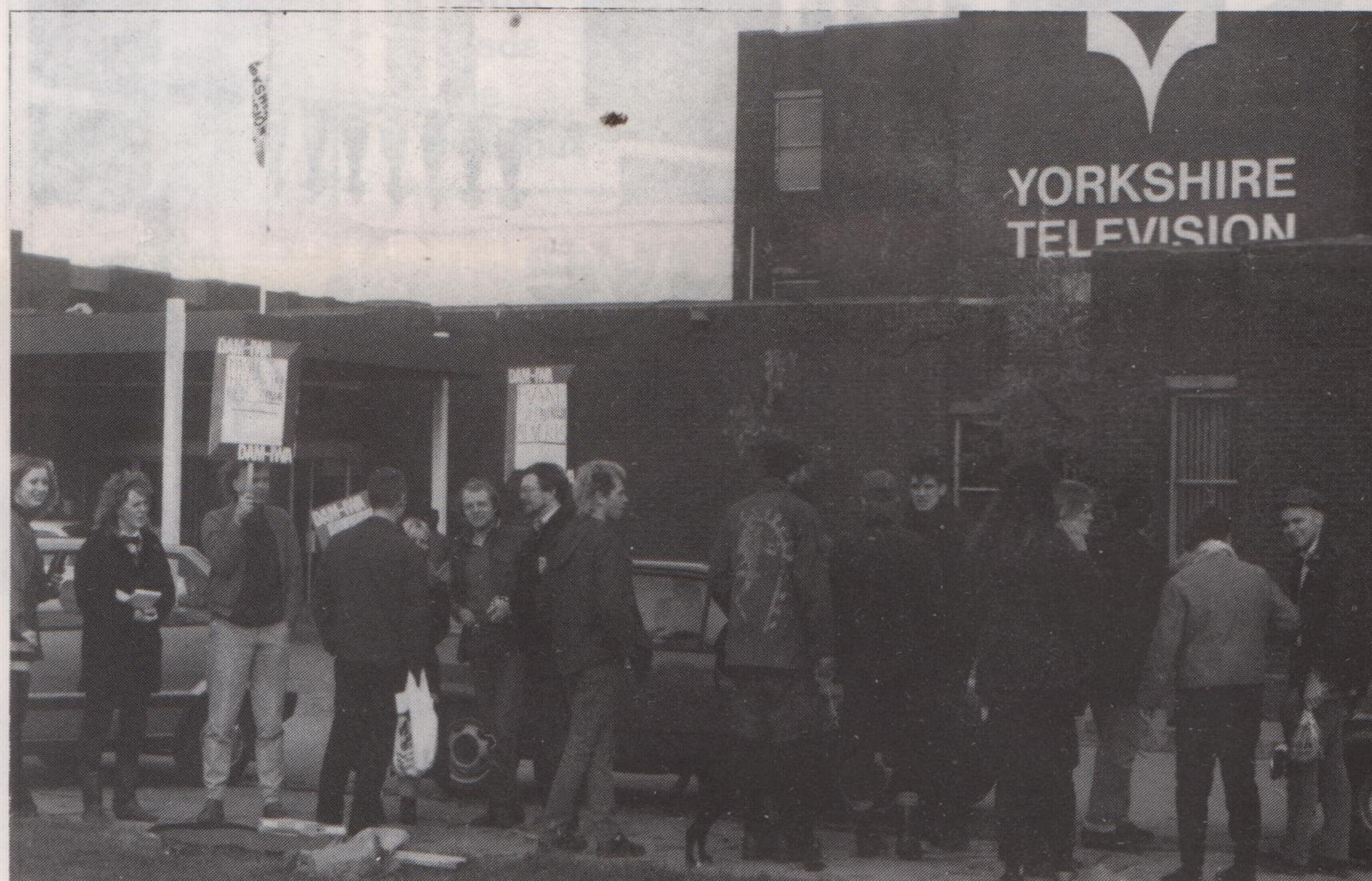
Willis wants to see a new role for the shop steward. That role would be less of a negotiator or a rival to the bosses for workers' loyalty, but to act as an organiser, an expert in company management processes, smoothing things over - i.e. communicating the bosses' wishes to the shop floor. In the future Willis wants to see shop stewards ensure "progress without strikes, without pickets - quite simply with the minimum of hassle".

"REALISTIC"

Not surprisingly this speech was welcomed by the bosses as being "realistic". Realistic! Do they really think that rank and file activists are going to entertain this crap? It is Willis who is out of touch. It is the union bureaucracy, working hand in glove with the Labour Party and the capitalists who act as a brake and who try to absorb pressure for change, diverting it into "acceptable" channels until it dissipates and dies away.

Willis, like Kinnock, has got a whiff of power and he is doing all he can, crawling as low as he can, to get his feet under the corporate bargaining table. Tea and biscuits at number 10 - the new Social Con-Trick? Don't be fooled - scabs like Willis are irrelevant to rank and file workers, irrelevant to unemployed workers, irrelevant to all the working class. We must organise independently in the workplace, in the community and in the dole queue. Organise now because although Willis and Kinnock may smile more than Thatcher and Tebbit they are just as dangerous to the working class.

SILENTNIGHT DEMO AT YTV



In a desperate attempt to save his flagging fortunes Tom Clarke (boss of Silentnight beds) has started advertising his scab beds on Yorkshire Television. On Wednesday 12th November members of Leeds DAM-IWA, Huddersfield Anarchists and members of Leeds University Labour Club demonstrated against these advertisements outside the studios of Yorkshire Television. They were protesting in order to bring to the attention of YTV Technicians the case of the Silentnight strikers. They hoped that members of the Technicians Union would ban these adverts just as they have banned the showing of adverts for South African products. It is this kind of solidarity action that can truly support both the Silentnight strikers and South African workers.

Send your "hate mail" to Tom Clarke FREE;

Silentnight Ltd,
FREEPOST P.O. Box 9,
Salterforth,
Colne,
Lancs,
BB8 5BR.

The more you send the more it costs Silentnight. 50 envelopes would only cost you 50p but would cost them £6.50!

Another Management Provoked Strike

The fight by 300 sacked workers at J E Hangers Ltd, artificial limb makers, subsidiary of the British Tyre and Rubber Company, in Roehampton, to save their jobs has been going on for over two months now. The company decided to stop producing artificial limbs at the factory leaving amputees in central and outer London no choice but to go to Brighton or Oxford to have limbs fitted. But older patients cannot travel to these branches. The sacked workers want their jobs back so they can give the service to the limbless that they desperately need.

The workforce were dismissed out of hand when they walked out in protest at the sacking of 4 union officials. A meeting of Hangers workers from all over the country was called by the unions involved, the manufacturing union TASS, and the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union. The meeting agreed to boycott work transferred from Roehampton

and not to work overtime. Representatives of Hangers workers at orthopaedic hospitals, where the limbs are fitted, were intimidated by management who tried to stop them attending the meeting.

According to shop steward Graham Croucher, up to 2000 patients could be suffering because of delays to the preparation of artificial legs as the company receives 100 orders a day for work to be done. It is obvious that the company deliberately provoked the dispute so it could more easily make the workforce redundant and move work out to branches elsewhere. As a result patients are suffering.

The Hangers workers need solidarity from the rest of the labour movement. Bring the issue up at your union branch, send messages of support and donations to: Steve Blease, c/o TASS, 520 London Road, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 4YQ. Make cheques payable to TASS.



FUN WITH FIREWORKS

Wednesday 5th November saw the usual demonstration of about 300 sacked printworkers and supporters to Wapping. A fine display of fireworks commenced with rockets hitting News International, scab lorries, police lines and nearby luxury flats. A small number of police moved in to stop the heart-warming display but had to run for their lives under a shower of bricks and bottles. The strike breakers in blue got reinforcements and after some fisticuffs unfortunately they arrested some pickets. The following Saturday a well directed rocket hit the tarpaulin of one of the scab lorries and set it alight. All good clean fun!

SCAB TO BECOME LABOUR M.P.?

Dennis Green, the victimised worker at the centre of the Bellhouse-Hartwell strike (see DA32) has accepted a management offer of £900 to leave the company. This is despite the struggle on his behalf by his fellow workers who have now thrown him out of the Bolton Branch of TASS for dealing with the bosses behind their backs. The workers are wondering whether there is any connection between his scabby behaviour and his long held ambitions to be a Labour Party MP.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION?

October the 26th will be ingrained on many peoples minds as the day they lost the 39 or 81 or 51aX. Prior to this day they by and large knew when to go and what bus to catch to get to where ever they wanted to go. Now no-one seems to know, sometimes not even the inspectors. Nor are likely to know with any degree of certainty for some time yet, as De-regulation part two hits our streets in January.

WHERE'S MY BUS GONE?

The history of the present government could be told in buses. Despite the fact that British bus subsidies were comparatively low by European standards, they went out of their way to reduce funding for public bus services. Leylands Truck and Bus division was one of its more successful parts before this, and now it is making substantial losses. This is surely a konock on effect of the general squeeze. That this government has put on funding for public transport.

After attacking the larger bus subsidisers they then went on to de-regulate the long distance coach routes. That is to say they opened them up to private competition. Now comes the beginning of the end for the pre-Thatcher bus system. The National Bus Company is being broken up into smaller units and sold off, and on October the 26th municipal bus services were de-regulated.

This basically meant that from then on all local authority and P.T.E (Passenger Transport Executive) bus companies must be run as separate companies along commercial lines. Also all local routes were put up for tender. The expressed aim of this is to introduce competition and free market forces in order to bring about a more efficient (ie. non-subsidised) service. This will last for three months. In January comes the final phase of de-regulation and the rules will change again. As of January the 26th bus companies will be able to stop or change routes after giving only six weeks notice. It is not difficult to imagine the problems that this will cause, especially considering that it is probable that bus companies have currently taken on more services than they seriously intend to run. This

enables them to keep out other companies and to see, over a period of three months, which of their routes are the most profitable. So January will bring further cuts to services as the bus companies prune unprofitable services from their networks.

IDEOLOGY MEETS REALITY

The Transport and Road Research Laboratory (T.R.R.L) is carefully studying the results of de-regulation. They report that only 70 to 80 percent of previously existing mileage survived the 26th of October. Also that on the surviving services buses were less frequent. On the better side the P.T.Es had shown average savings of around a third, and there were many more high frequency minibus services opening up. Interestingly they report that on only three percent of registered route miles is there any competition between operators.

The savings made by the P.T.Es are not such good news for their employees (or rather former employees). Great savings have been made by means of great redundancies. Also the future for bus crews under a de-regulated bus system looks bleak.



A bus arrives but where is it going?

The T.R.R.L have had the Polytechnic of Central London (P.C.L) prepare a report for them on the growth of minibus services. Basically the reason for this sudden popularity of minibus services is reduced wage costs. In terms of price per seat they cost much the same as full-size buses. Furthermore they wear out much quicker. For these reasons the minibus experiments of the sixties and

seventies were never very successful. However now that the age limit for P.S.V drivers has been reduced to 18 and with the high level of unemployment, companies have found it possible to negotiate special local wage rates for minibus drivers which undercut the nationally agreed wage rates for bus drivers. The P.C.L report states quite clearly that the only savings to be made by using minibuses are on wages and maintenance.

As with so many political decisions, the people actually affected by it had no say in making it - neither the bus users, nor the busworkers, nor the shopkeepers. Furthermore with companies forced to run on commercial lines, and legally enabled to chop and change routes at will, none of these people will have any say in the running of their bus services in the future. It might have been thought that the shopkeepers, who after all pay quite hefty rates, would welcome the ending of subsidised buses. But of course they do not, because they will lose trade as a result. Manchester Chamber of Trade estimate that this years Christmas shopping will 8% less than they would have anticipated. And of course bus users, especially shift-workers, are not happy with the changes. Also the effect on bus workers, aside from the immediate redundancies, will be to depress their wages. So nobody is happy.

WHY IS IT SO BAD?

Which particular set of politicians can be blamed for this fiasco. Is it the government, who never really did their homework on this and who pushed it through out of an ideological hatred for any subsidised bus services? Or is it the other lot, the "municipal socialists", who never really cooperated and so were ill-equipped to bring out proper timetables? In all probability both played their part. And why did the transport unions roll over and play dead so meekly? Why did they, faced as they were with massive redundancies amongst their members, not take some sort of action?

Anyway for the answers to these questions and for detailed information on your local bus routes, watch "The Mysterious World of Arthur C. Clarke". He will explain all from his beach in Sri Lanka.

Rail News

Last month the government announced another cut of £200 million in the subsidy paid to British Rail. This means that state aid to the railways has almost been halved since 1979. Bob Reid, the chair of BR enthusiastically welcomed the decision. Since then he has written to all the members of the British Rail Board (BRB) stating that more assets would have to be sold off to cover the massive loss of income. Top of the list for privatisation is Travellers' Fare. At present BR has 195 station outlets of which Reid wants to see half sold off by 1991. To this end Trusthouse Forte has already carried out a survey at Bristol Temple Meads on behalf of BR to look into ways of increasing revenue to make the sell-off more attractive. The main result of their findings is that sales could be increased if ways could be found to keep passengers on platforms for longer periods. As if the investment-starved, clapped-out rail network doesn't do this already.

Carriage cleaners at Longsight, Manchester, have gone on a work-to-rule, or "working awkward" as one cleaner put it, in response to an attempt by management to enforce a stricter regime. They are trying to take away long established "perks" that barely compensate for their disgustingly low-paid jobs. This much-neglected tactic is already paying dividends with the worst delays occurring on the much-vaunted inter-city trains.

Since the guards rejected strike action in their ballot earlier this year management have shown nothing but contempt for the workforce in their efforts to steam-roll driver only operations on trains. They've also taken advantage of workers' demoralisation to tear up long standing agreements. Because of this, safety on the trains has been thrown out the window. The NUR "leaders", hurt at being ignored by BR, are, as we go to press, presenting an ultimatum - "either they stick to promises made before the ballot was lost, on joint conciliation on driver only introduction or we re-ballot guards on strike action". Of course people shouldn't put much store by these threats, not least since "left wing" Jimmy Knapp, NUR General Secretary, has made it quite clear all along that he "favours a changing role" for guards - i.e. driver only trains. No doubt the BRB will make a few pacifying noises to stop the union leaders losing face and then all will be forgiveness once again.

PUTTING THE BOOT IN

So now it's out in the open - the Queen's speech on November 12th revealed the government's intention to force local authorities to put their services out to "tender". Workers who will be affected include school meals, school cleaning, refuse collection, street cleansing, parks and garden maintenance, vehicle maintenance, etc. In the case of the more zealous of the Tory boroughs, this will only be the tip of the iceberg. If council workers want to hold on to their jobs, they're expected to price themselves lower than competing private contractors. Either way, it means wage cuts, part-time working and redundancies. Privatisation is an attack on the working class as great as that of new technology - like with new technology, supposedly greater "efficiency" has nothing to do with it. Smashing workers' power to organise on the job and driving working class living standards even further into the ground is the real name of the game.

As has been well documented, privatisation inevitably results in lower standards of service - from private contractors in one hospital employing 13 and 14 year old kids part-time to do the cleaning, to privatised Wandsworth, the dirtiest borough in London. In at least 19 cases, councils have sacked the contractors and brought services back "in-house".

POVERTY LINE

The government have also stated their intention to ban any contract conditions "not directly related to the required performance of the sub-contractor" - in other words, existing conditions (no great shakes as it is), health and safety regulations, equal opportunities clauses, etc, will go out the window. The reaction of councils themselves has been predictable - in the case of Labour-run authorities blaming everything on the Tories, as if council workers have that much to thank their present bosses for. It's worth remembering that, despite a "red" council and recently granted 35 hour week, most Liverpool City Council manual workers take home wages little above the poverty line.

You'd think then that the unions whose members are in the firing line would be organising now among the membership to fight the Tories' plans. Far from it. NUPE, the union whose members' jobs are most at risk, talks nationally in terms of "campaigns", "joint council/union working parties", "involving the local community", etc., the usual vague rubbish - anything so long as it doesn't smack of encouraging industrial action. One NALGO bureaucrat, interviewed on BBC Radio the day of the Queen's speech, even went so far as to say that people should write to their MP's.

ACTION BY COUNCIL WORKERS

Only action by council workers themselves will defeat privatisation - and the wholesale redundancies and wage cuts this will mean. Many council workers, unfortunately, are in the position where any industrial action they take immediately affects others. During the "Winter of Discontent" in 1979, the TV and papers were able to play on the images of rubbish piling up on the streets and closed cemeteries to create a general atmosphere hostile to the strikers and their demands. The hysterical and hypocritical reaction of the bosses' media when some of the lowest paid workers in the country take action in defence of their already meagre living standards is only to be expected. We can counter it by drawing in the rest of our class to take positive action in our support. Privatisation isn't just an attack on those of us who work in the public sector but is an attack on the living standards of all working class people. The many support groups set up during the year long miners' strike are an example of how we can build these links. Without wider community support the struggle will be that much harder.

We have to strike fast and strike hard as past experience shows that privatising councils are well-prepared. In Tory Wandsworth, the whole process between announcing their plans and putting them into effect took less than three weeks. The unions, as usual, wouldn't contemplate doing anything until it

was out in the open when it was too late. We would be foolish to rely on them again. Scabbing will be a problem almost from day one. With all or most council workers out the bosses will have no hesitation in sending in the army under police protection to run the "essential services". Mass picketing will be needed to counter this. During the 3 week strike in May of this year by Dublin corporation workers over a £15 pay



Striking Dublin corporation workers chase out the army and police strikebreakers (May '86)

claim, Irish Labour Party minister Ruari Quinn sent the army in to scab in the water pumping stations. But 150 strikers successfully chased the strikebreakers in uniform out of central Dublin's Moore Street.

If the fight against privatisation is to be won, council workers themselves have to take control of the fight, sympathetic Labour councillors or not.

A council worker.

Death on the Rhine

An ancient German legend has it that the Rhine was once a river.... Nowadays it would seem to be little more than a sewer for the European chemical industry. This has been highlighted recently by both a major disaster and a potentially major scandal. These two cases unfortunately are just the most recent and most obvious events in the poisoned history of the Rhine. The German Green Party estimate that there are at least 20 cases of small scale toxic dumping into the Rhine each year. Having said that the recent fire at the Sandoz factory at Basle will drastically worsen the already terrible state of the river.

Since 1970 over £14 billion has been spent on cleaning up the Rhine. As a result the fish were doing much better and in recent years it had even become reasonably safe to swim in it. Despite this Greenpeace claim that these were largely cosmetic improvements, because they did not tackle the underlying problem of chemical dumping. Recent events have sadly proved this to be the case.

SANDOZ

In stark and simple terms it will take the Rhine at least 10 years to recover from the fire at the Sandoz chemical plant. As a result of this fire 30 tonnes of mercury and pesticides were spilt into the Rhine. The poison slick at times stretched to 70 kilometres long. An estimated 500,000 fish were killed and the drinking water of millions of Europeans was jeopardised. In some Rhineland towns the local fire brigades are having to distribute emergency water supplies. Willi Brandt, ex-head of Germany's Social Democrats has described it as the "Bhopal of the Rhine". And let us not forget that all

that poison is now in the North Sea and just as poisonous as ever.

EEC IDIOCY

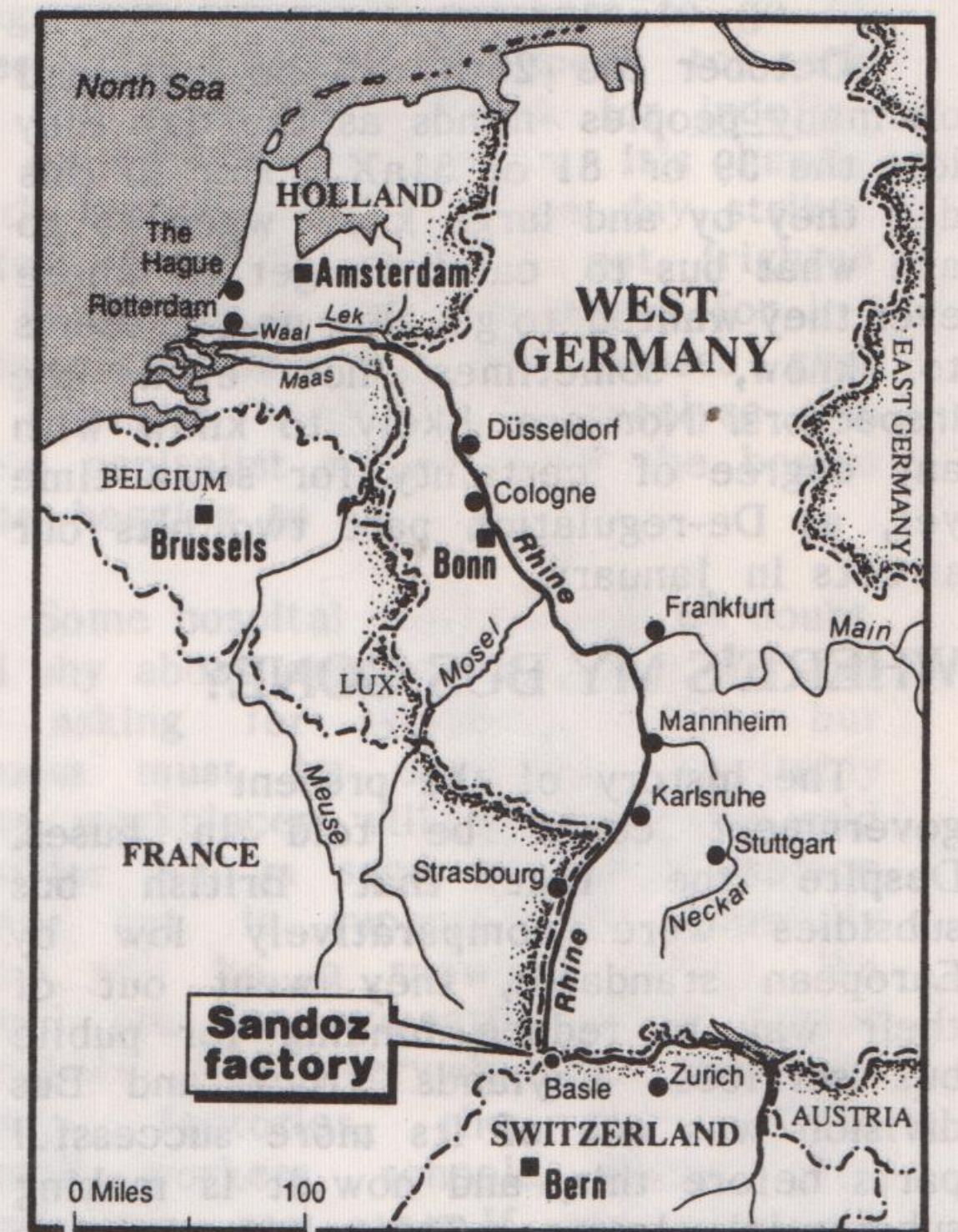
Let us also not forget that Willi Brandt was once German Chancellor, and that he still is a powerful and influential man, within a government that Greenpeace claim has done nothing to attack the problem of chemical dumping in the Rhine. Indeed not only did the European governments not have the foresight to take protective measures, but after the event they cannot even sort out the compensation. In fact it looks as if Sandoz are not

even liable. As the map shows Basle is right on the Swiss border, consequently the pollution mainly affected Germany, France and Holland. Under EEC rules the guilty countries must pay out compensation, but individual companies resident within that country are not liable. Switzerland is not in the EEC so even this does not apply.

(An interesting statistic is that one third of European nuclear reactors are built close to national borders, so that as with the Sandoz fire the pollution will go elsewhere.)

CIBA GEIGY

One company which may get prosecuted for its activities is Ciba Geigy. It is currently under investigation for dumping atrazine, a powerful weed killer used by farmers, into the Rhine. Atrazine will prevent photosynthesis in river plants for around a year. Ciba Geigy recently admitted spilling 400 litres of this poison into the Rhine. They did this only after West German scientists discovered unusually high levels of atrazine in Rhine water. (CIBA GEIGY is also a Swiss company, and is also on the Swiss border). Their admission came a full twelve days after Greenpeace published a report claiming that there were concentrations of 1.5 grammes per cubic metre of water. Interestingly enough the Greenpeace measurements were taken near another CIBA GEIGY factory which is several miles upstream from the admitted spillage. This would suggest that atrazine has been dumped by more than one of CIBA GEIGY's factories and probably for some time. Indeed a report published by the University of Karlsruhe in West Germany shows that there were high levels of atrazine in the Autumn of 1985.



JUST TYPICAL

The factory owners and managers cannot be trusted, their politicians are inept and unwilling, and the factories are unsafe. In other words this sorry state of affairs is quite typical of the world we live in. A world in which the rich and powerful can foul the environments of everyone else and become even more rich and powerful in the process. The grossly irresponsible become grossly wealthy while the politicians dither, compromise and take risks with all our lives. Common sense will only prevail when ordinary people have real control over their own communities, homes, workplaces and environment. The mentality of pollution is the mentality of easy money and a big house SOMEWHERE ELSE.

UNION OUTLAWED

Two leading members of the Australian Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF) are being held in the Long Bay maximum security prison in Sydney until January 1987 on "trespassing" charges which usually carry a maximum of a \$50 fine. The arrest, for the crime of visiting union members on site after legal recognition of the BLF had been withdrawn, prompted BLF members to walk off the job at the Liverpool Building Company's site in South Australia.

This is the latest in a series of attacks on the militant BLF by both the Fraser and "socialist" Hawke governments. Both federal and state governments have pushed for de-registration of the BLF. The New South Wales regime have already launched a bill which would require that building labourers must provide a statutory declaration of non-membership of the BLF. This campaign has been supported by certain sections of the trade union movement - the right wing New South Wales Labour Council and sections of the BWIU (Building Workers' Industrial Union) leadership which hopes to poach the membership of a de-registered/outlawed BLF. The BLF while not a syndicalist federation does have a comparatively - to British unions - democratic constitution and represents one of the more militant strands of industrial organisation in the Australian continent.

This attack on the members Owens and Black must be seen in the light of the state's attempt to take advantage of the current slump in the building industry to strike a knock-out blow to the BLF.

The campaign to free Black and Owens has received widespread support from metalworkers, transport workers, plumbers, electricians, and hospital workers across the country.

The BLF is calling for international support. DAM members and readers of DA can help by sending messages or donations to: BLF, Room 2000, NSW, Australia.

* Further information on the BLF is available from backcopy of "Anarchy" Edinburgh DAM - enclose s.a.e. (See page seven for address.)

S.AMERICA: Anarcho-Syndicalists Organise

It was between 1850 and 1860 that the first workers' organisations appeared in South America, in the form of mutual aid societies and craft associations. From 1870 the workers' movement became radicalised by the influx of militant immigrant workers - Italian, Spanish, French - arriving in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Havana, etc. creating sections of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). A delegate of the French section of the Buenos Aires IWMA was present at the Hague Congress which saw the concrete split between libertarian and authoritarian socialism (anarchism and marxism).

Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism have an important place in the building of an active workers' movement in South America. In Argentina in 1901 the FORA union federation was founded. By 1905 the FORA had an explicit anarchist-communist position. It was to be the main workers' organisation in Argentina for many years. Similarly the FORU was created in Uruguay, the Federation Cubana del Trabajo in Havana, and other revolutionary unions throughout the continent.

In 1928 a continental federation of revolutionary unions, the ACAT, was formed, affiliated to our International Workers' Association. However, it was from about this time that much of the South American movement (along with the European) went into decline, due to internal problems as well as the constant vicious repression.

DA 32 reported on the May Day activities of our Brazilian comrades, how they held a march for the first time in 20 years and how moves are being made to refund the COB union federation as a revolutionary alternative to reformist unionism and the political parties. With the transition to democracy throughout South America (Chile and Paraguay excepted) there has been a general re-appearance of the anarchist movement many would have wished dead. Our movement has re-arisen from the struggles against the austerity measures of governments in debt to the International Monetary Fund, and the struggles for human rights.

"LA PROTESTA"

In post-Falklands Argentina, the FORA anarcho-syndicalists have once again begun to organise, publishing the paper "La Protesta", and the Argentinian Libertarian Federation (founded in 1935) was reformed at a national conference in October 1984. In Chile, where the dictator Pinochet is still in power our comrades are organising too.

URUGUAY TODAY

Perhaps the most dramatic is the re-awakening of the movement in Uruguay after its brutal destruction following the 1973 military coup. At the beginning of March this year the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation (FAU) was revived by a national delegate conference. More than 80% of those participating were young - anarchists for no more than four years. The FAU are anarcho-syndicalists who, prior to the '73 coup were mostly organising in the workers' unions at rank and file level whereas other comrades in the then badly divided Uruguayan movement were taking part in the armed struggle of the Tupamaros guerrillas, working among the students or among the agricultural workers. Here is what the FAU says about its present tasks and fundamental principles:

"In Uruguay today, our reality is a reality of struggle. On the path of great social transformations we have to define our objectives. The first will be to work ceaselessly for the consolidation and re-assertion of the rank and file organisations' intervention. The next people's congress must be a real and permanent link between the different organisations, a real popular assembly, a place for discussion, elaboration and action of the rank and file organisations; a congress of the people, the germ of and the promise of people's power.

"The second objective will be to assemble, on the basis of a socialist and revolutionary project, a number of militants who, having the same ideas, haven't until now found the framework for common political action....We want today, to re-affirm and proclaim our

principles. We are struggling for a new world organised on the basis of freedom, equality, solidarity, responsibility and creativity. With these ideas we're struggling for the development of a new humanity. We model our new society on a project of socialist and libertarian life. That is, the most complete socialisation at all levels: socialisation of the means of production, of education, justice, defence, sources of knowledge and information, and, most particularly, political power. With this perspective, we can only see one path: the destruction of any dominant class, the suppression of the state and all forms of government, leading to a direct democracy exercised by self-managed people's organisation and linked in a federalist framework".

FAU RELAUNCHED

With these clear perspectives the FAU carried out its public "re-launch" with a May Day rally in Montevideo, which several thousand people attended from the FAU, the socialist and national liberation movements, social movements like the Families of the Disappeared (people "disappeared" under the military government), student organisations and union branches. The FAU makes the point that in Uruguay today a rally of this size is of political relevance.

As anarcho-syndicalists we are committed to working class internationalism. The successes of our comrades in South America in organising following years of repression and anti-working class terror can only be an inspiration (along with the struggles of our fellow workers in South Africa) to all of us around the world fighting for a sane, classless alternative. We look forward to the re-establishment of the ACAT and its sections, fighting for libertarian communism with the International Workers' Association.

Sources:

Le Monde Libertaire (French Anarchist Federation), Umanita Nova (Italian Anarchist Federation).

The Other Drug Pushers

Now that the western anti-drugs bandwagon is well underway and the CIA has taken to "helping" third world governments control their drug farmers, perhaps it is time to take a look at the not so publicised drug-pushing activities of western corporations.

Exporting heroin and opium to China and selling heroin and morphine to the underworld in the '20's was a highly profitable business, especially when conducted by the ton and over a number of years. This is precisely how the Swiss company, Hoffmann-La Roche made its early millions, enabling it to become the huge multinational it is today.

TRANQUILISERS

But now Hoffmann-La Roche makes most of its money from the tranquilisers, valium and librium, drugs which can have effects like heroin and are similarly profitable, though less so than in 1973 when their mark-up was from \$87 per kilogram raw materials to \$11,000 per kilogram retail. Since then price cuts have been forced on the company.

But not to be outdone, it supplied the drugs free of charge to hospitals so that trainee doctors would become accustomed to prescribing the drugs to in-patients. As in-patients became out-patients and trainees became GP's, drug sales rose and with it company profits.

Keen to increase profits still further, to the benefit of the already fat directors and management, Hoffmann-

La Roche along with others published full page adverts showing tearful school girls and suggesting that their valiums could be used to eliminate her fears of the dark, of new schools, of making new friends, of new environments, of "THE NEW FREEDOMS" (?), of dentists, of world affairs, of parents, in fact virtually everything except possibly fear of drug corporations.

Since mental illness has only ever been vaguely defined, the drug corporations have had ample opportunity to try to manipulate opinion so as to claim that their drugs are the answer. US giant Eli-Lilly proposed its drug Aventyl as a cure for behavioural drift. They thoughtfully listed the symptoms in

their advertising. In fact they had to because the disease did not exist before the adverts were designed. The Pfizer corporation attempted to apply one of its mind altering drugs to more patients by redefining depression as "the absence of joy", and Sandoz of Switzerland by claiming schizophrenia was simply "a feeling of not fitting in".

PROFITS

Driven ever onwards by the desire for a more rapid return on investment and higher profits the story continues. Developing a new drug presently takes about 10 years, costs some \$70 million and perhaps tens of thousands of animals mostly rats. There is a great temptation to sell sell sell whatever the social costs. For instance, Chloramphenicol was developed by the American Warner-Lambert corporation and was discovered to be a potent cure for typhoid, though not without serious side-effects. Patients suffering from typhoid tend not to be wealthy and very common, so to increase profits, the company decided to push this drug world-wide as an over the counter cure for almost anything from sore throats to acne. This policy had dire consequences in Mexico during 1972-73 when there was a typhoid epidemic. Because of the abundance of this drug in the cities, a particular type of typhoid bug had arisen which was resistant to it. So 20,000 died not because the drug was unavailable but because it didn't work.

This risk had been known for at least 10 years but the relentless desire for profits was too strong to save those Mexicans. And the lesson has not been learnt. Even now new species of bug lurk

in our hospital wards which are resistant to the over-promoted antibiotics. More and more hospitalised patients die from common infections because the old drugs don't work any more. So the corporations, using the tactic of planned obsolescence have to develop new drugs.

Interferon, once hailed as the natural anti-cancer drug has now been found to be extremely toxic and no real improvement over previous such drugs. But because of the \$millions spent on development, the desire to make some money out of this failure, and over-specialised and blinkered company scientists keen to see their "baby" grow up, there is a suggestion to supply interferon in mass market common cold cures. This has led one scientist to observe that this was like "trying to cure a headache with ECT (electric shock treatment)".

But of course situations such as this will not occur - as Milton Friedman champion of the free market, pointed out - dangerous drugs would naturally be forced out of the market.

A final indication of the drug industry's concern for its well-being at the expense of its patient-consumers is Richardson-Merrell. This company tried to introduce Thalidomide to the US but was blocked by FDA scientist Frances Kelsey. When asked what they thought of her the reply was "She's a hero. If it hadn't been for her we'd be out of business".

So when they tell you about the evil foreign drug pushers who think only of their profits and nothing of other lives, and how the criminally lax third world control over what its population grow is dangerous to people in the west, you can see that this is all a game that western big business has been playing for some time.



The Big Dealers

POWELL ROUTED

Last month right wing students at Bristol University invited the veteran racist MP Enoch Powell to speak in the Student Union building. Powell, who is well-known for his extreme racist views (most notably his 1968 "Rivers of Blood" speech, and his constant attempts during the 1970's to arouse public hatred against Black immigrants), is no longer the influential politician that he was. He is now, as the Official Unionist MP for South Down, an isolated and pathetic figure in his own party, which is itself being given the cold shoulder treatment at present by the British government through the Anglo-Irish deal.

Powell has been blackballed from the upper ranks of the British establishment to such an extent that he feels he has nothing to lose today by openly accusing American agents of assassinating Airey Neave MP, Thatcher's close personal adviser - he is yesterday's man.

However, it was felt by many anti-fascists in Bristol that the man who gave the veneer of respectability to overt racist prejudice and discrimination in the '60's and '70's should not be allowed to speak in public without some reminder of the violence against Black people which he caused.

Despite a symbolic protest by some 200 students outside the meeting, almost no one was persuaded to turn away. Given the failure of such "peaceful picketing" it was felt by the militant anti-fascists at the demonstration that a more direct approach was needed. About 50 or 60 anti-fascists (mostly anarchists) stormed into the meeting - encountering considerable opposition from Socialist Workers' Party stewards on the way) and proceeded to disrupt the speech from Powell with great success. Whistles were blown and the shouting of the demonstrators was so loud that the speech was inaudible. After 10 minutes of this and the increasing accuracy of those spitting at him, Powell was led away by minders. The crowd control barriers in front of the stage were being torn up and as Powell left the stage to cheers from the demonstrators, he was chased and the stage on which he had been speaking was pulled apart. There were no arrests after the demonstration, although the University and Student Union authorities have been threatening dire consequences for the demonstrators and wringing their hands over the loss of "free speech".

We say that the reason why the media have expressed such shock at the attack

on Powell, and have called it an attack on "free speech", is that the Universities are one of the few places where racists like Powell thought they could escape from direct action against their racist views. In many working class communities, Powell would not have lasted 10 minutes on stage.

We must make a battlefield of every situation where racists and fascists try to spread their propaganda. This rule should hold not just for the working class racists in the NF but also for the respectable establishment racists such as Powell and Waddington. Racists must not be allowed to hide behind the banner of free speech. We know that they want to deprive a majority of the human race of any sort of freedom at all and we know that there is no "free speech" today for millions of people in Britain without any control over their daily lives. When the working class, black and white, discovers its voice and asserts its own freedom to speak, the noise will drown out the white supremacy fantasies of Powell and his like and leave them in the dustbin of history.

DIRECT ACTION AGAINST FASCISM AND RACISM.

Remembrance Day March

Sunday November 9th saw the annual march to the Cenotaph and the laying of wreaths to commemorate those who died in the 2 world wars. Did those soldiers in the second world war really die to keep fascism off our streets today? If you haven't noticed already the answer is no!

November 9th saw a gathering of at least one thousand fascist marchers bearing flags of St. George, Union Jacks and National Front banners. At about 1pm Trafalgar Square was crowded with socialists, anarchists and anti-fascists who proceeded to march across the river towards the Imperial War Museum with socialist stewards using night club bouncer-type tactics to keep people part of the march. Only about 20 anarchists

managed to keep out of the march and make their way towards the Cenotaph while the march of about 600-700 people headed south of the river.

This is just not good enough. The National Front is increasing its numbers greatly each year and while anti-fascists are walking around London chanting slogans the Nazis are murdering and beating Asian and black people and burning down their homes.

At about 4pm everyone was back in Trafalgar Square surrounded by hundreds of police. National Front skinheads made several attempts to break through the police cordon without success. The day ended with most groups being run out of the heart of London by skinheads between

5 and 6pm. There is no doubt that the NF will claim this as a victory. It must not be allowed to happen again - fascism must be destroyed.



Members of the "master race" demonstrate their superior intelligence

Labour Propose I.D. Cards For Jobless

The Labour Party are considering introducing I.D. cards for the unemployed. This we are told will help to reduce unemployment and aid a future Labour government to accurately calculate the numbers of the unemployed. By means of these cards people will be matched to "suitable" jobs at the earliest opportunity. This must surely involve some sort of information bank being built up on the unemployed.

PRESSURE

Furthermore, supposing you lived in Sunderland, say, and by means of this scheme you were matched to a job that is three or four hundred miles away, will you merely be informed of its existence or forced to apply for it? If you were put under pressure to pursue this job and you did not do so, would you be punished through the benefit system? Certainly such a system of I.D. cards and information banks would provide a very effective means of controlling benefits and forcing people into unsuitable and unpleasant work. The Labour Party, should they choose to follow up on this particular system, will no doubt assure us that it will not be used in this way. Such assurances, however, may count for nothing if they are put on the spot over their promise to deliver a million jobs in two years.

POVERTY - THE REAL PROBLEM

They should remember that the real problem is poverty. The truly rich have traditionally been unemployed and they have never complained about it. Does Prince Phillip complain? No. And why not? Because he gets a decent giro, that's why! Forcing people into low paid jobs will not make them better off. Creating lots of poorly paid jobs and then forcing people into them will only increase their misery. The "Re-start" scheme and this I.D. scheme (if it is taken up) will do little more than salve the consciences of the well meaning but well paid.

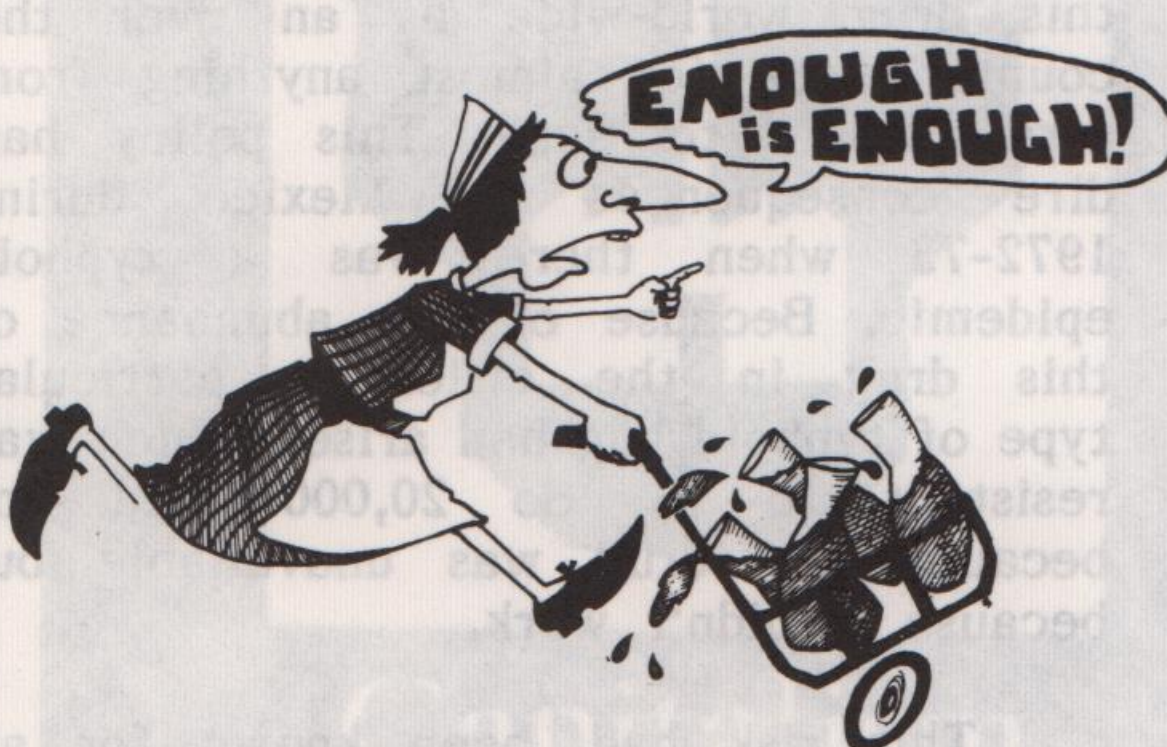
HEALTH WORKERS: Time to fight back

The recent history of the National Health Service has been dominated by four important structural changes.

* **Management reshuffle** - The Griffiths report a few years ago aimed to attract more dynamic, budget-conscious and ruthless managers to the NHS. The actual effect of this is that the Health Service is now managed by a load of whizz kids who were not long ago swotting up books at university. Their function is to get patients in and out of hospital as fast as possible. This means more hectic work for hospital workers and more shoddy treatment for patients. Hospital general managers get about £30 000 a year, know nothing about the pressures of ward work, and regard their stay in the Health Service as a bit of conscience-salving do-gooding before they move upwards into industry or commerce. The NHS would run just as well, if not better if all the managers were prevented from setting foot in our hospitals again. (This, of course, is exactly what we should be planning for!)

* **Competitive tendering** - So far only catering, laundry and domestic workers have been affected by privatisation. But all ancillary services are under threat - maintenance, X-ray, portering, ambulances, pathological labs, etc. There has been some heroic resistance against privatisation such as at Barking, Cambridge, Hammersmith and Newcastle. "Competitive tendering" is just a fancy new name for the old practice of wage cuts, job losses and time-and-motion studies. Predictably, the bourgeois time-and-motion studies never recommend that the workers deserve more money for less hours or that the management are parasites. An "in-house tender" or an outside contractor invariably only offer less wages, worse conditions and faster work rate. Cynics among us believe that some hospitals get no offers at all from private firms when work goes out for tendering. Management then claim that the open "in-house tender" won the contract and use the opportunity to cut jobs and wages anyway.

* **Project 2000** - There are approximately 430 000 nurses in Britain which signifies an enormous wage bill for the government to pay. Inevitably they want to reduce costs, so the powers that be have dreamed up Project 2000. Its aim is to create an elite of highly skilled "nurse practitioners" who will supervise a group of semi-skilled "nursing aides" who, in turn, will do all the donkey work on the wards. It is rumoured that the job of "nursing aide" will be incorporated into the Youth "Trampl" Scheme. Enrolled nurses, pupil nurses and auxiliary nurses, sisters and charge nurses will all be gradually phased out. They say that all the affected workers will not receive any pay cuts until they retire but it is difficult to believe their promises any more. Student nurses will not train in hospitals for the first 2 years, but in colleges, hobnobbing with middle class careerists. Unfortunately many demoralised nurses regard Project 2000 as their salvation from the disintegrating Health Service. But Project 2000 will do nothing to alleviate the simple basic problems of the NHS such as staff shortages, low pay and oppressive hierarchy.



* **Closing Hospitals** - Closing hospitals, particularly psychiatric ones, saves the government fuel, food bills and workers' wages. Of course some patients are better off in the community but for other patients it may mean hypothermia, malnutrition and a deterioration in their medical condition. For relatives there is a huge financial and emotional strain involved in coping with a sick person 24 hours a day - this

strain is more often than not put on to housewives.

ACTION BY HEALTH WORKERS

It is not such an easy thing for health workers to go on strike. Firstly there is the possible risk and hardship for the patients which has to be considered. Secondly there is the inevitable condemnation from the media, family and friends. Thirdly a strike causes no financial pressure to management. In fact the bosses quite like saving the wages as they never give a damn for the patients. Fourthly 250 000 staff nurses belong to the Royal College of Nursing, a "trade union" which has a policy of never taking industrial action - hence no strike pay.

Having said all that, health workers should not be ashamed or afraid to go on strike to defend their wages and conditions. In the long run, it is not striking health workers who harm the patients but inadequate resources, demoralised staff, production line treatment and profit orientated management.

It is slightly easier for ancillary staff and learner nurses to go on strike. The trained nurses can cope with any life-saving that is required. Most nurses exaggerate their own importance in the hospitals because 90% of their time is spent cleaning, feeding, doing paper work, re-stocking, doing clinical observations and counselling which are all important tasks but rarely life-saving.

As an alternative to strike action, or in addition, health workers should also consider occupations of the hospital administration, occupations of key places in your town and blocking off major roads. Ultimately all managers, nursing officers and supervisors should be barred from entry into hospitals by militant pickets on all entrances.

However, the secret weapon of health workers is that we possess a hell of lot of public sympathy. That sympathy can hopefully be turned into sympathy strike action. What is required is for mass

delegations of health workers to go to other local workplaces, speak to rank and file meetings and ask for indefinite sympathy strike action. It's hardly worth bothering with a one day strike/protest because these do not frighten the bosses at all. We must ask for indefinite action until the bosses give in. The aim must be to paralyse the whole capitalist system until the bosses come begging to us.

Some hospital workers will no doubt feel shy about approaching other workers and asking for sympathy action, but shyness must be overcome. Inevitably some workplaces will give us the cold shoulder but as soon as one workplace comes out in support then hopefully there will be a snowball effect. We should ask for sympathy strike action anywhere and everywhere - transport depots, factories, the post office, council workers, schools, docks, pits, warehouses, etc etc. If and when we decide to go back to work it must only be with the written agreement that there will be no victimisations, or else the whole action will start again.

During the 1982 NHS dispute Sheffield Health Workers Action Group, consisting of about 30 people went from workplace to workplace asking for sympathy strike action. Among other achievements they managed to close down the whole of the South Yorks coalfield for a week!

Then again there is the marvellous example of the 5 dockers who were locked up in Pentonville prison in the 1972. A huge strike wave of dockers, printers, building workers, and others got the prisoners released in 24 hours!

Sooner or later health workers will be forced to take industrial action because our livelihoods are under attack from all sides - competitive tendering, Griffiths managers, Project 2000, hospital closures, etc. NUPE, COHSE, the RCN and the Whitley Council are all collaborating in the degeneration of the NHS instead of defending us. If a strike by health workers remains small and isolated, it will lose because it puts no pressure on the bosses. But if hospital workers organise, escalating strike action, occupations, road blocks, flying picketing and other direct action we can get anything we demand!

THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE

The idea of the revolutionary general strike occupies a central place in anarcho-syndicalism. It marks the breach between those socialists who seek to capture the state - by revolutionary or democratic means - and those who see the need for the state to be smashed before libertarian communism can be achieved.

For anarcho-syndicalists it is the declaration of independence of the labour movement, an independence that can only be brought about by the efforts of the working class itself. It is central to syndicalist thinking, the whole logic of which leads to the belief in the social general strike as the means to overthrow capitalism and the state.

The idea of the general strike as a way of changing society is older than syndicalism. It can be traced, in its modern form, to the "Grand National Holiday" first suggested in England by William Benbow in 1832. The idea was that on a given day all the workers would put down their tools, put on their "Sunday best" and go for picnics. As industry ground to a halt the capitalist class would realise that only labour was truly productive and would have no choice but to submit. This would leave the government isolated and they too would be forced to step down.

Benbow's idea was by-passed in Britain as the trade unions favoured reformism - that eventually led to the Labour Party. But the idea of the general strike was taken up by anarchists. It was an anarchist carpenter called Torlelier who introduced the idea into the French labour movement which was adopted by the anarcho-syndicalists in the CGT.

Anarcho-syndicalists developed this first simplistic idea into a more elaborate theory. Firstly it was recognised that the state would not sit idly back and surrender peacefully. If the

workers were not starved into submission the state would intervene and use armed force to break the strike. Secondly the idea that the general strike could be planned to start on a chosen day was seen to be inadequate as the state would take preventive action.

Anarcho-syndicalists see the social general strike coming after a period in which there will be a series of strikes and general unrest. During this period tension would mount and strikes would grow in intensity and bitterness. The state would respond with greater coercion and the workers would reply by stepping up their demands and resistance. A revolutionary situation would develop and the conflict would be narrowed down to one between the state and the working class. It is then that the workers would take the offensive, the separate strikes would turn into a social general strike, workplaces would be seized and transport and communications centres captured for the workers' use. The community would organise the distribution of essential supplies and militias would be formed to defend the revolution.

This means that the working class would take the offensive and not simply "fold their arms" and wait for capitalism and the state to collapse. This is why anarcho-syndicalists see the necessity of organising in the revolutionary union. Although the social general strike would be largely a spontaneous act, "like a dam bursting forth" the workers must be prepared for it. In other words it may be impossible to organise the strike but it is necessary to organise for it. The revolutionary union would be the organisation that the workers use to fight the state through strikes and when the moment comes it would provide the framework of organisation in which the new society would develop. This is essential to prevent a power vacuum in which authoritarian elites can take control.

Bitter experience shows that the state will respond to major strikes with forceful (armed if necessary) intervention. How could a general strike avoid an open battle between the workers and the state? Capitalism will not passively surrender. The working class would be met by a declaration of war. They would



- Food distribution during the Spanish revolution

need the experience of self-organisation to meet this. The need for spontaneity does not contradict the need for organisation. Co-ordination would be essential to ensure the universal and simultaneous suspension of work when the moment comes and also to administer the needs of society. Only anarcho-syndicalism can provide this.

IN BRIEF

After demonstrations against right wing and government speakers at universities and other colleges, (the most recent being the anarchist-led attack on Enoch "Rivers of Blood" Powell at Bristol) the government have decided to ban the "no platform" policy from student unions. Under this policy students can decide to ban speakers whose views stink. The government says that the removal of the "no platform" policy will allow students freedom to invite anyone they like. When asked if this meant colleges could have speakers from the IRA or Sinn Fein the government said that banned organisations could not be allowed. The message is clear - censorship is alright provided that the government alone can do it!

The Tory Party has finally found the antics of its students too much and has disbanded the Federation of Conservative Students (FCS). It is not FCS vandalism during their conference at Loughborough University or its cheering of Kenny Everett's "nuke Russia" joke or even its close links with the Nazis in the British National Party that has upset Tory HQ. No; what has really upset them is the criticism of the Tory Party itself by certain elements within the FCS. They have accused ex-Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (now Lord Stockton) of "war crimes" and worse still Phil Pedley (ex-chair of the Young Conservatives) exposed 2 Tory MP's as having links with ultra-right and fascist organisations. The Tories have replaced the old FCS with a new body, which no doubt will be an obedient lap-dog. Speaking on this a Tory spokesperson said he "hoped it would be full of new young Norman Tebbitts" - in other words not much change.

Hungary '56 Reviewed:

Hungarian Tragedy - P. Fryer £2.95
The Hungarian Revolution - Council Communist Pamphlet 60p
Hungarian Workers' Revolution - ASP 50p

The events in Hungary in October and November 1956 marked an important turning point for the workers' movement in both East and West. Not only did the revolt by the workers, peasants and students give a new impetus to anti-state resistance throughout the communist world, but also it finally cracked wide open the edifice of "socialist" respectability that the West European communists had so carefully built up for themselves.

The title of Fryer's book, "Hungarian Tragedy", immediately warns us of his liberal marxist viewpoint. He is a disaffected CP journalist, finally honest enough to record what he saw on the streets of Hungary but unable to reach broader conclusions than state tyranny in Hungary being an isolated "error". Nevertheless Fryer's journey through Western Hungary during the revolution includes a useful if dull first hand account of the short-lived direct democracy and resistance put into effect throughout the country. His revisionism is always there, of course: he's always straining to find evidence of a "new, real, flourishing CP". He devotes far too much space to the new or revamped political parties and the provisional Nagy government that smoothed the way for the Russian repression, (it "reflected the will of the people," he croons). He gives less space to the evidence of workers' control through assemblies and councils. Like all

statists, his eyes are usually pointing upwards towards new leaders and new bosses.

No such accusation can be made of "The Hungarian Revolution" which, though much shorter, gives a real insight into the revolutionary character of the uprising - one without formal leadership or organisation. Emphasised throughout is the spirit of the revolt which was conducted out of a fierce love of freedom rather than any vindictive or reactionary hatred of the oppressors. The flavour of events is well documented with eye-witness accounts: the background, the students' early wide-ranging demands, the demonstrations, the victory against the police and troops in Budapest, the workers' councils that spontaneously grew up, the Russian invasion and the heroic resistance that lasted for another two months at terrible cost to the people themselves. Some conclusions are drawn, not least being that "freedom always comes from below," and not from the political opportunists who, when the repression began, melted into the background no doubt to re-emerge later when the firing had stopped.

The other pamphlet, **Hungarian Workers' Revolution** written by the SWF (Syndicalist Workers' Federation) in 1957, deals less with the background and events themselves and more with the aims, principles and organisation of the workers' councils and student groups. It stresses the youth of the revolution, the decentralised and spontaneous nature of the struggle arising from nothing. An important section covers the anti-



Hungarian workers show their appreciation of Lenin!

Stalinist uprisings throughout the Eastern bloc, and finds that a major factor in the "military solution" in Hungary was lack of solidarity action in the West.

The two pamphlets go together well, each is vital to an inside and outside picture of the last European revolution in our time. Fryer sticks out like a sore thumb.

SQUATTERS GET TOGETHER-

Bristol- 13th & 14th of Dec.
 WORKSHOPS-Plumbing, Gas & Electric, Getting a place, Evictions, The Law, Fitting Mortices.

VIDEOS-Stonehenge, Stop the City, Plastic Bullets, Wackersdorf.

Squat Gig with Chumbawamba on Saturday 13th.

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DAM Council Workers - c/o Box DAM, 234 Camden High Street, London NW1.

DAM Health Workers - c/o ELDAM, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX.

DAM Railworkers - c/o Box DA, Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester.

DAM Teachers - c/o Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood Street, Bolton, Lancs.

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Thanks, keep it up!

DAM-IWA

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 the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all delegates of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.

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

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

8. The Direct Action Movement is a federation of groups and individuals who believe in the principles of anarcho-syndicalism; a system where the workers alone control industry and the community without the dictates of politicians, bureaucrats, bosses and so-called experts.

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I would like more information about the Direct Action Movement - International Workers' Association. Please send me information.

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NEW DAM CONTACTS

Edinburgh.....Box 83, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

Mansfield and Ashfield.....28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts.

Letters

LETTER FROM ISRAEL

Dear Friends,

You have probably heard about the Israeli nuclear scientist who "disappeared", Mordechai Vanunu. Israel is one of the few countries who have an arsenal of nuclear weapons but aren't willing to admit it and make them all in secrecy so that the public can't complain about it. The Israeli Committee for Atomic Energy is dumping nuclear waste with no control over their actions thus destroying this country. Mr Vanunu is the hero who revealed all this and is now facing treason charges in an Israeli jail punishable by death. The authorities won't reveal what prison he's in. In Israel there's hardly any public outcry as people here are completely ignorant about the whole issue of atomic power as "Israel doesn't have any". Vanunu is a Christian-Pacifist (whatever this means - I wouldn't know), a vegan, opposing the use of nuclear power and Israeli oppression in the Occupied Territories. He's one of the few people who really care about our world. As I said the Israeli government is trying to make him pay for claiming our world back. I urge you to do anything you can to help save him. Please organise actions, picket the Israeli embassy or do anything else you can think of. But most important of all is inform other people of his situation and urge them to take action as well. Anyone can help in their own way. I can't think of a bigger outrage around the globe at the moment - a classic example of state terrorism. Thank!

Yours in solidarity and peace,

Ami, Jerusalem.

GAS PRIVITISATION

Dear Friends,

Your article on the privatisation of British Gas was very interesting. Until recently I was employed by BG East Midlands as a service engineer. We were shown videos of Sir Denis Rooke talking about the privatisation and were given "Privatisation Bulletins". The management of BG is supposed to be impartial about the privatisation, but it is obvious from the "information" employees have been given that they are not, and indeed favour privatisation.

At the depot I worked at the service engineers are very conservative and reactionary in their views, but did

fight the proposed privatisation of the showrooms a few years ago. Now, though, their main concern seems to be how many shares they will purchase, not to have more control, but to make money out of them. I believe if the management gave employees the facts that you printed in DA33 then it might be a different story.

Yours in solidarity and love,

Ian Dakin (Leicestershire).

DEBATE

Dear Comrades,

in reply to "The Union or the Party" (DA 34):-

It is essential that we win the battle of ideas within the workers' movement. This means we must address ourselves to the political arguments of marxists and not simply attack a distorted version of marxism. Most marxists do not believe that communism is pre-determined. Leninism signified a major break from this type of "economic determinism" which characterised the 2nd International. Leninists opposed the idea that inevitable economic collapse would spontaneously lead to socialism and they asserted the need for conscious and voluntary political activity. We oppose the leninists because they see the party as the transmission belt for this consciousness. Because the leninist party has a democratic centralist structure, this consciousness in the form of ideology tends to flow from the executive organs downwards. This creates the structural basis for the substitution of the party for the class. Anarcho-syndicalists should have nothing to fear from the "dictatorship of the proletariat" if by that we understand the establishment of unitary and self-managed organs of power (mass assemblies and councils of workers' delegates) as well as the forcible suppression of the bourgeoisie as a class. The right to hire labour will be abolished, the capitalist presses will be shut down and the democratically controlled workers' militias will alone administer the defence of the revolution including the complete suppression of the remnants of the old state apparatus. This transition from dual power to workers' power is the dictatorship of the immense majority over the capitalist minority which will be denied the right to organise politically.

DA, TW, CH, MW, South West London

Direct Action

Public order bill passed!

After January 1st, 1987, pickets, rallies, marches and demonstrations can only be held on terms dictated by the police. FOR DETAILS WRITE TO C.A.P.R.

83, BLACKSTOCK RD, LONDON N4

OR PHONE 01 881 2938

A.E.U. To Sell Out Its Rank & File Members

Marked unrest is apparent among the engineering workforce over a deal that is about to be stitched up between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) and the Engineering Employers Federation (EEF). The deal would result in a total revolution in shop floor working practices. As one TGWU shop steward put it at a protest meeting, "they want us to work harder, faster and longer for less", the result being massive redundancies. After two years of virtually secret negotiations behind closed doors, the CSEU and the EEF Negotiating Sub-Committee issued a report that confirms the shop-floor's worst fears.

"HORRIFIC"

These fears are heightened by the report which states "there are a number of critical unresolved issues". What has been agreed to already is "horrific" - to quote one branch official - what's yet to come is mind-boggling. The report, issued on the 29th of October, 1986, lists 13 points of agreement which if put into practice would turn the clock back at least 15 years. If the agreement is ratified it would mean:-

- * The virtual eradication of the shop-stewards movement as we know it at present. The statement says that "the parties would introduce a revised procedure...agreement intended to promote more coherent bargaining arrangements". Some judge this to mean stripping the shop stewards of their power to bargain and defend their members by taking any disagreement out of their hands and giving it to either ACAS or to district officials. The shop stewards would even lose the title and be called "representatives".

- * The destruction of the traditional right to a specific job or trade. One of the points asks that the unions at local level recommend the "eliminating of demarcations and other restrictive practices". Put simply this would mean the loss of thousands of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Those that could not be done by the skilled worker under great pressure would be sub-contracted out. Point 6 of the agreement even calls for further training for "additional and secondary skills so that the scope and interest of the job could be enlarged".

- * The loss of the present pay system where we get cash in hand. In future it is hoped that all monies will be paid by cheque thus putting it into the hands of the banks and credit card companies.

- * The ending of paid tea-breaks and the right to wash and clean up before breaks and finishing times.

- * The loss of the regulated working week. Today for most people in engineering the working week is between 39 and 40 hours and there is overtime if you want it. Under the new arrangements those people who are lucky enough to still have a job will have to work a yearly requirement of hours. The working week will be as long as necessary for the production of orders. At busy spells it could mean a 60 or 70 hour working week for several months of the year and the dole for the rest of the time - flexi-time with a vengeance.

VICTORIAN CONDITIONS

For this return to Victorian conditions the bosses are willing to bring hours down from 39 to 37.5 per week. It does not need a mathematical genius to

see that the loss of washing up time and tea breaks alone would pay for the reduction in hours and still leave the EEF the winners by a long chalk.

Since the leaking of the talks some months ago in various left wing papers it has become clear that the Amalgamated Union of Engineers (AUE), the biggest union within the CSEU, is going out to obtain bargaining rights from the smaller unions by a series of "single union deals". If this power has to be gained at the expense of those on the shop floor then so be it.

One of the interesting things is that while some of the smaller unions such as TASS whined because they will be virtually gelded, the larger unions such as the TGWU and the GMBU have kept quiet letting Jordan and Laird of the AEU make the running. This is because they know that by letting the AEU collect all the odium for the sell-out, they will get a wash back and can blame it all on the right wing.



Laird leads the sell-out

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Plenty - the deal has been arranged but has not been signed. There is still

time to take up the matter with the local branch of your own union, and through them with the CSEU. Even now the depth of the sell-out is either not known or understood so leaflets and posters should be distributed among the shop floor. But what has to be spelled out is the enormous betrayal of the working class by the social democratic unions who do not hesitate to sell their members down the river to consolidate their own power base. What we are seeing now is the culmination of 80 years hard work by the union leaders and their Labour Party hirelings - the complete absorption within the present economic system of the working class "defence organisations", the unions. They are as much a part of state apparatus as the civil service or the police. Indeed they perform different aspects of the same function as the other two organisations - control of the working class.

There is a world slump and if the UK industrialists are to cut back and re-invest in an effort to bring down inflation and if they are to assert their power which they fear they might have lost over the last 20 years it can only be done at the expense of the working class.

What we have to do is find a way to stop them otherwise our lives on the shop floor or in the dole queue will be a nightmare. There is only one way to challenge capitalism and that is through the pocket. We have to start to show now what is going on and why. We have to point out that although writing to union leaders in the short term could persuade them of their folly, only direct action, i.e. a strike or a series of strikes, will give the challenge any chance of success.

A SCREEN IN TIME SAVES LIVES

A secret Department of Health investigation into cervical cancer reveals that death rates are rising sharply. The investigation was ordered by Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, in all 14 health regions in England and Wales.

The northern Region report pinpoints a high incidence of cervical cancer in north Tyneside, south Tees, north-west Durham and Hartlepool health districts. Women in Middlesbrough, Redcar, Saltburn and Guisborough (south Tees district) are 66% more likely to die of cervical cancer than women of the same age and class in the rest of the country. A total of 111 women died of the disease in the 10 years covered by the survey (1974 - 1983). In north Tyneside - North Shields and Wallsend - death rates are 44% above the national average. In north west Durham - Consett and Stanley - rates are 78% higher than the national average.

Over 2000 women in the UK die each year as a result of cervical cancer (and 13,000 from breast cancer) and yet the vast majority of such cancers can be cured if caught at an early stage. However, screening facilities for breast and cervical cancer have been severely cut back, and periodic recall of women for cervical screen tests has been dismantled. Coupled with this, the government will only fund the NHS for cervical screening for women over 35 or who have 3 or more children and then only at 5 yearly periods. The Tory Junior Health Minister, Edwina Curry claims that "universal screening is neither desirable or necessary".

The only thing we can do is organise to have screening facilities either in the workplace or in the community. Some unions, such as the TGWU and USDAW have already taken up the issue and are

making agreements with management to have on-site screening facilities. Those who want to do something may get help from the local Health Authority, the Women's National Cancer Control Campaign, or a local well-woman clinic. Try to organise for annual on-site screening where possible, and if this is in the workplace there will need to be negotiations for sufficient space for an examination room, a wash/changing room, and a place for women to register. The facility should be available to all women employees regardless of age or marital status, and where possible a women doctor to carry out the examination.

Women are dying needlessly. We must organise to have facilities for women. It is up to men as well as women to organise this and carry out a massive education campaign if we are to stop such deaths. Screening works! It saves lives! But Fowler refuses to allow the hard-pressed health regions to have the necessary £6 million. It's okay though for them to throw away millions on nuclear weapons and armaments. As usual people's health is put behind the interests of our rulers.

One good bit of news is that it has been known for some time that certain forms of cervical cancer are related to the employment of a woman's sexual partner. Generally, chemicals that cause penile cancer or cancer of the scrotum in men also cause cervical cancer in their female partners. Workers in printing and engineering appear to be at most risk. However, evidence is growing that cervical cancer is caused by the papilloma virus (which causes several genital disorders including genital warts). This means that it may be possible to produce a vaccine to protect women.

Dirty Fingers in Dirty Pies



Unions have betrayed workers on CP schemes

It comes as little surprise to find out from recent research in the North West into young unemployed people's attitudes towards trade unions that 65% of them either know nothing about what unions mean or feel betrayed by those they've come into contact with.

The few unions involved in state job schemes for the unemployed have conjured up some nasty deals in the region. GMBATU, for example, have won single union agreements with private employers operating experimental CP schemes whereby the hourly rate of pay is artificially held down in return for the union's right to monopolise recruitment. In Salford, TGWU represents typists at 40p below the regular hourly rate of £2.20 after NALGO refused to organise them at this low figure. At another CP building project, workers won a reasonable rate for the job and UCATT then refused to re-approve the project until the rate of pay was dropped. UCATT's sanction was effective, for such schemes can only go ahead with their approval. The TGWU and NUPE have also negotiated lower back-

door pay agreements with bosses in Liverpool and Manchester. Fighting for higher pay and better conditions was ignored. The unions' priority is stacking up the membership figures.

Prospects for future CP schemes are no less dismal. Richard Branson's "Mr. Kleen" wheeze will confront health and council workers with rival CP projects competing for public cleaning contracts at the lowest price and wage levels - another boost for the privatising vultures. Meanwhile funds for clothing and equipment are to be cut by a third to £320 per year per worker. Some YTS schemes are being closed down on the grounds that they are too expensive - school children are to be hired instead.

Union collaboration in the exploitation of the unemployed must be fought as the disgusting betrayal that it is. Unemployed unions run by and for those in and out of job schemes are sorely needed to mount a fightback now against company and union parasites.