

DIRECT ACTION



paper of the DAM-IWA...the voice of anarcho-syndicalism

NO 32

JULY 86

20p

EMERGENCY

WHITES PROLONG THE AGONY

As we write, South Africa's apartheid government has declared an "official" State of Emergency — a vicious tightening of its repression of the rights of the non white majority of the population.

To us outside the country it means a blanket of secrecy over events there, making it impossible to be sure what is going on.

To South Africans it means up to 6,000 people may be detained for up to 180 days — and as no information is given, even their relatives have no way of knowing what has become of them.

It means thousands are being made homeless as bulldozers clear out "squatters" from townships in the Cape.

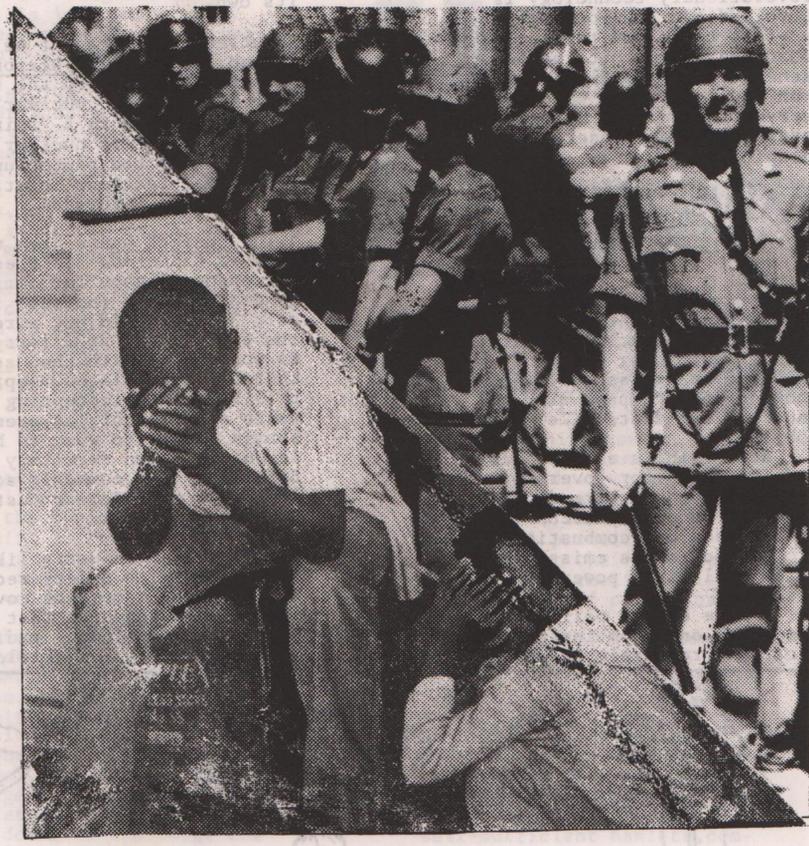
It means government-provoked fighting between "rival black factions" claims the lives of who knows how many innocent people — including children.

WHO FEARS SANCTIONS?

Meanwhile Thatcher and Reagan, along with many other vested interests in the West, are solidly opposed to sanctions.

Their excuse is that "it would lead to more violence" and "the blacks don't want sanctions because it would put them out of work".

What lies. Recently we published a survey show-



ing that most black South Africans wanted sanctions. And new evidence from Johannesburg shows that while sanctions would increase black unemployment by 1%, white unemployment would go up by 3%. More to the point, sanctions would severely dent the profits bosses' profits both in South Africa and elsewhere.

It would also give the Soviet Union a significant advantage, as the world's second-largest producer of gold.

That's the true reason

for Thatcher and her friends objecting.

THE FUTURE

What are the prospects for the future? Is there any industrial organisation capable of bringing about real change for the better in South

Africa? Our correspondent in South Africa writes:

...I can tell you that COSATU is part and parcel of the ANC; it is the internal wing of the exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions: in short COSATU is the ANC. In the post-apartheid society, the COSATU will be docile to the state, like the Russian trade unions after 1917. SAAWU belongs to the same camp. We will exchange tyranny for tyranny; the oppressed of today will be our oppressors tomorrow...

CONT'D page 8.

*DA-too good to give away!

Spanish Revolution: 50 Years On
FREE INSTRUMENTS
your 4-page pullout

ALSO

DONALDSONS STRIKE

News From GIBRALTAR

Early RANK AND FILE Struggles

FOOD - The Way To Your Heart ...

NUCLEAR POWER - The Lethal Legacy

Chernobyl and after

The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in the Ukraine has awoken concern about nuclear power across the world. Polls show huge majorities in Europe against the building of new nuclear plants (70% in Holland, 79% in Italy, 69% in Germany).

As the radioactive fallout from Chernobyl drifted across Europe demonstrations took place in many cities, and even some of the establishment are now voicing doubts about nuclear power.

Details of what happened are still not clear. Of course the Russian authorities didn't give much away — all governments are secretive when it comes to nuclear accidents, including our own jokers who removed Windscale from the map and renamed it Sellafield.

But perhaps the details are not so important as the event itself. The reactor blew up and released a huge cloud of radiation which covered a good part of Europe. The disaster then came close to apocalypse as a meltdown almost developed. Many people have been killed directly and many more will die slowly over the years to come from radiation-linked diseases.

It is a singularly appropriate time to ask — do we need nuclear power?

WE CAN'T AFFORD IT

The energy policy of recent British governments, both Labour and Tory, has involved the rundown of the coal industry and the increased use of oil and nuclear-generated energy. This has cost the working class many thousands of jobs.

Britain is an "island built on coal", with more coal reserves than the rest of western Europe put together. Enough for 300 years at least in fact.

That coal should be used. Leaving aside questions of relative employment levels and environmental concerns, the fact is that nuclear power is no cheaper than coal power.

The nuclear lobby try to maintain that it is. This is a lie. Most of the research for nuclear energy is extremely costly, but because it stems from military research, the many billions pumped into nuclear power in this way are never acknowledged. The taxpayer subsidises nuclear power massively.

Despite the costs involved the government seems determined to continue with its massive nuclear programme. The

costs are huge. In 1981-2 they spent over £170 million of the energy research and development budget on nuclear power, and only £9 million on renewable energy resources like wind or wave power.

WE DON'T NEED IT

Renewable resources might not be able to provide all our energy requirements in the foreseeable future, but they could certainly make a big contribution. In Denmark for instance a team built the biggest windmill in the world to date. They estimate that 1,100 similar windmills on the Danish coast could provide the same amount of electricity as five nuclear power stations. These would cost £2 billion; the windmills only £407 million.

It's not even as if energy needs were increasing; demand has remained steady for many years, and the government mothballed many fossil fuel power stations in the early 80s — though they had to start some of the oil-fired ones up again to defeat the miners.

Britain has a surplus energy capacity. Besides, electricity production at present is notoriously inefficient. 60% of the energy generated in a conventional power station is wasted and passes out as heat into the air, rivers or sea. Yet this could be tapped by "district heating schemes" to heat surrounding homes cheaply. No revolutionary technology is involved, but the government prefers to follow the nuclear road. And what about the new generation of small cheaply-run power stations which are very efficient and already preferred by some users such as hospitals.

IT IS LETHAL!

Apologists for nuclear energy point out the number of deaths in the coal mining industry. But if half as much money was put into coal mining as goes into nuclear power, the number of mining accidents would drop dramatically. And how do they compare with nuclear accidents like Chernobyl?

Acid rain is another favourite topic for lovers of nukes. Yet there already exists all the necessary technology (fluidised bed combustion) to cut poisonous emissions from coal-fired power stations.

A sane energy policy would be based on a combination of coal and renewable energy

sources. The only explanation for the present nuclear insanity is that the nuclear programme is a political choice.

Nuclear power holds advantages for the boss class only...

5 GOOD ARGUMENTS AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER:

1. The number of jobs in the nuclear industry is small. The proposed new reprocessing plant at Dounreay will cost £300 millions to build but will only create 300 permanent jobs. The few workers employed are exposed to dangerous levels of radiation, and tightly controlled under the pretext of security; they will find it very difficult to organise.

2. In fact there are serious implications for civil liberties generally. The nuclear industry is secretive and has its own armed police force — as former energy secretary Tony Benn said, "I have never known such a well-organised scientific, industrial and technical lobby as the nuclear power lobby". It has a life of its own.

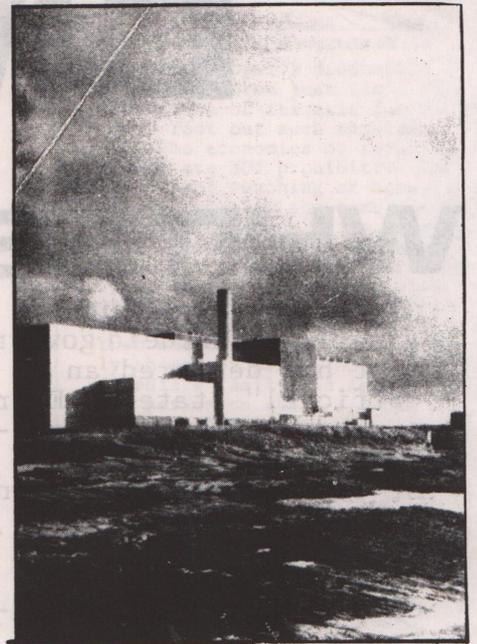
3. Nuclear power cannot be separated from nuclear weapons. When Britain entered the nuclear race "civil" nuclear power was regarded as a "spin-off" from the military nuclear programme. Today the plutonium from civil reactors is still used to make warheads.

4. The nuclear waste from reactors is dangerous for ages — a horrendous legacy for coming generations. The industry is only 30 years old, but already the experts are at a loss as to what to do with the waste that has accumulated. Despite this, Britain is accepting the waste other countries aren't stupid enough to want to handle on their own territory — Britain is now commonly acknowledged as the nuclear dustbin of the world.

5. The nuclear industry likes to boast of its safety record, while at the same time covering up any accidents that do happen. The continuous radioactive leaks at Sellafield, the

partial meltdown at Harrisburg in 1979 and the explosion at Chernobyl show how much their assurances are worth. Claims that the Russian reactor was primitive or fundamentally different from "western" ones, and that such an event could "never happen here" are rubbish. The reactor was similar in many ways to those here. The computers at Chernobyl were made in West Germany.

NUCLEAR POWER MUST BE RESISTED. AND WORKING PEOPLE CAN DO IT. LOCAL OPPOSITION TO PLANS FOR A NUCLEAR DUMP IN BILLINGHAM, ON TEESIDE, FORCED THE GOVERNMENT TO RETREAT. SEAMEN HAVE SUCCESSFULLY ENFORCED A BAN ON NUCLEAR DUMPING AT SEA. IF THE WORKING CLASS COULD ADOPT AN ANTI-NUCLEAR STANCE, AND TRANSFORM THEIR UNEASE ABOUT NUCLEAR POWER INTO ACTION, THE NUCLEAR PROGRAMME COULD BE KILLED. DEAD.



mint sauce and caesium

After Chernobyl, heavy rain meant especially high radioactive fallout on hill farms in Wales and Cumbria. The effect of this on a million sheep there is now common knowledge.

But contaminated lamb was on peoples' tables for a MONTH before ministers banned its sale and slaughter. They claim the radioactive caesium will "wear off" in about 3 weeks. Scientists say it has a half life of 30 years.

DIRECT ACTION

The Editorial Collective wishes to apologise to all those subscribers and others who were disappointed by the failure of DIRECT ACTION to appear in June.

Unfortunately, the reason for this was financial.

In future the paper will appear regularly every month without fail.

As this issue is the last to be produced by Hull DAM, we will take this opportunity of expressing our warmest thanks to all those who gave us financial, moral and practical support. THANK YOU ALL.



THE MAN WHO THOUGHT IT WOULD HELP THE COUNTRY IF HE TIGHTENED HIS BELT...

PIT NEWS

The High Court has decreed that the Coal Board — or British Coal as we must now call it — must recognise the scab breakaway UDM, in spite of a longstanding agreement that only the NUM was the recognised union of Coal Board employees.

You see, the UDM represents 20% of the workforce.

Makes you wonder why there are so many strikes for union recognition, doesn't it? Perhaps they too should apply to the High Court — or was someone tipping the scales?

and

We're sure that DA readers were delighted to see Ian McGregor receive his much-deserved knighthood.

And you'll be equally pleased to hear that he is cashing in

on the miners' strike — to the tune of £100,000, the price publishers have paid for his memoirs.

McGregor it seems is a hard-done-by man. He claims that the miners' strike was planned by Thatcher "six months before it started". Though McGregor says he "forced" the NUM to begin the strike in March 1984, he is determined to avoid being seen as "the villain of the piece".

Yes, we all remember the conciliatory, understanding way he approached the strike. We remember how grudgingly he accepted a nice fat salary for his part in it. And now we all recognise his grace and modesty in accepting only £100,000 for telling his story.

Mr McGregor isn't such a bad guy after all. Is he?

ROYAL WEDDING

You have reached page 2 without reading any comment on the Royal Wedding.

Our opinion of this event and the press hysteria surrounding it is no doubt predictable.

So you will be reassured to learn that we won't mention it again.

NOT SO SELFISH

When Richard Dawkins wrote his book *THE SELFISH GENE* he found that it attracted attention from more than just the scientific community. Right-wing politicians and economists tried to use it to justify their philosophy of a laissez-faire free market, and even downright racism.

SELFISH

On the other hand the Marxist reaction was hysterical condemnation. One writer went as far as accusing Dawkins of being single-handedly responsible for the election of the Tory Government in 1979. The word 'selfish' it seems is a very emotive one.

As Dawkins himself says, most of those who reacted so strongly to his work had "read it by title only". The right wing used the word 'selfish', building around it a web of misconceptions which they felt lent scientific credence to their own ideas, while Marxists condemned it for giving comfort to the right.

Had they actually read the book, they would realise that the selfish gene theory simply states that evolutionarily successful behaviour in an organism is that which results in a higher percentage of the next generation inheriting the genes for that behaviour.

Many might believe that this means succeeding generations would be made up of selfish, individualistic and aggressive beings who brutally fight their way to the top at

the expense of all around them. This is not necessarily so. Often the most successful form of behaviour is not wasteful acts of aggression, but mutually beneficial acts of co-operation.

Dawkins' main evidence to support this idea of co-operative success is the recent work of Robert Axelrod and WD Hamilton. Much of this is theoretical and based on computer simulations and models, and investigates animal co-operation.

It begins by assuming that animals do co-operate with each other, and that the means governing this is a "genetically programmed" series of instinctive reactions. These could take many different forms. Some might simply take advantage of other co-operative acts and not repay them, while others be altruistic:ie offering help to others without expecting help in return. But most would involve a combination of these two strategies. The most successful behaviour pattern would be passed on to the next generation in greater and greater numbers and might well be the basis for instinctive co-operative behaviour in all animals, including ourselves.

So what is the most successful form of co-operative behaviour? To find this out, Axelrod held two computer tournaments in which the computers play a simple game: "The Prisoner's Dilemma". This game is thought by many to simulate situations which are a good test for co-operative behaviour.

TIT FOR TAT

The most successful strategy turned out to be a system called "tit-for-tat" which won both tournaments outright. This is based on the premise of "do unto others as you would have them do unto you", with the addition of "if they don't, give them a quick slap around the ear for being so naughty and then let bygones be bygones."

Axelrod called this a "nice" strategy, and pointed out that it was more successful than the exploitative "nasty" one because it did not waste energy fighting instead of co-operating.

But can a computer game really reflect the behaviour patterns of animals? Accurate computer simulations can help design cars or aircraft and predict the weather, and it seems that observations in the field confirm the computer's predictions: tit-for-tat is the main mechanism for co-operation in animals. Surprisingly, the first evidence of this came from a study of vampire bats!

Dawkins presents these ideas with all the enthusiasm of a man explaining a radical new concept, but to people aware of the anarchist tradition it must seem like a case of "reinventing the wheel". Over 90 years ago Peter Kropotkin wrote about evolutionary co-operation in his book "MUTUAL AID, A FACTOR OF EVOLUTION". Like Dawkins, Kropotkin wrote his book to counter right-wing misrepresentations of evolutionary ideas. His book only gained limited popularity however, not because of any failure in the logic, but because it did not serve the vested interests of either capitalist or Marxist philosophers.

There has always been a battle between those who say human behaviour is instinctive and those who say it is moulded by the environment. The right has always adhered to the "Instinctive" camp, because they wrongly felt that this justifies selfish, exploitative behaviour as "natural".

Marxists, however, have followed Marx in the belief that all behaviour is determined by the economic environment alone.

ANARCHISM

Anarchism, with its firm foundation in a scientific understanding of the real world, rather than the abstract world of philosophy, has always steered a path between both extremes and accepted that human behaviour is moulded by both factors.

Although Dawkins starts from some naive, liberal ideas (eg that the state and police are there to encourage us to co-operate), he is forced to come to some very anarchist conclusions. His ideas help put paid to the belief that anarchism is Utopian and would only work in a world full of saints. Anarchists have always maintained that freed from the oppression of capitalism and the state, which only exist to protect the ruling class, people would behave in reasonable and co-operative ways.

- BOOKS:
 Mutual Aid - A Factor of Evolution. P Kropotkin. Extending Horizons Books, £6.95.
 The Selfish Gene. R Dawkins.
 The Evolution of Co-operation. R Axelrod. Basic Books, £13.50.

TMB

What Syndicalists Think About...

THE ENVIRONMENT

governments

Bhopal. Chernobyl. Names that made big headlines, and disrupted (and terminated) an unknown number of lives. We've all heard about what happened, and hoped it wouldn't happen again, or at any rate, not near us...

But what about the unremarked instances of damage to the environment? Toxic heavy metals discharged into the Humber; effluent poisoning a whole landscape near the aluminium smelter on Anglesey; nuclear installations regularly emitting radioactive wastes; farmers and foresters saturating the land - and eventually our drinking water - with every kind of poison... The list could fill a page.

why bother?

Does it matter that much when patterns of agriculture change, or wastes are "washed away" in the nearest river? Isn't it all rather sentimental - a case of a few rare butterflies or wild orchids only of interest to a few naturalists or country life freaks? Nowadays it isn't fashionable to complain about these things. It could be a threat to jobs (or to put it another way, profits).

But the fact is it's not just a matter of pretty countryside and lesser-crested pippin-warblers. It is a matter of health and safety, of a decent lifespan for all, and, ultimately, it's a matter of the survival of the human (and other) species.

For we depend, for our survival, on a very complex and fragile set of circumstances. If we don't get clean water to drink, we die. If the air is heavily polluted, we die (in the London smog of 1952, 3,000 died of lung diseases). If soil is robbed of its fertility, while human-made deserts spread and forests are destroyed, we will, in the end, starve. To us in Britain, these prospects may seem remote; to people in sub-Saharan Africa, they are reality.

In fact the destruction of the environment is remote from no-one. Thousands of British workers' lives are blighted by deafness, caused by noise at work. Workers in textile mills, quarries, mines and metal workshops suffer lung disease, caused by bad air at work. Thousands die needlessly and horribly from stomach cancer, caused by fertilisers polluting the water supply. Our children's brains are damaged by lead in the air of our city streets. Undramatically, we are being poisoned.

The big excuse for all this is supposed to be jobs. "If X plant was to close down, Y jobs would be lost" is an oft-repeated answer to complaints about pollution. What a nonsense this is. If measures were taken to continue running a dirty plant or factory, while reducing or eliminating its toxic wastes, jobs would be created, for someone would have to do the work involved.

profits

It's not jobs the apologist for pollution seeks to protect - it's profits (see which he puts first if one has to go!) It's profit that demands noisy dangerous machines, nitrates sloshed indiscriminately on the fields, chemicals flushing untreated into rivers and up chimneys, lead in petrol, forest land flattened, used up and discarded; profit for the greedy powerful few, regardless of the interests of the majority.

This is why it's useless to hope some kindly government will make it illegal to pollute the environment and poison workers - for governments are run by the ruling class, for the ruling class, and profit means far more to them than our lives.

This explains why the Health & Safety Executive acts in such a secretive and high-handed way, and why firms responsible for fatal accidents pay such negligible fines, and why Union Carbide dares to blame the workers of Bhopal for what happened there.

"peoples' states" when a brief glance at the history of Marxist ideas reveals a strong thread of belief that human intellect must dominate or "master" the natural world (read for example the writings of Alexandra Kollontai). In the light of modern scientific knowledge about the complex inter-relationships governing life on Earth, this belief makes nonsense of the Marxist claim to be based on science and rationality, let alone common sense.

common sense

For common sense is the basis of the Syndicalist standpoint. Let no-one mistake a real concern about the environment for the self-indulgent hippy romanticism that advocates "dropping-out" of the system, either to avoid personal responsibility, or in the hopes of weakening it. Syndicalists know very well that individual solutions only work, if at all, for the individual. These are problems facing all of us, and only by organising together can we overcome them. Of course each of us must make the individual commitment to struggle

CONT'D PAGE 7



DESERTS OR FORESTS - OUR CHOICE

THE WAY TO THEIR HEARTS IS THROUGH THEIR STOMACHS, AS THE SAYING GOES. AND NOT SURPRISINGLY, WHEN THIS IS THE ROUTE TAKEN BY BIG BUSINESS, THE RESULTS INCLUDE A DEVASTATING TOLL OF LETHAL HEART DISEASES. AND THAT'S NOT ALL, WHEN

CAPITALISM GETS INSIDE YOU

Our diet today

In the last few years everyone's been paying more attention to the idea of a "healthy diet". Most people are aware that there is some connection between animal fats and heart attacks, or that fibre is good for you. Some people also suspect that all those "E-numbers" on many labels are not a good idea. But, except for the occasional bit of self-indulgence most people believe that, most of the time, most of the food they buy and eat is doing them good.

If this is so, how do we account for the table below? Surely the pure and wholesome food we see advertised in magazines and on TV, fresh from the British countryside and just like mother used to make, can't be killing us? For one thing the government wouldn't allow it — would they?

Consider some elements of our "healthy" diet. Those eggs in the carton which says

fish be better value? Perhaps — only 5% water. THIS IS NOT THE NATURAL WATER CONTENT FOUND IN ALL FOODSTUFFS — IT IS ADDED BY THE MANUFACTURERS FOR PROFIT. Food is doctored by the addition of polyphosphates (marked on the label) which cause it to absorb nice cheap water, sold at high prices as meat or fish.

These are not the only little secrets of the meat trade. It is not very appetising to consider what goes into the huge chopping and mincing machines which extrude "Mechanically Recovered Meat" for use in sausages, burgers, spreads, pates and tinned "meats". Ingredients include bones, pigskin, eyeballs — let's not go on.

What about foods we deliberately choose because they're supposed to be better for us? DID YOU KNOW that some brown bread (not labelled wholemeal) is really dyed brown with caramel? Did you know that the fibre in white "high-fibre" breads often comes from pea-

fibre and vitamins, erodes our health and shortens our lives.

But the crime doesn't end there. It stretches round the world, in a complex web linking starvation for most, lavish profits for a tiny few, and the bizarre "affluent poverty" of the mass of people in the industrialised "Western" lands.

For in a country like Britain enormous energy is spent wasting food, and this is done at the expense of the underdeveloped countries. By lavishing vast amounts of valuable foods like fish, barley and soya (often imported from hungry countries) our farmers produce huge surpluses of dairy produce and plentiful supplies of inferior or even harmful pig and poultry products.

By turning 1000 lbs of potatoes (a delicious, healthy and cheap food) into 270 lbs of crisps (rich in chemical flavourings, saturated fat and salt, which are dangerous to health. Cost 13p an ounce or £2.08 per pound) the food business wastes and destroys food for profit, while millions starve.

It has been estimated that six times more energy goes into the production of battery eggs than comes out. In a world where people go hungry because they cannot afford fuel, how can this be excused?

Who are we dying for?

In the Caribbean, malnutrition is common, and much food has to be imported. Many thousands of fertile acres bear abundant harvests — but the crop is sugar, for export. For the workers there, this means irregular, low-paid, hazardous work. For us it means diabetes, cancer, heart disease...

For British Sugar and Tate & Lyle, it means sky-high profits, year after year.

And for the greedy, deceitful peddlars of doctored food it's a vital ingredient in the recipe for success. It's cheap, it doesn't go off, it dilutes more expensive ingredients, and by calling some of it "glucose" some of it "sucrose", some "fructose" etc, they can lie to the public about how much is present in the diet.

THAT IS WHY WE EAT TWO POUNDS OF SUGAR A WEEK EACH. We do it to make fortunes for huge food companies.

The lie machine

Last year the two sugar giants spent £2 million persuading us that sugar is a "pure, healthy, natural food". In 1983 £91.8 million was spent on advertising sugar, chocolate and sweets.

Indeed, it's interesting that generally, the less healthy a food is, the more is spent advertising it. The butter and margarine manufacturers engage in bitter and expensive rivalry to assure us that their product is the one that's good for us (neither is very). A thousand catchy jingles urge us to guzzle fat, salt, sugar and chemicals, dis-

guised as "fun" foods (what they do to the teeth is less fun) to relieve the grim tedium of this "heaven on earth".

Half of British cream consumption is in the form of cream cakes, since the advertising campaign telling us they are "Naughty But Nice" (unlike the heart attacks they cause). It's one way of keeping the butter mountain from growing, while rich farmers gather in the subsidies.

Even before a child is born industry bombards the mother-to-be with advertising for artificial baby milk, suggesting subtly that while breastfeeding is theoretically best, in practice it's painful, difficult and — well, not quite nice. This material is often distributed by doctors and clinics — the lie machine is all around us. Indeed, how could anyone expect the state to remain impartial? It is there to serve the interests of big business — and bad food is very big business.

Watchdogs and lapdogs

There are those who believe, however that the government's role is to protect consumers against unscrupulous business. They argue that the Government should find out what is good food, and what is bad. It should inform us clearly about its findings. And it should insist that all foods are clearly and meaningfully labelled, to promote informed choice.

What happened when the Government tried to do exactly this? In 1979 a committee of experts set out to define a healthy diet, and in 1981 their report recommended a CUT in SUGAR, SALT and ALCOHOL, and an INCREASE in FIBRE, in the daily diet of ALL.

Their report was rejected. Why? Because it offended the interests of the food industry, who published a document watering down the committee's conclusions. Among its authors were staff from Beechams, Rank Hovis McDougall, Tate & Lyle, ICI and the British Nutrition Foundation (a body funded by the food business giants like Mars, Nestlé, RHM and Tate & Lyle). Obediently, the DHSS suppressed the original report (which was later leaked to a Sunday paper).

The Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food also has committees "advising" it about food matters. They usually include representatives of the food industry. They generally don't include scientists who are critical of these interests. All committee members sign the Official Secrets Act.

Our present Prime Minister once worked for Mr Whippy ice cream. But that's no reason to expect the Labour party would do any better. It is true that last year they launched a Food Policy which called for improved food regulations, better health education and good food available to all — but once in power, they will bow to exactly the same pressures as the present government, for ultimately they represent the same interests.

Taking action ourselves

If it's no good expecting governments to help — and anyway, who wants their daily diet to be dictated by bureaucrats? — what can we do?

The first step must be education, of ourselves, each other, our children. FIND OUT what's in your food. MAKE CHANGES in your food habits; try new foods; buy, borrow and lend books about food; DISCUSS with your family the contents of your meals, and where they come from. BE SELECTIVE when shopping: it takes longer but it's worth it — already retailers are responding to selective shoppers by introducing sugar-free or additive-free ranges of foods. They've got to — they want our money and have to compete to survive.

CONT'D PAGE 7

PREVENTABLE DISEASES CAUSED BY: too much fat: heart disease * stroke * high blood pressure, obesity, gall-bladder disease, diabetes *, bowel cancer * angina, breast cancer *, ulcers.
too much sugar: diabetes *, gall-bladder disease, obesity, tooth decay, breast cancer * kidney stones, ulcers, gout.
additives: eczema, hyperactivity, migraine, allergies.
too little fibre: bowel cancer *, other bowel disorders, ulcers, varicose veins.

* THESE ILLNESSES ARE BRITAIN'S BIGGEST KILLERS.

NATURAL, FARM FRESH on the lid. They come from battery hens, who not only endure a less-than-pleasant lifestyle, but are also fed on a frightening cocktail of hormones, antibiotics and colourants (for yellow yolks). If this lot doesn't reach us through the eggs, we'll probably absorb it through the chicken spreads, pies and sausages which are made from the scrawny carcasses. DID YOU KNOW that many laying hens are bred by subsidiaries of huge pharmaceutical firms with vested interests in the supply of agricultural chemicals?

And laying hens aren't the only farm animals on drugs. Intensive pig farming and unnaturally high milk yields mean routine doses of antibiotics for swine and dairy cows. HOW MUCH OF THIS DO WE END UP EATING? And what about the oestrogens (female hormones, which can cause cancer or upset sexual development) administered to beef cattle, to increase their weight without increasing their appetite? They don't show that on those colourful posters in the butcher's shop.

The extra weight in that beef — and we pay by weight remember — is water (the same principle as pregnant women or those on the pill often retain water and put on weight). It's not the only water we buy at fancy prices. That plump frozen chicken? About 8% is water. That rather soggy bacon rashers? Up to 15% water. Fish fingers: full of protein for growing kids? No, almost 14% water. Would a whole frozen

stalks?

Perhaps you think margarine is better for your heart than butter? But do you know what's meant by "hydrogenated vegetable oil"? It usually means an oil which may (or may not) be healthy (polyunsaturated) in the first place, has been processed until it is JUST AS UNHEALTHY AS ANY ANIMAL FAT.

Everyone's trying to cut down on sugar. We all know it's bad for you, and makes you fat and ugly. Yet British people eat an average of 100lbs of it a year each. If you thought you'd cut down, read the labels on breakfast cereals, baby food, processed meats, biscuits (yes, even the savoury ones), drinks, pickles and sauces, tinned veg, baked beans, soup... and think again.

And what could be more delicious, and healthy, than fresh vegetables and fruits? Beware: in 1984 the Association of Public Analysts surveyed fruit and vegetables, and found that a third of each group tested was contaminated with goodies like DDT, dimethoate, aldrin and mevinphos. Many countries ban these highly toxic and persistent chemicals, but in UK Ltd control of their use is "voluntary" (ie non-existent).

Their graves too

Informed medical and scientific opinion agrees that most Britons spend a lifetime digging their graves with their teeth. A diet of adulterated, highly processed food, rich in saturated fats, refined starches, sugars and salt, and low in

POOR LITTLE RICH GIRL

The papers have been full of the death from an excess of drink and drugs; of Cabinet Minister's daughter, Olivia Channon. She died after a hedonistic night of partying, in the finest tradition of Oxford University, to mark the end of her final exams.

Olivia, it was quickly pointed out, was only an 'occasional drug user'. (Why, then, did the police search for her diary, which they thought might well contain details of drug deals?)

It was also very quickly emphasised that the use of illegal drugs is 'rare' at Oxford University. Who's kidding who?

Perhaps the sickest irony to come out of the whole affair was the appearance on early morning TV of Olivia's friend, Viscount Althorp (brother of the Princess of Wales). 'Champagne Charlie' as he has been dubbed by the tabloid papers, had the sheer bloody nerve to say that he has never even been offered

drugs at parties in Oxford, and that most Oxford University students are more worried about where their next cup of coffee is coming from, never mind being able to afford heroin. Anyone who has walked along Oxford High Street at the time the exams end, and seen the antics of our future governors, as they shower the pavements, each other and passers by with champagne and shaving foam, could be forgiven for indulging in a spot of bitter ranting. KNOBBY JOKER

I.W.W. WORLD LABOR

conference

On May 1st - 4th this year the Industrial Workers of the World (North America's revolutionary union), held an international conference of revolutionary workers' organisations to mark the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket massacre.

Delegates came from the Swedish Workers' Central Organisation (SAC), the Solidarnosc Information Office in London, the Workers' Solidarity Movement of Japan, and from across the USA.

Observers were also present from the DAM, the French Anarchist Federation and the South African Allied Workers' Union. The Co-ordinadora - the organisation of the Spanish dockers - was unable to attend because of their strike action (see below).

The delegate from the Solidarnosc office gave encouraging reports on underground activity in Poland. He is at present writing a book on Poland and Self-Management.

A disappointment was the attitude of the Education Director of the SAAWU, a Communist. He argued against workers' self-management, claiming workers need an "administration" to give them "vision". He withdrew from the conference as he did not want to jeopardise the SAAWU's close relationship with the South African Communist Party. Bad news for the South African workers if they have close relations with such vipers.

Successful workshops were held on new approaches to organising, high technology, ecology in the workplace, multinationals and union repression.

On the final day it was resolved to organise better communications, by exchanging publications via airmail, exchanging addresses of organisations, sharing translation skills, issuing news to each other in English or Spanish and organising an emergency phone network.

Another, similar, conference will be held in four years time - it is up to us NOW to work for its success and improve attendance.

SPANISH DOCKS ON STRIKE

Spain's dockers are on strike for the fourth time this year, to defend their jobs, to fight privatisation and to preserve union rights.

In an incident on the second day of the strike (May 19th) three tobacco containers were burnt out in Cadiz and the HQ of the local Socialist Party (Spain's present government) were bricked during a 700-

strong demonstration by dockers and others. The Socialist Party union, UGT, is against the strike and leading members have had their cars burnt out and have received death threats.

This strike has coincided with a wave of strike action in Spain. The day after it commenced, the buses and metro were at a standstill in Barcelona over the attempt to reduce off-peak services.

The same week, Air Iberica pilots reached a truce of sorts after a series of disruptive strikes to do with payment for rest periods between flights.

Civil servants at the Treasury were on strike, hindering the collection of statistics.

There was a sit-in on the steps of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Several pits in Asturias came out in support of a face worker prevented by a pithead doctor from taking sick leave because of an ankle injury.

By Thursday May 22nd the dock strike was clearly biting when dockers in Galicia opted to join it. A "state of emergency" was threatened in Tenerife (in the Canaries) because essential supplies were being held up and

BOSSSES ON THE ROCKS

The fairy tales of my youth have come alive! Who'd have thought I'd see the bosses locked out and a 'stay-in strike' on the British colony of Gibraltar.

Even the genie of the General Strike was almost out of the bottle in Gibraltar in May, this year. Only the last minute offer of the Gibraltar Government, which almost met the full demands of the Gibraltar dockyard strikers, put the stopper back before the whole of the Rock labourforce came out.

Duffers in Charge

Gross mismanagement has been a feature of the regime who runs the Gibraltar yard up to the strike and lockout of the bosses. This year: pay claims were ignored; complaint went uninvestigated; company accounts were misleading; mis-statements abounded; and funds of £28m from the British Government were looted.

It was like Wankers Incorporated!

Then the crunch came when it became known that the promised workers' pension fund had gone down the plughole as well.

At this point an overtime ban which soon became a strike turned ugly. And management, which was secretly planning to lockout the workers, were given an ultimatum deadline by the shopstewards to leave the dockyard.

With the yard in the hands of the workforce, demos took place outside the Chief Ministers' office.

Manager Sacked

In the days which followed pressure was put on the Gibraltar Government and Appledore, the Gibraltar parent company, to remove Abbott, the managing director at the Gibraltar yard.

Abbott was quickly flown from Gibraltar after he'd been locked out. And since then he has been disposed in a reorganisation of the company.

Meanwhile the British Government were refusing to release more funds promised as part of an overseas development package, until normal working resumed at the yard. Denis Thatcher himself is reported to have an interest in the Appledore company, a multinational concern.

This, together with the reported cutbacks in the British snipyards, made the position of the Gibraltar workforce look bleak.

General Strike Threat

Then two weeks into the strike, other sections of the TGWU (Gibraltar's main union) voted to come out on a one-day General Strike on May 19th. On past performance, because of the geographic isolation of the Rock, General Strikes lead to total paralysis of everyday life. In the 1972 General Strike, a union official told me, both water and electricity had been cut off, leaving only essential services supplied.

One union leader said he thought this point was not lost on the Gibraltar Government, the owners of the yard, which is leased to Gibraltar.

After a tense week; which saw a lock-out of management at the yard, a British managing director run out of town, and a General Strike-the ministers of the Gibraltar Government came up with an offer which met the union demands in full.

By agreeing to pay the difference between the union demands and the company offer the risk of a General Strike was removed. The workers got £9.75 across the board, £200 back pay to compensate for no rise last year, and a pension fund guarantee from the government.

So this tale even has a fairy Godmother.

There is a line in a Brecht play which runs: 'God help the land which needs heroes.'

The last thing I want to do is to pour cold water on the Gibraltar workers in their moment of success, but 'GOD HELP THE WORKERS WHO BELIEVE IN FAIRY GODMOTHERS!'

Those who look to the state for solutions, and see it as an institutionalised Fairy Godmother, almost always end up as victims.

All the Gibraltar Government has done, by waving its magic wand, is buy time with the tax-payer's money. The next time a crisis looms the state may just as easily become the Big Bad Wolf.

B.B.



1½ million kilos of bananas were in danger of perishing. A Civil Governor in Tenerife attempted to have the pickets prosecuted for intimidation. These bullies had just unloaded a cargo of medical supplies!

On the same day barricades were erected and set light to in Gijon by shipyard workers belonging to the threatened Cantabrica and Riero yards. The UGT refused to allow participation in this demonstration, because the elections were so close at hand.

Meanwhile in El Ferrol more than 6,000 metalworkers from the Bajon factory stopped work for 5 hours, approving in an assembly a plan of action involving partial and total strike action covering the election period.



Striking Spanish dockers roll out tyres to form a barricade at Gijon (Asturias) on May 23rd '86 as two mates prepare to fire a home-made grenade launcher at police.

107 year prison sentence!

Readers of DA will know that the CNT (National Confederation of Labour) is Spain's anarcho-syndicalist union, controlled not by full-timers but by assemblies of the rank and file. Faced with CNT growth the Spanish governments have traditionally turned to repression to frighten off potential members. They also try to tar the CNT with the terrorist brush, portraying them as mad anarchist bombers - in spite of their clear commitment to mass union action.

GROWTH IN VITORIA

The state never forgives and it certainly did not forgive the CNT in Vitoria where their section at Michelin won a series of virulent strikes in 1981. Forget the image of the cuddly rubber tyre man. Michelin is a tough ruthless employer.

When gunmen of unknown origin attacked the local manager, the CNT were instantly blamed, and in November 1984 six prominent CNT militants including Jose Manuel Collado, general secretary of the CNT in the Basque country, were arrested. All but one were released after the CNT raised a bail of some £40,000.

They were charged with membership of illegal "Anarchist" armed struggle organisations. Whilst in prison they were all beaten and tortured with electric shocks.

Franco's Fascist Spain: Felipe Gonzales' "Socialist" Spain - some things never change.

PRO PRESOS



LA LIBERTAD NO SE MENDIGA, SE CONQUISTA
107 YEARS



On 30th April 1986 the six unionists were condemned by the Spanish government to a total of 107 years in prison for a crime they never did. Just after their arrests a general strike was declared in Vitoria in protest. Large concerns like Rio Tinto Explosives and Michelin came to a standstill. The CNT is pledged to step up its campaign for the comrades' release, and has set up support groups all over Spain.

WHY THE CLAMPDOWN

Because of the CNT's growth in Vitoria and the Basque country, with sections in textiles, health, free schools, metals, commerce and construction; because it is the largest union amongst Vitoria's transport and cement workers, and because it organises 100% of refuse collectors, the CNT has been something of a success story.

So much so that Spain's police chief Martin Vila has been quoted as saying "I do not fear ETA and its bombs, but the confederal union card, which is a menace".

This is the reason why the so-called socialists of the Spanish government have never turned the millions of pounds worth of property confiscated by Franco from the union in 1939. And this is why unionists in Spain are locked up.

Letters of support and donations to:

Comite Pro-presos CNT de Vitoria, Sindicato Unico, C/Manuel Iradier 72-1º 12 Q Vitoria Gasteiz Spain.

RANK & FILE REVOLT IN THE 60s

THE BACKGROUND

The chief feature of labour disputes in the early 1960s was that they were mostly unofficial. More than 90% of all strikes were not officially backed by the unions involved.

These unofficial strikes would usually start on the shopfloor when the workers concerned would walk out, supported by their shop stewards. They were often small, local, shortlived and successful for the workers concerned.

The unions mostly employed elaborate procedures, so by the time they had completed the paperwork that made the strike official the dispute had usually been settled anyway. This saved the union from having to pay out any strike pay.

Faced with this mass of unofficial strikes, the Press and politicians would constantly call on the unions and the TUC to control their members. The TUC was asked to discipline unions, who were told to hold back their more militant members. Many union leaders could pose as being "socially responsible" and so collect their knighthoods, while at the same time pulling strings off-stage to use the unofficial strikers for their own political and industrial ends.

RANK & FILE 60S STYLE

Against this background, around September 1960 the direct actionists of the time decided to set up an Industrial Conference, with a view to bringing trade union militants together in a spirit of mutual aid.

Several organisations supported this move, including the Independent Labour Party; the Syndicalist Workers' Federation; the London Anarchist Group; the Workers' Party (which later merged with SWF); "Socialist Advance" League; London "News and Letters" Committee; and Socialism Reaffirmed (which later became the Solidarity Group).

In January 1961 an Industrial Conference was held and the National Rank and File Movement was launched. The idea was to give shop stewards and militant workers an organisation through which they might discuss common problems free from trade demarcations. Such a movement must, it was argued, be free from political controls and free from the influence of the union bosses. Shopfloor solidarity was seen as the first consideration.

The justification for the movement was spelt out: "In every major struggle the trade union bosses and Labour leaders side with the state and the bosses against the workers".

"The union officials are remote and sometimes not even elected by their members".

"The union officials are largely careerists".

"Decisions in the unions are often taken by central executives, often without consulting the membership."

"The increasing emergence of a bureaucratic junta of salaried officials with power to expel militant members within unions".

"The trend to 'Americanised' boss unions".

The Rank & File Movement's answer was that power should rest with the members, not the officials. And that there should be no central executive in the Movement.

THE MOVEMENT'S AIMS

1. To promote financial help to striking members.
2. To link up militants in different industries.
3. To make printing facilities available to workers in dispute.
4. To collate lists of addresses, and organise transport in all the main centres,

so that when disputes occur there is always back-up support.

5. To work for international support of stoppages.

6. To broadcast to other workers the demands of the strikers.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The National Rank & File Movement had members in engineering, the docks, printing, carpentry, the clerical trades, building, teaching and the professions.

It tried to fulfil a need created by the failure of the union bosses to back their members in shopfloor disputes. It wanted to spread support for stoppages. And it was worried about the blacklisting of militants and the witch-hunts against shop stewards which were taking place at the time.

In the two years of its existence it provided a platform where workers exchanged views and ideas about their problems.

How useful was it in strikes? In London, where most of its members were centred it intervened in disputes to some effect. At John Brown Land Boilers, where some workers had been locked out in June 1961, it provided support with publicity and finance. Earlier, in March the same year, it similarly backed the striking electricians at Telemeters.

After the London Industrial conference in January 1961, Brian Behan, brother of the novelist, writing in "Workers' Voice" called for a movement "based on the needs of the working class". He asked, "Can we get meetings in all the other centres? Can we go right into the direct action wing of the CND? Can we prepare now for

Rank & File contingents to march next May Day and at Aldermarston? Can we open our movement's membership on the basis of the solidarity demands of our manifesto?"

On May Day 1961, for the first time, a march was organised by the Rank & Filers independently of the Labour Party. Later that day 800 people attended a meeting addressed by Behan himself.

In the peace movement the direct actionists continued to play an active role, and some ex-members of the Rank & File Movement were in the "Spies for Peace" exposure, which shook the Government in April 1963.

In industry, the movement tried to set up liaison committees in the docks and engineering. In printing, Bill Christopher of the SWF gained a place on the Printworkers' Rank & File Forum. In building, Behan tried to co-ordinate workers at a number of construction sites in London, and workers at some power stations were contacted.

While all this was going on the Press, particularly the Sunday Telegraph, was having a go at the movement. Attempts were made to tar it with the Marxist brush.

su A DEAD HORSE

Alas, changing British society often seems, to those who try, like flogging a dead horse. The National Rank & File Movement flowered briefly, sprouted offshoots in places like Manchester, where the Industrial Action Movement produced a forum for industrial libertarians, then withered as anarchist activity began to influence the peace movement.

From the first it had attracted victimisation from unions and bosses alike.

Behan was expelled from his union because he publically criticised its sellout of workers at Shell Mex House, Waterloo.

In Glasgow, in 1962, another Rank & Filer was disciplined by his union for giving out leaflets which were said to be anti-union.

At Bolton, I was threatened with expulsion from the then Communist-controlled electricians' union (ETU) in 1961, for editing a rank-and-file paper for engineering apprentices. Later, during the engineering apprentices' strike of 1964, the employers' body the Economic League circularised their members, implicating myself and Jim Pinkerton, an ex-secretary of the SWF, in the strike.

Further grounds for the decline of the Rank & File Movement can be found in the distracting effect of the rise of CND and the Committee of 100 in the early 1960s. "Freedom" called 1961 the "Year of the People on the Streets", and direct action was centred in sit-downs in the streets against the Bomb.

Finally the Rank & File Movement failed to take off for the same reason that most radical movements founder in Britain. It fulfilled a negative need, but lacked a positive program which could unite. It could condemn the union and party hacks, yet it had no constructive scheme to rally mass support.

In this it was no better than the TUC, which has always been a disunited hotch-potch of interest groups.

What is the origin of this deep disunity which left the Rank & File Movement almost stillborn, and bedevils the TUC to this day?

Let me say this: in 1961 I was an apprentice maintenance electrician. I didn't know much but what I knew from stepping into the electricians' shop was that there were deep tribal distinctions between maintenance sparks and contracting electricians in the building trade. But if there were and are rivalries within trades, how much bigger must be the conflict between trades and skills. In textiles for instance between spinners and carders, or in the print trade between the NGA chapels and

DO IT YOURSELF

It is as if the British working class, pushed off the land by the enclosures, left their rural villages in the nineteenth century, only to form industrial villages within the factories.

Lean on any workbench, survey any shopfloor. You'll see tribes of tradesmen vigorously looking after their own short-term self-interests — the descendants of the ancient guilds. And this is so of shopfloor England even where the natives are not in a trade, or not men — the instincts are the same: the craft culture prevails everywhere.

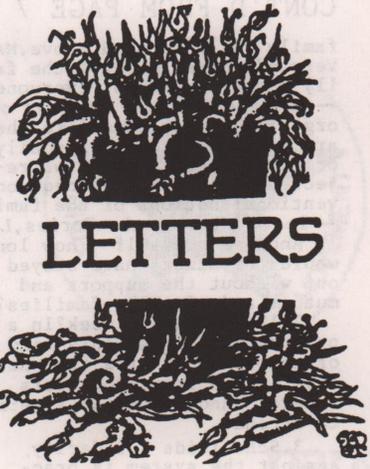
Only middle-class Marxists can go on about working-class unity. The workers know better.

In the 1960 "boom years" the workers went in for leapfrogging on wages, striking for an hour more than their mates in another department. Today they often negotiate their mates down the road. Thus unofficial strikes characterised the 1960s in the same way that dole queues do the 1980s.

Solidarity can never be imposed from above. Hence the lesson of the Rank & File Movement in 1962, as the lesson of the TUC today, is that to improve society, change must come from the bottom. Any movement for renewal must be at the grass roots, a do-it-yourself movement committed to direct action.

B.B.





LETTERS

LAST ISSUE'S ARTICLES ON EDUCATION BROUGHT IN A GREAT MANY LETTERS IN RESPONSE. WE CAN PRINT ONLY A SELECTION, TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF REPLY.

Dear Comrades,
I enjoyed the article "Education: The Liberal Lie" in DA 31.

My own experience of school was not a happy one and although I have no children of my own, talking to my 8 year old niece and some of her school friends on the subject it seems that the situation has not improved much, if at all.

School, like all other institutions, cannot tolerate individuality, which is seen as a threat to its own authority. So children find their sense of wonder and uniqueness remorselessly crushed.

As a follow-up to the article, readers may be interested to know that an organisation exists to advise parents/guardians on how to go about withdrawing children from school and educating them at home. The address is:

Education Otherwise,
25 Common Lane,
Hemmingford,
Abbots,
Cambs TE 18 9 AN

Yours in solidarity,
Alex Shepherd,
Edinburgh DAM.

Dear Direct Action,

I like learning at home because it occurs to me that teachers must be silly: I have seen my friend's reading - he is in the top class and yet so easy is his work!

At my dance class the teachers talk very patronising and it gets on my nerves.

From
LS,
Hull.

Dear Comrades,

I was appalled to read in your article that home is a "sane environment". There is nothing sane about the nuclear family, where sexual stereotyping is most effectively learned and where communal living and mutual aid are most clearly denied. Home is a crazy world where parents, more usually mothers, battle alone with the impossible task of bringing up children without support.

Ghettoising children in schools is not half as damaging as leaving them to absorb the weaknesses and insecurities of, at most, two people passing on their limited knowledge and experience and living the hierarchy of children obey mother who obeys father who is a wage slave. At least, a dozen teachers have varying weaknesses and virtues and are only seen for an hour or two a week and there is always the solidarity of all the other kids joining in sabotage of their authority.

Anyone who has dealings with children knows this.
Liz Verran,
London SW 20.

Dear Comrades,

I found the articles on education very worrying.

They argue that teachers by nature are middle class and therefore imply that they cannot be revolutionaries. The first article says teachers

are instruments of social control like the gutter press. In this case, why is the writer supporting the printers?

The other point is that the "upwardly mobile image" prevents "revolutionary consciousness". Is s/he really arguing that if you work in a "Profession" you are not really working class?

To artificially protect children from capitalism and repression strikes me as a defeatist, cop-out argument; aren't they going to enter just as much a social control mechanism when/if they get a job anyway?

Is it right to expect parents to educate at home? Who pays for all the books? What about the handicapped child? Should parents give up their lives, and pay for all the recourses as well?

I find it anti-syndicalist to suggest that being on the dole is "not so bad because we can spend our time with the kids".

Yours
John,
Newcastle DAM.

Dear Comrades,

I don't think we can get anywhere by simply deriding teachers and saying they are all "soft cops". Some teachers do try to help children learn without reinforcing social control. I know a teacher who teaches remedial children in a secondary school. She does it because she cares; she is never going to get promotion and she doesn't want it. The children she works with are those which the system has little or no use for and so are left neglected while resources are concentrated on the brighter kids.

School is just one of many influences on children's lives. What should we do about the influence of television, other children, etc? We cannot keep our children cocooned away from everything we consider a bad influence.

Teaching children at home may be a way out for a small minority, but due to the way society is run, it cannot be for the majority of the working class.

Teaching children to read is more difficult than teaching them to speak; it takes time and patience that many people have not got.

Yours in hope & solidarity,
Steve Turner,
Manchester.

AR seems to suggest that those (like myself) who work within the school system can do nothing to challenge or subvert its repressive structure or ideology and that we are deluding ourselves if we try.

Teachers can and frequently do resist the bullshit they are expected to impose on children. They do it openly or subversively depending upon their situation, ie up to the point where they can still "survive". Many can and do encourage freedom within their own relations with children and in doing so challenge the vertical nature of power in schools. They promote (though can never achieve) a vision of an alternative form of education.

It is true that teachers cannot fundamentally alter the authoritarian nature of schools. Effective experiments are soon stifled. The few who attempt to live up to their principles are either thrown out, bought off or remain isolated.

But libertarian teachers are not the ones at fault. Far better that children are "confused" by alternative styles than they are faced by the grey conformity some schools represent. Far better that teachers at the base try to confront the system than simply act straight or opt out.

The efforts of teachers at the bottom of the ladder cannot be so contemptuously dismissed.
RB,
Bolton.

AR replies: Several points emerge from the above critical letters. To deal with them one by one:

1. Neither article said anything in favour of the "nuclear

CONT'D PAGE 8

Announcing...

READ THE SYNDICALIST
Issue no 6 OUT NOW
Price 20p from:
TRS,
c/o 62, Thornton Street,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

ANARCHISM IN ACTION: THE SPANISH REVOLUTION. Tower Hamlets DAM, price £1000. A well-produced pamphlet outlining the CNT's achievements during the revolution. Some fine photographs; marred by the over-optimistic and inaccurate picture given of the CNT-AIT in the 1980s.

HULL SYNDICALIST LISTS

A new organisation for the propagation of syndicalism in the HULL area.

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HULL

CONT'D FROM PAGE 2

— but organisation is the key.

Together we can demand an end to the destruction of our habitat. We can pressure the bosses into safer, cleaner industrial practices and we can work for their eventual overthrow, by the intelligent organisation of our industrial strength.

What kind of environment would syndicalists like to see for the society of the future? Certainly not the grim, regimented world of the statist left, where cleanliness and efficiency would be dictated by some all-powerful central body. Nor do we share the now rather discredited dream of self-sufficient hamlets, complete rejection of cities and factories and the abandonment of all technology.

We believe that complete control by workers and the community of the means of production would result in the victory of human intelligence, ingenuity and good sense. Up to now it is workers who have paid the price — in dirt, noise, sickness and death — for many of the products of technology. Who else is so well-qualified to judge which of them are worth that price?

AR

CONT'D FROM PAGE 4

At work, demand decent canteen facilities, with a good variety of HEALTHY food. Insist on a choice instead of endless greasy bacon sandwiches and chips.

If you work in the food industry, BE A LOUDMOUTH. Tell people you know about the dirt, the abuses, the adulteration. Write and tell DA what goes on and we'll print your letters.

Don't let the bosses poison you and your family!

AR

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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family" as described above. Ms Verran's experience of the family hierarchy is not everyone's — there are plenty of ways of organising your home life that are not exploitative, sexually or otherwise. It's time we rejected such old-fashioned, conventional notions of the family — leave them to the Tories, Liz!

And ask yourself — how long would the miners have stayed out without the support and mutual aid of their families?

2. 12 teachers a week? In a primary school? The only kind of school in my area that has such lavish provision costs several hundred pounds a term to attend.

3. Schoolkids solidarity against the system is practically non-existent, except in St Trinian's films, whatever the

WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?



WHOEVER LAYS THEIR HAND ON ME... "School Stopper's Handbook" says. The system just isn't that stupid: one of its main functions is to root out such impulses.

4. The economics of refusing school are NOT prohibitive. The time spent teaching at home is a lot less than the time spent at school, for one thing, because it is simply more efficient. Books etc can often be borrowed from libraries or shared with others; many educational experiences are free if you seek them out. Skills are often gladly shared by people outside the immediate family too. As a single parent on about 1/3 the average wage, I know what I'm talking about: we live bloody well (without TV, telephone or car, which are less important to me than my kids' well-being), and so can others.

5. Can "professionals" be revolutionaries? Well, I'd have thought the whole concept of "Professional" status, jealously guarded by teachers, lawyers, doctors, etc, and implying a superior social standing, militates against it. A revolutionary consciousness (which is obviously not confined to blue-collar workers) must explicitly include a belief in the unity of all workers' interests against those of all bosses. A professional consciousness explicitly denies this.

6. Protecting our kids. I like mine to be free to try, to taste, to explore, but not to be free to collide with motor cars, eat toilet cleaners, or fall off cliffs, because one consequence of the latter is a drastic reduction of all subsequent liberties. The State saturates our total environment with propaganda, which children must learn to question. 30 hours a week of this at school is too strong a dose for a small child to cope with: no-one is there to remind them to be cautious.

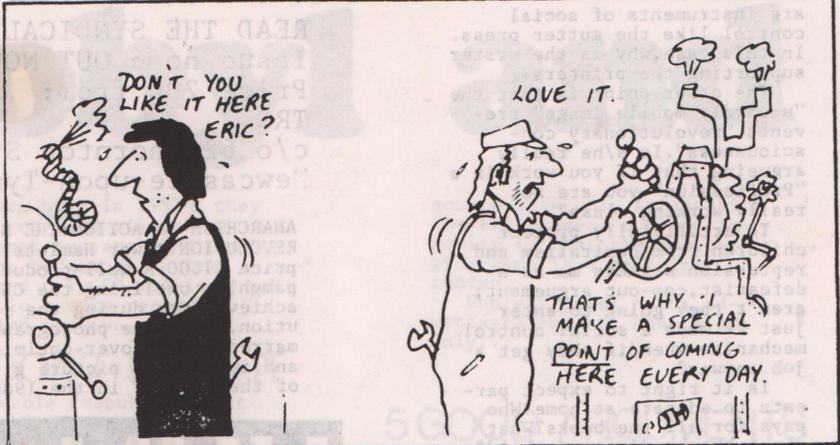
WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?



... IS A USURPER AND A TYRANT;

7. The "soft cops". I stick to my argument that to sweeten a poisonous pill is to do harm. Teach children that repressive institutions are not so bad because there is room in them for "caring individuals"; teach them that what the teacher is asked to say is "bullshit", but the fact that he is in control of them is not; teach them that a safe challenge to the "vertical nature of power" is enough. You could also teach them to vote Labour, because it's safe, cheap and effortless, and will reform a system which is not fundamentally evil, just in need of a little alteration here and there.

Anarcho-syndicalism is about different things.



MORRIS' DISPUTE

Striking workers and apprentices at Morris' Furniture Factory in Cowcaddens, Glasgow have been in dispute to gain a 39 hour week for a year. At Easter, the Strike Committee extended their action to

lobbying working class people using a number of stores selling Morris' products, including Goldbergs. Active support has come from a number of Support Committees in associated firms such as Blindcraft and further afield.

DIRECT ACTION

Donaldson's Filters

Twelve members of the T&GWU have been sacked by their firm Donaldson Filter Components, after striking to defend two colleagues who had been victimised ten days before.

Donaldson is a multinational based in the US. When one of its French plants tried to unionise the company closed it down and moved to England where it hoped to find a more pliant workforce.

At the Hull plant, most of the workers were employed on fixed-term temporary contracts. These can be for anything from a few weeks to THREE YEARS. They have been known to terminate just before a public holiday, so that the company can save on holiday pay!

To boost the workers' morale the company suggested a new strip for the football team — but were mean enough to demand that it should be paid for out of the annual pay rise!

When workers began to get fed up with this treatment, and poor standards of safety in the factory, the firm's response was to set up a works consultative committee — only to close it down when it demanded real action on the workers' grievances.

At last the full-time workers took the lead in trying to organise the workforce in the T&G. At the first signs of success the company sacked the two "ringleaders". At the beginning of May the rest of the full-time workers struck in their support.

The firm is using all kinds of tricks to beat the strikers, including flying in two scabs FROM THE USA! This backfired when, unfamiliar with British equipment, one of them wrecked an expensive machine. Management

SILENTNIGHT BEDS

The Silentnight workers are continuing their year-long struggle. They are still campaigning to get Silentnight goods backed in shops, especially the Co-op who take about 30% of the output. Has pressure been applied to YOUR Local Co-op?

Their speakers are willing to attend meetings on request (telephone Terry Bennet on 0282 603055 or Heather

Smith on 0282 813 662).

On a visit to Hull in June the strikers donated £80 from their strike fund to help workers on strike at Donaldson's Filters (see above). Follow the example set by this act of solidarity: send donations to: Mrs A King, 10 Rainhill Cres, Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancs.

They need YOUR help now. Send donations and messages of support to: Donaldson's Strikers, c/o Barry May, Bevin House, Hull.

ANTIQUE ROADSHOW

Police, landowners and politicians alike attacked the New Forest travellers (tagged hippies and a so-called peace convoy by the media) with frenzied fear-inspired zeal.

The Home Secretary called them 'medieval brigands'; the chief constable of Hampshire described them as anarchists and anarchists of the worst kind' and wealthy farmers took the law into their own hands and formed vigilante squads to run the travellers out of town, Clint Eastwood style.

The Fleet Street tabloids screamed about the threat posed to civilised life by the convoy. The members were dole-scroungers who flouted the law and travelled around in an 'antique road show', they claimed.

But what most articles missed was that what the travellers were doing was little more than following the guidelines for success laid down by Britain's premier, Margaret Thatcher. Although at times the festival people sign on the dole, as is their right, during other parts of the year, many of them are self-employed traders and craftsmen and women.

Like Thatcher's ideal small businessmen, they show initiative and work hard at festivals. And like an ideal member of the Thatcher jobless, they travel the length and breadth of the country looking for work, at festivals.

However, unlike the average Tory-model small business, the convoy faces some extraordinary problems, like constant police harassment, perverse interpretation of the laws of the land by High Court Judges, and legislation changes designed to destroy their livelihoods.

In truth, the festival people aren't violent revolutionaries or villains. They are simply men, women, and children who have chosen to live their lives as they want, trading, travelling and making goods. And why not? Their crime in the eyes of the state is purely one of not suffering enough in Thatcher's Britain because of their non-conformity and initiative.

CONT'D FROM FRONT PAGE

The South African workers, black and white, must organise to smash apartheid. But this is not enough — a free South Africa will not result from the hijacking of the peoples' struggle by power-seeking politicians. If the labour movement is not on its guard against them the future looks bleak indeed.

NOTE OUR NEW ADDRESS

AS FROM JUNE 25th 1986 DIRECT ACTION WILL NO LONGER BE PRODUCED FROM HULL. ITS NEW ADDRESS WILL BE: c/o 223 GREENWOOD ROAD BENCHILL MANCHESTER.



SPAIN 1936

THE



ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST REVOLUTION

SPAIN 1936 THE GREATEST REVOLUTION

It is 50 years since the Spanish workers laid down their work tools and took up what weapons they could beg or steal to fight Franco's fascist uprising

Anarcho-syndicalists have sometimes been criticised as being backwards looking living in the glorious past of the Spanish Revolution.

It is unhealthy to dwell on past successes and failures but it is vital to study working-class struggles of the past SO WE MAY LEARN NOT TO MAKE THE SAME MISTAKES TWICE. D.A. celebrates Spain 1936 and proclaims it the Greatest Revolution because it was the only Revolution to successfully all be it briefly supplant the state with the workers' own organisations-the unions.

Whilst the Marxist labour movements of Europe in the 1930s lay down and surrendered without a shot to fascism. The CNT-Spain's libertarian workers' movement fought to the death.

Spain was the greatest Revolution because it was fought for not by a tiny party elite but with the blood and sweat of 2 million men and women represented by the CNT-a revolutionary union fighting for anarchism.

THE SPANISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

The CNT (National Confederation of Labour) was perhaps the most combative union ever formed. Its aim was not merely defensive, unlike the unions in Britain today, but offensive: it aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the state, by way of a successful general strike.



The CNT wished to replace the state with a classless society organised around agricultural and industrial collectives, where all decisions were made by the union membership. In other words, an anarchist society.

The CNT was formed in 1910 after 40 years of anarchist agitation and union organisation. It differed from the UGT (the Socialist trade union) in that:

1. It had no full-time officials; all tasks were carried out by the members.
2. It would not participate in state institutions (unlike the Socialists who joined the government of military dictator primo de Rivera in the 1920s).
3. It was explicitly revolutionary and won strikes by direct action.

THE CNT— THE EARLY YEARS

From its first congress in 1911, the CNT, remained underground until 1914. In 1916 together with the UGT (a reformist socialist union) it called for a General Strike against shortages of food. In 1918 it began re-organising itself in industry-wide unions i.e. a single union for each industry (One Union).

By 1919 the CNT could claim 700,000 members having managed to extend its influence in areas such as Galicia, where previously it had been very weak and far less numerous than its socialist rivals the UGT.

In Catalonia, Aragon, and other centres of industry in the north of Spain strike followed strike. The most important of these was that directed against the Canadian Company. This Canadian Company was building a large dam which would have made possible the building of a big electricity generating station.

The Canadian Company dismissed a number of workers and fellow workers came out in solidarity. Soon the strike had spread throughout the province and before long to three other Catalan provinces. There had never been a General Strike more uncompromising or more impressive. Workshops, factories, even communications came to a halt. Cafés, hotels, and restaurants were closed. At night Barcelona had a complete blackout. Only doctors could circulate freely. The strike lasted from February 5th to March 20th 1919.

And then the repression began. Militant workers were arrested as subversives or a threat to public order. The prisons were bursting. Workers were imprisoned in arenas even boats in the outer harbour. Many were exiled. Towards the end of 1919 an employers' lockout took place lasting 7 weeks with the aim of smashing the CNT. It weakened but failed to destroy the movement.

During the years 1920-22 the CNT heroically resisted the repression let loose by Martinez Anido, the despotic governor of Barcelona. Its militants were hunted through the streets

of the capital and shot down like animals.

When primo de Rivera came to power in 1923 the CNT were suppressed. Anarchist periodicals were largely banned, union offices were closed, and 200 leading militants were arrested.

Despite yet another attack by the state the union movement survived-members paid their dues meeting in fields

The period 1923-36 was one of rapid expansion for the CNT becoming a major force in the Spanish working-class. By 1936 the union had about 2 million members.

One of the most important developments in the CNT was the founding of the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation). It was formed to counter strands of thinking in the CNT which favoured slowly building up the union's strength till it was strong enough to begin the revolution. The FAI, which in the words of Alexander Schapiro, IWA Secretary, had failed to evolve away from 19th century anarchism, believed in immediate revolution.

In 1931 a Republic was declared. Many workers had high hopes that it could bring about significant reform, it could not.

During the 1930s the FAI had been capturing prominent positions within the CNT. They embarked on three attempts to overthrow the Spanish state. But the Spanish workers were not ready. In 1931 and twice in 1933 the FAI ordered the unions out onto the streets. The result-hard defeats and at Casas Viejas in Andalusia massacre when the Civil Guards shot down captured anarch-syndicalists peasants. These futile uprisings weakened the CNT, but also discredited the Republic who crushed them mercilessly.

As strike after strike was launched by the CNT the army became more and more restive. General Franco, a reactionary officer, began to plan his coup

CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT

On July 19th 1936 the Spanish military staged a coup and so began a civil war which dragged on for 3 years and from which Franco eventually emerged victorious.

The Army had traditionally taken an active political role rather than being a tool assuming it had the right to take action directly. In fact between 1814 and 1923 there 43 military coups or 'pronunciamientos'.

Since the proclamation of a republic in April 1931 the traditional sources of power and authority in Spain-the Army, the Church, the landowning classes-were increasingly alarmed by the breakdown in law and order, the imminent threat of revolution, and the various attacks made by the Second Republic. The Army lost its special legal status and officers were given the choice of swearing allegiance to the republic or retiring on full pay. Article 26 of the constitution separated Church and State. The programme of agrarian reform though doing absolutely nothing to relieve the misery of the peasants or to solve the land problem still managed to alienate the land-owning classes.

As early as August 1932 General Jose Sanjuro made an unsuccessful attempt at a coup

The Popular Front-a left coalition-were returned to power



in February 1936. In March preliminary meetings were held by Generals Godet, Franco, Mola, and Varela with a view to carrying out a military coup.

When the military coup took place the Republican government totally unprepared had virtually broken down. Consequently no official resistance could be offered. Running around in circles making energetic speeches the Ministers were powerless. The Officer corps, most of the artillery and the air force had gone over to the mutineers; what remained of the Army lacked any unity and hesitated.

In Barcelona the CNT-FAI successfully defeated the nationalists and within 33 hours the city was under workers' control

In Madrid workers surrounded the barracks forcing General Fanjul and his troops to surrender. General Mola's forces failed to reach the capital.

Resistance was in the streets and for that very reason the government was not in command of it. The defeat of the nationalists in Madrid and Barcelona handed power to the workers Throughout Republican Spain, the

Oviedo and Gijon. The Republican government brought in Generals Godet and Franco. The insurgence was brutally crushed.

With the nationalists defeated, the Republican government dissolved, nothing stood in the way and in the euphoria of victory a social revolution took place.

AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

The people of the towns and villages held meetings and agreed to expropriate the land of the fascist landowners, most of whom had fled. Taking possession of land, tools and machinery, consumption and production were collectivised. The collective's main task was the material survival of its members. The produce of the fields was brought to a central warehouse, often the church. Scarce goods were rationed while there was unlimited distribution of those in abundance. Surplus could be used to trade with other collectives.

The form and running of the



needed to expropriate the land of the fascist landowners. The CNT were in the majority and there was no resistance to collectivisation.

Stores were not collectivised and small shopkeepers were allowed to operate as in the past. Transport was collectivised. Electricity and water were provided free of charge.

The priest fled the church and it subsequently became the warehouse. Each member of the collective was issued with a book of vouchers. Nothing could be obtained with money, only vouchers.

There were 500 agricultural workers who worked the farms. One produced 36,000 kilos of olive oil every year besides wine, wheat, and oats. Every Sunday the members of the collective were given a free meal in the collective cafe.

Initially the collective had no cows. However in June 1937 they were able to buy 5 dairy cows and they built a barn for them. The collective also managed to obtain cloth from the city in exchange for surplus produce of the collective.

The people of Alcaniz were never very rich but were able to throw off the chains of oppression and exploitation happy in the knowledge that equality and justice prevailed.

There were 400 collectives in Aragon, 900 in the Levante, 300 in Castile, and many others in Andalusia, Asturias and Catalonia. Here the old system of repression gave way to a new social order. No longer 'a good day's pay for a good day's work' but 'from each according to their ability to each according to their needs!'

INDUSTRIAL COLLECTIVES

The main difference between the agricultural collectives and the industrial collectives was that whereas in the former both production and consumption were collectivised, in the latter production was collectivised while consumption remained individual. Hence there existed a workers' self-management which straddled capitalism and socialism.

Spain's industry was based in Catalonia-the stronghold of the CNT. Workers' committees were elected to run industry, composed of workers and technical experts. Public services-gas, water, electricity, and transport-were collectivised. On the day of the nationalist insurgence a handful of militants met to guarantee the continuation of these services. To tackle this task works committees were set up as well as a central liaison committee between the CNT and the UGT. The take-over from the bosses occurred at the end of August 1936. During the transitional period the workers continued production with the existing capitalist organisation without attempting expropriation. Not only did the workers take over the organisation of work to be done from the capitalists, but they assumed the responsibilities that the latter had previously undertaken i.e. all financial commitments and debts.

Water, gas and electricity continued to be supplied right to the end of the war. Water, especially drinking water, the supply of which required a large and costly organisation.

General efficiency and safety in industry were improved and the working week shortened. Very often factories were turned towards arms production. Nobody hesitated to work extra hours to further the war effort.

On the Trams

The achievements of collectivisation in Barcelona were many. Take for example the tramways. Out of the 7,000 workers 6,500 were members of the CNT. Because of the street battles all transport had been brought to a halt. The transport syndicate (as unions of the CNT were known) appointed a commission of seven to occupy the administrative offices while others inspected the tracks and drew up a plan of repair work that needed to be done. Five days after the fighting stopped 700 tramcars, instead of the usual 600, all painted in the black and red colours of the CNT, were operating on the streets of Barcelona.



First bus built under collectivisation by CNT workers

With the profit motive gone, the trams had belonged to a Belgian company before the workers took over, safety became more important and the number of accidents was reduced. Fares were lowered and services improved. In 1936, 183,543,516 passengers were carried. In 1937 this had gone up by 50 million. The trams were running so efficiently that the workers were able to give money to other sections of urban transport. Wages were equalised for all workers and increased over the previous rates. For the first time free medical care was provided for the workforce.

As well as giving a more efficient service the workers found time to produce rockets and howitzers for the war effort. They worked overtime and Sundays to do their share for the anti-fascist struggle. To further underline the fact that getting rid of the bosses and rulers would not lead to a breakdown of order it can be pointed out that in the three years of collectivisation there were only six cases of workers stealing from the workshops.

established authorities were swept aside. A social revolution was born in the cities and in the countryside, in industry and in agriculture.

During the years between the declaration of the Republic in 1931 and the outbreak of civil war in 1936 there were a number of occasions when workers attempted to set up insurrectional communes. (A very important factor behind the military's decision to stage a coup)

This took a general pattern-the local CNT took over the town; money was abolished; the archives were burnt; the Civil Guard were disbanded and disbanded. In January 1932 such an attempt was made in the Upper Llogregat Valley in Catalonia only to be suppressed after five days resulting in the deportation of two prominent anarchists-Buenaventura Durrutti and Francisco Ascaso.

For two weeks in October 1934 the mining districts of Asturias were under the control of workers' committees. Fighting broke out between the government troops and the miners in

collectives varied throughout the country. People were free to leave or join as they pleased. Often individualists lived alongside collectivists.

Usually the general assembly of the collective-composed of all the members of the collective-elected an administrative council. The general assembly made all the decisions and the administrative council carried them out. The members were subject to instant recall and limited terms of office.

Collectivism was most widespread in the Aragon where its most fervent supporters were the CNT and the anarchists. One example is Alcaniz.

ALCANIZ- ANARCHISM IN ACTION

Since there were only a handful of fascists here no fighting took place and on July 19th the people of Alcaniz agr-

WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTION

Gains were also made by women. In relation to their role during the Civil War observers have pointed out that they played a full part in the anti-fascist resistance. They were present everywhere — on committees, in the militias, in the front line. In the early battles of the war women fought alongside men as a matter of course. It was not merely a case of women filling in for men who were away at the front. (Which is usually the case in wartime. When the war is over and women are no longer needed in the labour force, they are pushed back into the home).

They were in the militias and fought alongside the men as equals. They were organising the collectives and taking up the fight against the sexist attitudes of the past which have no place in any real revolution.

The Anarchist womens organisation, Mujeres Libres (Free Women), had 30,000 members. It had been active before the Civil War organising women workers and distributing information on contraception. During the war abortion was legalised in the "republican zone". Centres were opened for women, including unmarried mothers and prostitutes.

From all accounts there truly were changes in attitudes towards women. One woman participant in the Civil War has said "it was like being brothers and sisters. It had always annoyed me that men in this country didn't consider women as beings with full human rights. But now there was this big change. I believe it arose spontaneously out of the revolutionary movement...."

"Margorita Balaguer quoted in "Blood of Spain"



WHY THE REVOLUTION FAILED

Why did the revolution fail? With 2 million members how did the CNT end up back peddling on the revolution till the Communists controlled the Republic?

SPAIN'S ISOLATION

Syndicalists believe that for a revolution to succeed it must spread beyond national confines this could not happen in 1936. In France the unions were no longer revolutionary but controlled by the Communists.

Throughout Europe the strong Syndicalist movement of the 1920s had gone down fighting to fascism in Germany, Italy, and Portugal. The Spanish workers were isolated surrounded by a labour movement either drugged by the Marxists or smashed by the Fascists. Any future revolution depends on co-ordinated international action.

FRANCO'S FRIENDS

In contrast Franco received massive military aid from Hitler and Mussolini, including a whole German airforce corps and tens of thousands of Italian troops.

The Republic received ancient Russian equipment in the shape of 19th century rifles and military advisers whose main interest was the suppression of the Syndicalist forces in Spain

THE COMMUNISTS

The Communist Party in Republican Spain and Catalonia became a dustbin for the Spanish middle-classes. It swelled to 40,000 members in 1936—police-men shopkeepers, and professionals. They came to control the state apparatus in the Republican zone and by 1937 started attacking collectives in industry and agriculture. In May 1937 the CNT rank-and-file rose against the Communists only to be ordered in the name of a false unity to go back to work by FAIistas like Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny. From this we learn that come a revolution the Marxist left must be ruthlessly crushed if the revolution is to survive.

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

Not just the romantic crusaders against fascism as commonly portrayed but a well-armed (unlike the weapon-starved CNT militia) police force used to great effect by the Communists to attack the agrarian collectives.

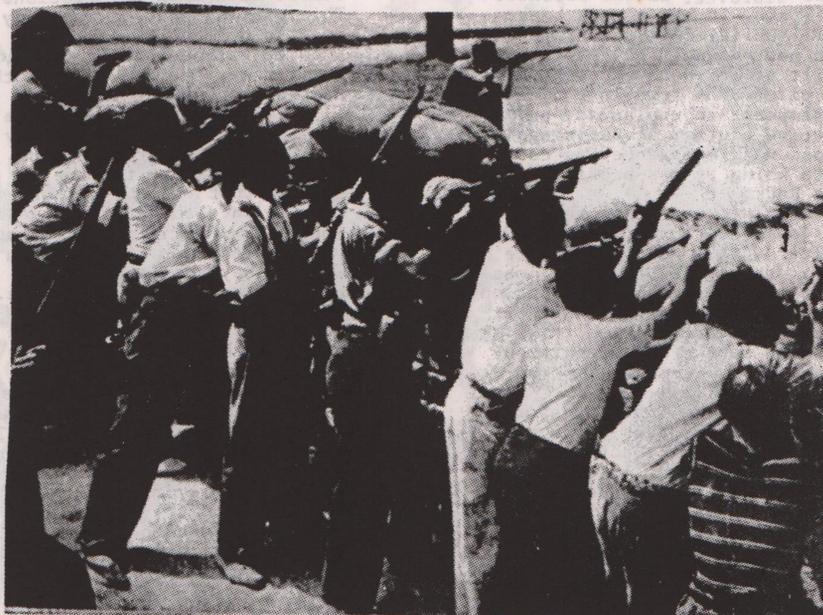
THE FAI

A conservative Spanish newspaper of the early 1930s ABC once portrayed the CNT as a lion led by a donkey marked FAI—this was a fair comment. The FAI organized coup attempts in the 1930s which discouraged many workers from joining the CNT. Thus in certain parts of the Republican sector during the Civil War the CNT were in a minority. The FAI behaved very much as a political party seeking to capture independent positions in the CNT instead of ensuring a libertarian consciousness in the rank-and file. Thus when the FAI joined the Spanish Government in 1936 they were trusted not recalled. The lesson is that libertarian ideas must permeate the entire rank-and-file of a revolutionary union not just be held by a ruling elite.

C.N.T._F.A.I.

COLLABORATION

'But the CNT joined the government' this was the trotskyist criticism. In Autumn 1936 the CNT joined the Republican Government—a move heavily condemned by the IWA and Syndicalist press abroad. Faced with receiving no arms unless they collaborated faced with the prospect of a



Workers in arms in Spain, 1936. Fighting to replace capitalist exploitation with workers management of the economy, not to defend the pro-capitalist Republican government.

Civil War within the Civil War the CNT accepted. It was a grave mistake they did not get the promised arms. The Communist Commander Lister attacked the collectives anyway.

But if the CNT had taken on the Communists the Fascists would have passed through the gaps in the front. As one CNT veteran told me 'we did not choose to have the Revolution Franco did that, we went as far as was possible. For the reasons outlined elsewhere this is probably so. The collectives and Militia show that the Anarcho-syndicalist model of revolution can work.

MILITARIZATION

All the victories of the Spanish Civil War were won by the militias which were organised through the unions. Although starved by the state of weapons the Militias revolution ary fervour and organisation (elected officers, self-discipline not military discipline) meant they made real gains. The Militias halted the initial uprising, won the siege of Madrid won the battle of Teruel. The Communists insisted on their militarisation. Women were banned from the front, and career officers made their return. The military situation declined.

For further reading:

- With The Peasants of Aragon Augustin Souchy Bauer Cienfuegos Press 1982.
- Collectives In The Spanish Revolution Gaston Leval Freedom Press 1975.
- Vision On Fire Emma Goldman On The Spanish Revolution—Ed. David Porter Commonground Press 1983.
- Towards A Fresh Revolution The Friends Of Durrutti Cienfuegos Press 1978.

50 YEARS ON

The victory of Franco brought a brutal and bloody wave of repression of the Spanish working class. Franco had more people killed after the Civil War than had died during it. One in ten workers in each factory were taken out and shot while thousands ended up in concentration camps and prisons.

Veterans of the Civil War and members of the CNT waged a guerilla war against the fascist regime from 1945 onwards. The CNT existed as an organisation in exile in France, though groups of anarcho-syndicalists continued to work underground.

Franco died in 1975 after 36 years of rule. The CNT reappeared and organised a wave of strikes and demonstrations during 1978-79 voicing the grievances of the last thirty years.

Since then the CNT has split—a tragedy for the anarcho-syndicalist movement. The CNT-U favours a more experimental approach while the CNT-AIT is more dogmatic.



SPAIN 1986 a travelogue



More than 20 years separated this tour from my first visit to Spain in 1963. At that time I was working with the Juventudes Libertarias (FIJL) - photographing the slums and shanty towns of Barcelona; filing reports for 'Nueva Senda' (FIJL in exile) and Direct Action (SWF); penetrating the Falange trade union in Alicante; and re-establishing FIJL contact with libertarian militants in Andalucia.

That was a time when a shanty town stood on the banks of the sewer at Barceloneta when encampments built like hen-coops dotted the far slopes of Montjuic not far from Barcelona's fashionable Ramblas; when bosses in the building trade couldn't pay you on pay-day; pay day was always 'manana'; and when the poor used to break the law and beg on the sly.

such a village, as much as by its ample crops of almonds, beans, grapes and corn. And the key to the wealth lies in the water which flows from a fountain in the village square.

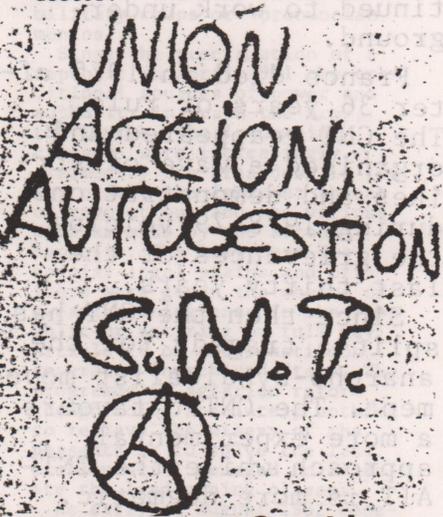
Everyone talks of 'Don Gerardo'-Gerald Brenan, the writer and historian, much respected by the anarchists for his fair treatment of the CNT and libertarian movements, who for a time made his home in Yegen. An old woman we met, who claims to be the daughter of one of 'Don Gerardo's' house keepers, was not so much interested in his academic accomplishments as that he had put a 15 year old village girl in the family way when he was a young man. Worse still, in her view, he'd married her into money and moved the child to England where she never saw her mother.

Outside of Yegen many of the



FASCISM/SOCIALISM

From Fascism of the sixties to Socialism of the eighties; now the beggars beg freely; the shanty towns survive; and of the 2 1/2m to 3m jobless in Spain most get no benefits and some even lack the right to see a doctor.



Peasants and Outsiders

The anarchists had painted 'Ladron' (thief) on the Customs House at Malaga. As our bus passed, I speculated wryly that English anarchists might well dub thier dole office 'Patron'.

We skirted Salobrena, where we were told the local council had corruptly sold the building rights for the construction of an Arabic hospital, but this must represent a pinprick on a coast polluted by developments over the last 25 years.

Next Motril, with its industry, was smothered in posters proclaiming the 75th anniversary of the CNT. From here the bus turned inland, passing fig trees and pomegranates we moved towards the Sierra Nevada and our destination Las Alpujarras.

Yegen, in Las Alpujarras, is a rich village perched on the rocky mountain chain between the desert of Almeria, and the lush province of Malaga in the west. Its wealth can be measured by the five bars it has in

other villages of the Alpujarra are poor. Nearby Jubiles seemed well on the way to becoming a ghost town with many houses in a ruinous state, and several houses have been bought up by students and Germans. Some of the students, who used Jubiles as a weekend retreat while studying in Granada, told us the peasants were hostile to them. They complained of the narrow inward looking attitude of the peasantry; the people of Yegen dislike the snobbish airs of those in nearby Valor, while laughing at the Mecinans up the road for being old fashioned. Basically, I think, the peasants look down on people who don't work or contribute to the community like students, and the odd wheeler and dealer businessman you get in those parts.

Spanish Arsehole

After Yegen, La Linea alongside Gibraltar is the arsehole of Spain. It has always been well qualified in this respect, but now the ugly oil refinery built at San Roque has given it piles. The town is a shabby encampment-an unplanned, unimaginative clutter of buildings-whose very existence was called into being by its proximity to the Rock.

When we were there thousands of jobless around the Bay of Gibraltar waited for the chance to cross the frontier for jobs on the Rock. Trade unionists on the Rock were worried that private employers may use this Spanish source of cheap labour on Spain's entry into the Common Market. Jose Netto, the district officer of the Gib. Transport and General Workers' Union and a lifelong direct actionist, told me he feared local bosses would now seek to undermine the union and wages locally.

Other trade unionists-anarchists in the Gib. T&G- told me they had helped to set up an office of the CNT in La Linea, and were hoping to establish a strong presence there.

The jobless are a severe problem in Socialist Spain. While we were there, El Pais ran a story which showed that of the 2 1/2m unemployed in Spain more than 1 1/2m don't draw

benefits, and 1/2m don't have the right to see a doctor.

Cadiz, capital of the province, is one of the poorest cities in Spain. Everywhere they talk of 'mucho miseria and hunger. and warn you to keep a tight hold on your hand-bag. No longer do you hear of young children being kidnapped, so that their blood can be drained and sold by gypsies to the rich in the belief that it will somehow bring them eternal youth. At last feudal Spain has given way to the modern mugging of capitalist society.

While in Cadiz, a cloud burst and we were marooned in a bar for almost an hour. In the end we had to wade back to our pension ankle deep in human turds when the sewers overflowed.

Slash Bosses Pay

Sevilla hides its poverty under a cloak of picturesque enchantment. Here we saw industrial action at first hand-several hundred white collar workers massed in a square near Sante Cruz. They were public servants striking for a cut in pay differentials. They wanted a pay cut for the higher paid public employees and rises for the lower paid.

At Cordova, the peasants told us that US business was keen to invest in tobacco production; it is a crop which grows well here. There's no getting away from economics; all the same, I noticed the statue on the Roman bridge out of the city was blackened and covered with candle-wax: Catholicism dies hard in the South of Spain.

In Madrid we had a struggle to find a room. Scouring the dives, doss houses, and brothels we eventually got a spare room in a clean and discreet whore-house near the offices of the CNT-AIT. There's no attempt to disguise the poverty here. Each time one boards the Metro the occupants of the carriage are addressed by eloquent gypsies bemoaning their families' plight and sending around the hat.

We visited the libertarian Ateneo in the district of Tetua. This is a kind of free community body under anarchist influence.



activists is that our industrial policies in the DAM, would meet their objections. In terms of the practical policy of joining reformist unions etc, DAM is more renovado than the Renovado CNT. One companero, Carlos, put the blame on the veterans. He said that the pensioners, and others who did no work, had had too much say in determining industrial policy in the CNT-AIT. This may have split the CNT in two, but the same issue has divided the communists into three or more parts. The socialists may have tackled their veteran problem better, but fragmentation has become a feature of Spanish political life.

As our train pulled out of Madrid, the fat Murcian lady in our carriage sprang up and gesticulated to the window; outside beside the track the shacks and shanties sprawled into view. It was as if the vista wanted to prove the old Spanish saying 'Everything changes, but everything stays the same'.

P.C. & B.B.



CNT. Anorexia

Here we were told by militants who had recently left the Madrid CNT-AIT of their slow disenchantment with both CNT factions. This wasting away of the body politic of the CNT-AIT, they told me, has been going on since I first met them in 1979 at the Madrid Congress of the CNT.

The unaligned Ateneos seem to be filling the gap left by the libertarian trade unions. They told me that they were worried that the CNT-AIT was turning into an antique and losing all relevance to the current social situation inside Spain. Though they admitted it may still be a force in Barcelona.

Their explanation for the CNT's emaciated condition was based on the lack of appetite of the CNT-AIT to develop a social constituency in Spanish society and:

1. The refusal of the CNT-AIT to negotiate with employers or present any industrial program to the workers in various industries.
2. Their failure to fight cases of industrial injuries and use solicitors to protect workers.
3. Their abstention from the shopfloor elections which would have created an industrial base for the CNT.
4. Because the CNT-AIT is content to limit itself to sloganeering rather than entering the industrial struggle.

What amazed these Ateneo

AID THE C.N.T.

HULL SYNDICALISTS have set up an appeal for money for the CNT. Unlike the Socialist and Communist unions with their state handouts the CNT functions on a shoestring. All money will be used to aid CNT prisoners' families and to help the CNT press.

Send cash, or cheques made out to S. SAMUEL, to HULL SYNDICALISTS

c/o PO BOX 102
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