

ing (CCT) in local government has one Douglas Stewart, assistant di- Edinburgh's 'record breaking' Gold been the spearhead of the growth of rector (parks), now a director of of the Pharoahs Exhibition, is pata business culture in what should be Contemporary Leisure. The Edin- ently false. public services. Typified by superfi- burgh contract turned out to be a cialjargon-'customer care', etc-this disaster for the Council, but lucra- The Fraud Squad is investigating has had the effect of bringing the tive for Whitewater. Costs were Hulbert in Edinburgh and Glasgow, management of private and public underestimated and income overes- they are not investigating Stewart in sectors closer together, and facilitat- timated, laving the Council to pick Hackney. Stewart only left Hacking greater mobility between the two. up the bill, but Whitewater with ney's employment in September 1990, The initial benefit for public sector guaranteed income as the pool's li- after he had founded Open Space managers has been the growth of censed operator. A similar thing hap- Management with the rest of the 'recruitment and retention' packages pened in the London Borough of Contemporary gang in May of that for 'essential staff', ie, performance- Hackney, at the time when Douglas year. Since Contemporary has very related pay schemes, company cars, Stewart was director of Leisure Serv- close links with Whitewater Leisure, cash bonuses, etc, for senior man- ices (leisure and recreation are inter- whose controversial contract to inagement. The attitude of the em- changeable labels in local govern- stall'flumes' as part of the refurbishployers to the rest of us, we who ment). Their £100,000 worth of ment of Clapton pool was won on merely provide public services, is 'consultancy fees' were 'overlooked', Stewart's recomendation. This mervery different. Unemployment has of which more later. An additional its close investigation. Stewart and been cited in pay negotiations as twist is that Whitewater has subcon- Hulbert were both involved in the having the 'beneficial' effect of there tracted work to both Contemporary similarly controversial flumes conbeing no shortage of candidates for Leisure, and another company run tract won by Whitewater in Edinlow-paid frontline jobs.

These measures are the icing on the scratch my back ... cake for the most greedy. Tendering and close links between local gov- Journalists had more luck digging Directorate Finance Officer when ar has provided 'personal references' cially in the light of her very close Remember these names....

leisure management contract due to Williams. go out to tender on 1st January 1992. district.

MURKY WATERS TENDERING missing in Edinburgh, where Con- referred to is involvement claimed FOR LEISURE CONTRACTS nolly and Hulbert had worked in their role as local government offi-Recreation as director and assistant cers, some of which, like Stewart's Compulsory Competitive Tender- director (baths) respectively, with claim to have been responsible for by the same people, Open Space burgh. Fortunately for the people of Management (East Midlands). You Hackney, Stewart left the Borough claims about his achievements ear- position to fulfill the contract. Khote's

ernment Chief Officers and private up hard evidence. The Evening Times assault with racial overtones was for Stewart, Kiernan and Bryant, working relationship with Stewart. contractors have provided even discovered documents proving that found against him. greater oppportunities for enrich- Hulbert, Stewart, Thomas Kiernan ment. The details of the case out- and David Bryant were the share- Stewart fostered an image of dynalined below are taken mostly from holders and directors of both Con- mism, and was unusually young for Scottish newspapers, notably the temporary and Open Space, the last a director. He was very good at inte-Glasgow Herald, and from the per- had been registered in May 1990. grating himself with some of the left, sonal knowledge of the author. The company's lawyer is David Wil- even approaching NALGO to join, liams. Kieman initially admitted that claiming to have won disputes as a Hulbert was the major shareholder Chief Officers' rep. (Yes, NALGO The story came out in May. It was in Contemporary, but subsequently does look after bosses' interests, in alleged that the Deputy Director of denied it, claiming the latter had spite of its 250,000 low paid mem- first appeared in the local anarchist taken by the taxpayer. The profits Recreation of Glasgow Distric Coun- initially agreed to become a director, bers in local government.) The stewcil was the major shareholder in but later changed his mind, and that ard who signed him up, inciden-Contemporary Leisure, a Leicester- shares had been allocated to him tally, was later approached to disbased firm seeking to bid for the ,'inadvertantly', then transferred to cuss her 'career development' pri-

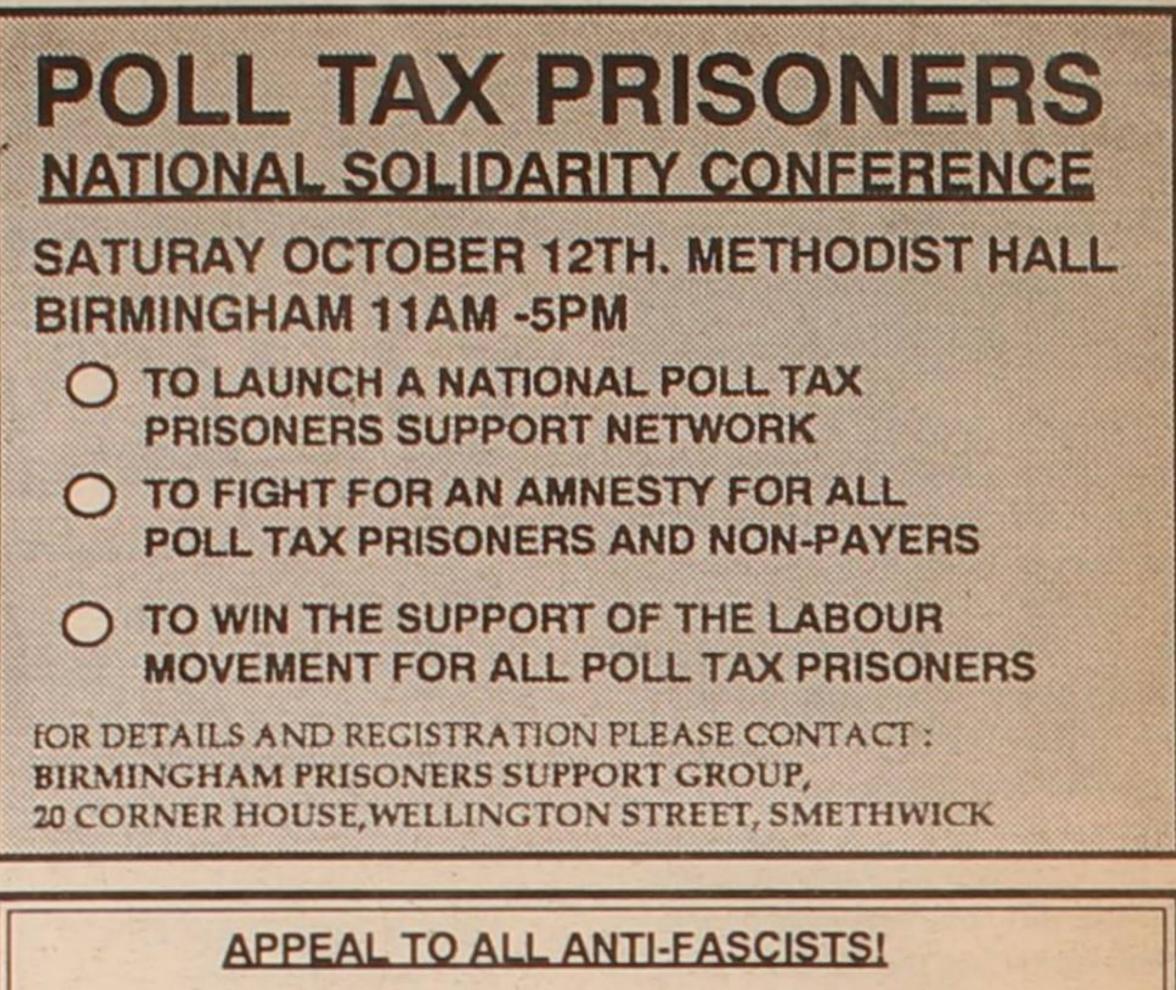
to investigate Robert Hulbert's links as credentials for their tenders were in Leisure at the time. Office staff McCafferty. Evidence, please! with the company. Council manual ripped apart. It claims "project de- claim that Stewart, who took increasworkers were refusing to negotiate velopment responsibility for a wide ing amounts of time off 'working More damningly, the Chair of the where he is chariman of the NHS with either Hulbert or the director, range of projects, ranging from from home' on 'family leave' or 'sick' Bernard 'Ben' Connolly. They were £250,000 to £30m". The alleged £30m in the last few months of his employconcerned that terms would be leaked contract is for the National Indoor ment, photocopied and removed files Leisure Services Directorate and hospitals. Health Secretary William to the private sector. Connolly was Arena in Birmingham, where the on all aspects of the Directorate's quoted as a referee by Contempo- principal contractor for the £52m job work. Since he maintained his house Khote, wrote a letter to all her fellow man of the NHS Trust Federation, rary when they expressed an inter- was Laing Midlands, and a Birming- in Marker Harborough, arranging Labour councillors in February when which covers all opted-out health est in tendering for the leisure con- ham City Council spokesperson his timetable to work a four day tract in neighbouring Strathkelvin described Contemporary's claim to week, it suggests that he was doing what got cut. She urged support for government tendering 'a big busia £30m share as "inconceivable". It a lot of work for the companies of claims big contracts in Edinburgh which he was already a director in The Fraud Squad investigation and Glasgow, which are non-exis- nearby Leicester, while in Hakney's centred on the contracts awarded to tent, and interestingly £54,000 worth employment. Companies acknowl-Whitewater Leisure, a Yorkshire of work for Whitewater Leisure. edged by its managing director, John based firm, to install 'flumes' (fancy Hulbert is the Edinburgh/Glasgow Greetham, to have done work for water chutes) at Glasgow's Castlemilk connection, but when Stewart left Whitewater Leisure. swimming pool, and the Royal Edinburgh in April 1988 he moved Commonwealth Pool in Edinburgh. to Birmingham, before going on to It is suspected that Stewart's appoint-The investigation was hampered end his local government career in ment as director in Hackney may and had inside information (pro- politicians.

the state of the

in a certain amount of haste shortly after a grievance taken out by the ences from Bernard Connolly, who course is highly suspicious, espe-

vately, which she declined on principle. 'Coincidentally', she was sec-The Fraud Squad had been called in The claims made by Contemporary onded to the unit preparing for CCT

because a number of files had gone Hackney. What is actually being have been influenced by fraudulent



On Thursday 18th July 1991 - 3 Anti fascists were fined £250 each plus court costs amounting to about £500 each.

They were arrested while protesting against the National Front who were holding an election meeting in Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

We Hope you can show your solidarity with these 3, by donating any money towards their fines.

Please make all cheques etc payable to Acc, No. 38097621, Sort code 60-10-17 and return to Debbie, 61 Goldings House, Hatfield, Herts



according to Kiernan. But Stewart's Council?

corruption scandal. The second, from slapped. an unconnected source, is that Ste-

vided by Stewart?) would be in a

lier in his career, backed up by refer- (unsuccessful) advocacy of such a

fraud with Whitewater was so trans- The fraudulent activities of the parent that it was exposed at the first Whitewater/Contemporary/Open serious scrutiny. How did he get Space Management network cover away with it? Why isn't he being the whole of England and Scotland, prosecuted for fraud by Hackney and are made possible by the government's legislation on Compulsory Competitive Tendering, which Further questions are raised by a it is proposing to extend as part of couple of interesting rumours. The the 'Citizens' Charter'. The risks are newsheet, Hackney Heckler, claim- are reaped by the cowboys. The ing that the brother-in-law of Coun- Guinness Affair was not an isolated cil Leader John McCafferty had been scandal. The only crime was getting bundled off to Scotland to head off a caught, for which wrists were duly

wart is a relative of fellow Scot John Greetham, the biggest fish in this network is an arch Thatcherite and a prominent figure in Yorkshire, Council's Community Services Trust at St James Hospital in Leeds, Committee which covers both the one of Europe's biggest teaching grants to the volunatry sector, Hajra Waldegrave appointed him chairdecisions were due to be made on services. He has identified local a proposal to put Leisure Manag- ness' and wants' a small percentage ment out to tender six months early, of that'. 'Competition', fraud and inusing pseudo-leftist rhetoric about dustrial espionage are one and the the need to avoid cuts in services by same thing to our rulers. Local govdoing this. Now, since neither the ernment bureaucrats (represented by Council's 'Direct Service Organisa- the Labour Party) and private contion' (the contract side), nor the tractors (represented by the Tories) majority of interested private con- have discovered their common class tractors which was prepared for this interests and have bought their next

Paper of the Direct Action Movement - International Workers Association

SUMMARY

CORRUPT COUNCIL BOSSES:

The Murky Waters of Local Government

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Trade Unions & The ANC and the armed struggle

- Centre Pages -

COMING SOON

-STRIKES IN INDONESIA

- TORY FAMILY POLICY

- THE STORY OF INDEPENDENT **UNIONS IN THE USSR**



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



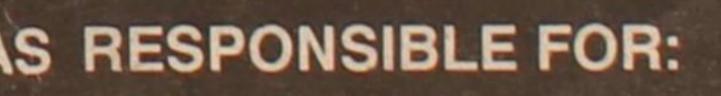
LENIN'S COMMUNIST PARTY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR:

- The destruction of the real Russian Revolution.
- A fake ideology instead of workers revolution
- Military <u>Dictatorship</u> of the working class
- Disaster in China
- The betraval of the Spanish Revolution
- Alliance with <u>Nazi</u> Germany
- War with Nazi Germany in which Russian people were sacrificed for Stalin's mistakes





Issue number 75 Price 40p



- The suppression of revolutionary socialist throughout the
- Massive Environmental destruction
- Post-war catastrophe in which the people starved while astronauts conquered space
- THEY

Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Bukharin, Brezhnev, Gorbachov **TURNED A DREAM INTO A NIGHTMARE !** Not to be continued ...

BACKCHAT-

EDITORIAL COMMENT

WE TOLD YOU SO!

badges of Lenin, we wonder?

of bolshevism. Bolshevism is not and cannot be solidarity will continue to develop. communism as we understand it. As anarchoin poverty.

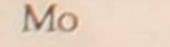
Of course there is much to celebrate. The regimes have been toppled. But at the same time the task before us is still large. Throughout Eastern Europe, big money is moving in. The new regimes are * Boris Yeltsin was until recently communist party from western capitalists. The "new" state and fac- resign from the party.

LETTERS

Dear DA

On Saturday 10th August the Irish The RCP stewarding was the same Freedom Movement held its annual as before. They practise a strict sexmarch in North London protesting ual division of labour with men as against the British occupation of heavies walking alongside the march Northern Ireland. For the uniniti- and women with megaphones runated the Irish Freedom Movement is ning up and down bellowing the a front for a small Marxist-Leninist officially approved slogans at the group called the Revolutionary marchers. This meant we know Communist Party (RCP) whose exactly what to think and couldn't purpose in organising the march is chant anything not sanctioned by Dear DA to recruit people to their party. Do the RCP. they in fact have any real interest in what goes on in Northern Ireland? It RCPers were making the usual nui- the last issue (74) about squaddies unfortunately, Albert. seems difficult to square the sup- sance of themselves trying to sell and anti-militarism ... posed internationalism of Marxism their monthly magazine Obsolete with chants supporting reactionary Bolshevism; silly me, it's called Liv- Why is it 'raising a bogey' to talk

ney Solidarity Group at the march Why do they do this? Do they enjoy militarists should be shouting it out Dear DA, and recognised maybe a couple of getting up people's noses? dozen other anarchos. Presumably there were more that I didn't know. The flute band were good fun, though. iting is Northern Ireland. And all and the riots are back. It will be It's a pity we didn't march together and so show our presence.





tory bosses are often exactly the same communist party bureaucrats who were in charge before. Communism is dead - Long live Yeltsin*??

Recent events have demonstrated the power of our Everyone is celebrating the death of communism class. To re-assert control, the new regimes are stirin the Soviet Union. Even our very own Leninist ring up old nationalisms turning worker against parties are euphoric over the toppling of Lenin's worker. We hope that working class organisations statues. Will they still be wearing their t-shirts and like the SMOT (the inter-professional free trade union), the KAS (the Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists) and others can counter this offensive and build a We have always criticised the Soviet Union, even truly working class movement. Currently the Interwhen it was unpopular to do so. The Soviet Union national Workers Association is working with the did not go wrong. It was wrong from the start. SMOT to distribute their english language bulletin. Authoritarianism and exploitation are at the heart We are confident that this exchange of ideas and

syndicalists we are fighting for communism and The ruling class is worried and rightly so. Their hold freedom. We look forward to a libertarian commu- on power is tenuous. They do not know who to nism not the state-led perversion of the eastern support - Gorbachev, Yeltsin or some other figure. block. We also look forward to the freedom of self- They do not want to see the break-up of the Soviet management, the freedom to be and to do as we Union, because this might signal their loss of control choose rather than the capitalist "freedom" to live over the working class. To paraphrase the words of the First International: There is a spectre haunting Europe - the spectre of the working class.

seeking "technical" assistance (in exploitation?) boss in Moscow and waited until earlier this year to

nationalist organisations like the IRA. ing Marxism, isn't it. Obviously their about Ireland? The Army's propapersistence, in the face of indiffer- ganda talks in terms of "learn a trade", I was one of three members of Hack- ence and refusal, is on party orders. "see the world", etc. Surely antithat a part of the world prospective recruits stand a good chance of vis- The summer's here (well nearly gone) they'll learn there is how to walk interesting to see what is made of Dear DA, backwards down the Falls Road, rifle them. How if indeed were they difin hand.

> teer under the pressure of unem- rise in unemployment which hit are with which you disagree. It's a ployment and ignorance. Our mes- young people particularily hard. sage should be: "Keep signing on (and organise) - Don't sign your life Discontent, hopelessness, poverty are you're a bit of a slow thicky like me away"".

> I dare say that even a more or less poeple burn and be injured, cities the new style paper, though! professional army will mutiny in a and their populations, such as Elswick revolutionary situation. But what in Newcastle which have suffered In solidarity, Chris, Sheffield. about in the here and now? When enough in the past. I do not like to even someone like Conservative MP see fire engines and their staff at- Sorry! We just felt that by pointing to a Michael Fallon is making represent tacked and injured and people distrising crime rate and to the poor pertations to the authorities about bru- conected with riots lose their homes, formance of industry, the Venezualan tality inside the Army, anarcho- and be scared shitless with what's crisis was presented in reformist terms. syndicalists should have more to say going on around them.

DIRECT ACTION is the paper of the DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT, the British section of the International Workers Association (est 1922).

ORGANISERS AND EDITOR Patti and Jerry

> COMMISIONING Martin

LAYOUT AND DESIGN Paula Simvid

DISTRIBUTION North and South London DAM groups

> DIRECT ACTION P.O. BOX 574 LONDON SE4 1DL

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

about barracks life than nebulous talk of "soldiers councils". A quick response to Albert's letter in Catterick Garrison is not Kronstadt,

Dino, Middlesbrough

ferent from the politically influenced About the Venezuela article in DA



When the fighting starts it should be for a purpose, towards some goal, to a point. We should beware of injuring ourselves, our communties and our anger should hurt those who create the poverty and hopelessness that exists in Elswick. I'm not sure that that is what happened this time around.

poll tax riots or the riots of the 1980s 73. It would be nice to know what Of course many squaddies volun- which had their base in the terrific the "elements within the analysis" bit irritating for the uninitiated to play find and seek, especially when all to blame. The riots make me sad and it just leaves you feeling twice as because I don't like to see cities and thick and inadequate. Hats off for-

Glad you like the paper anyway.

Direct Action Page Direct Action page 3

THE BIGGERTORY VOTE - THE COVERT SEQUESTRATION OF THE BIGOTORY VOTE: Nick Toczek, £2.95 TERRORIZING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD; Noam Chomsky, £3.95 LEONARD'S SHORTER CATECHISM; Tom Leonard, £1.95

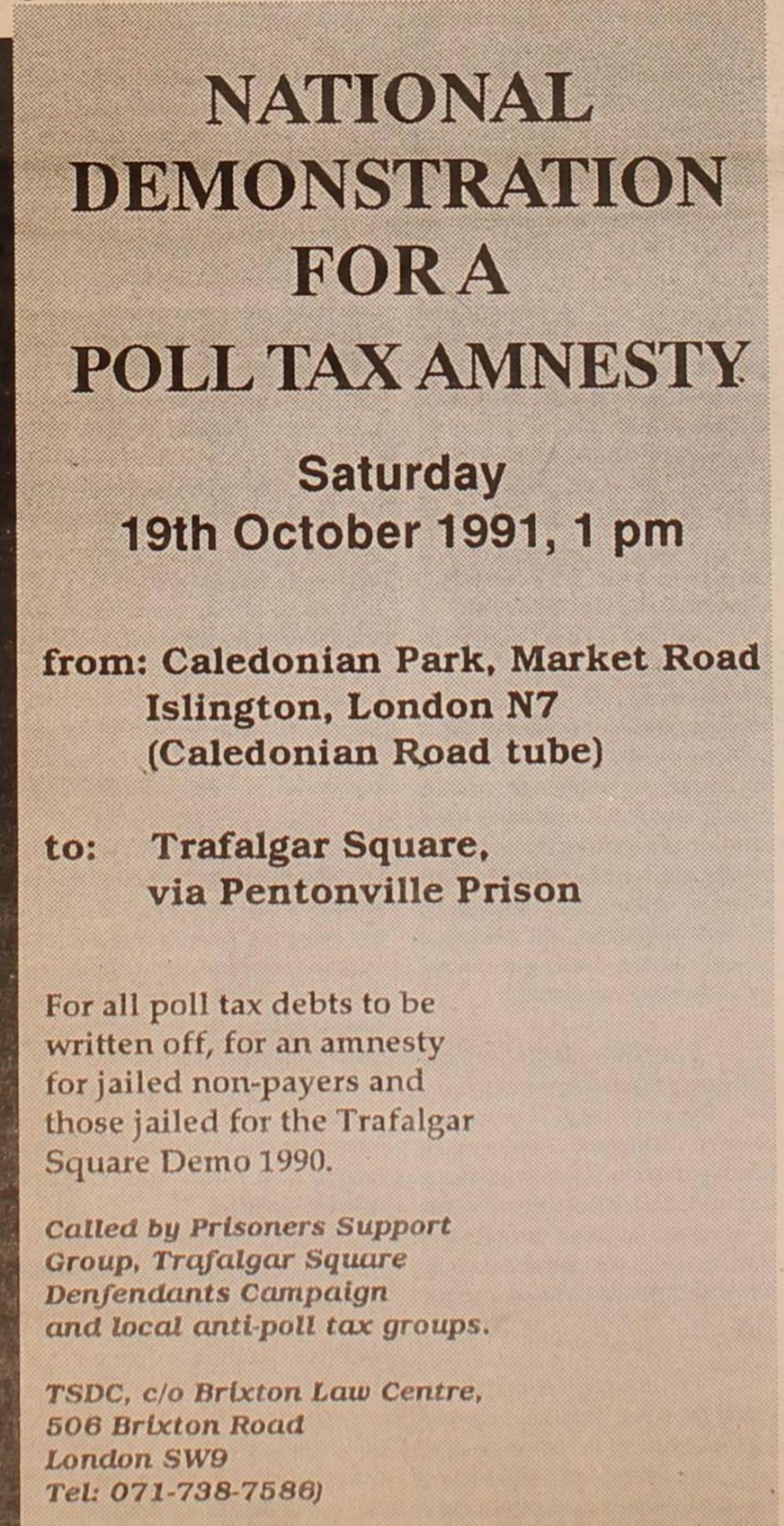
Published by AK Press

WACL, BNP and MI5. There's even a bit of dirt on Mary Whitehouse! For those not acquainted with this sort of investigative jour- The author goes on to argue: "Outnalism, you'll come to realise that siders, though they'd be reluctant to Ruling class control and manipula-Roy Castle's trumpet playing admit it, often have more in com- tion of 'public opinion' is a recurring wasn't the dodgiest thing about mon with their extremist opponnents theme throughout Noam Chomsky's 'Record Breakers'.

Ridley granted the National Front of alienation but have means and nity. Terrorising the Neighbourhood, their limited company status after method in common, even though dealing mainly with Central Amerseveral very active members of the ample, is perceived as simply that Chomsky Reader or his latest £20 plus NF? Why did the Home Secretary by non-terrorsist. Whether the ter- hardback on post-Cold War Ameriists? Was it because he had been wing, anarchist, nationalist, or mocracy. Chomsky exposes the myth . second-in-command at MI6 and head to the broad public but of great market capitalism. In the US the of an extreme right-wing Tory pres- interest to anyone else involved in sectors of the economy that remain sure group?

Don't let the awful cover of The It is a pity that this book, excellent This is exactly what the ruling class Bigger Tory Vote put you off. elsewhere, repeats the myth that "the want us to think. Working class people This pamphlet is for all people holding of extreme and/or unpopu- have for too long been presented as who have been desperately miss- lar views" should be seen as "gen- 'apolitical'. 'Anarchists' have for too ; ing the incredibly long Black Flag eral outsiderism". It is particularly long been presented as synonymous articles with lots of initials like surprising that this comes after such with 'terrorists'. Yet at the same time a cohesive demonstration of the links the mass killing by the allies in the between fascist leaders and the rul- gulf are regarded somewhat differing class.

than they do with the moderate of political writing. "Politics and ideolapolitical mass. They not only share ogy are largely bounded by the Was it a coincidence that Nicolas commitment to a struggle and a sense consensus of the business commuterrorism."



ently. The other two books reviewed take up these issues.

that feed from the public trough: stalls and a kids' play area. high tech industry, capital intensive agriculture, pharmaceuticals and others.

Through state-led terrorism in Central America, as in the Gulf, the US is multi-nationals. The struggle is not for freedom but for the control of production and of the working class.

The difference between Central as Tom Leonard demonstrates, the media presented a far from neutral picture. The subtitle of Leonard's Shorter 'Catechism, 'On the mass speaks for itself. Leonard, a wellknown Glasgow poet, delves into the use of language and the role of We are calling a women's picket at Group, TSDC, c/o Brixton Law the media in presenting and omit- Holloway Prison in connection with Centre, 506 Brixton Road, London ting information. Kuwait was 'liber- the anti-Poll Tax demo to be held on SW9. If you're a woman ex-prisoner, ated' by its destruction. American 19th October. We will be picketing we would like you to speak at the foreign policy in the post-Cold War in solidarity with all women who picket - so get in touch with us period, as Leonard and Chomsky have been imprisoned for non-pay- ASAP if willing. demonstrate, is simply the same old ment and for confronting the police story. They have just got better at at anti-Poll Tax demos and actions. presenting it.

ing the crimes of the ruling class, but erty and debt - the Poll Tax being the trouble with 'conspiracy theo- the latest attack. ries' is not that they are wrong, but more that they say very little about We also want to express solidarity working class resistance. We need with all women imprisoned for fightmore books that explore how to ing back against domestic violence. change things, rather than merely We see similarities in the struggles stating the problem.

All the above titles are available from: who defend themselves against po-

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(cheques/postal orders payable to R Kanaan)

COMMENT



3 Balmoral Place



ANTI-RACIST having lived at the same block of flats as wanted Italian terrorists and block of poposite. Thus a terrorist, for ex-

not deport one of the Italian terror- rorist's politics are left-wing, right- can foreign policy, Deterring De- On Sunday 8th September the biggest anti-racist carnival in Britain for ten passing on information to a former whatever, is usually of little interest of the ruling elite's support for free to the 'Unity Carnival Against Racist Attacks', organised by Anti-Fascist U Sound System, African Head Charge, 5.30, Soho, and a particularly competitive internationally are those brilliant band called 25/5 (that's '25th May'). There were also craft and food

> The whole day was a tremendous success, and made a welcome change for activists and supporters alike. The council even commended the organisers, and the Red Cross said it was the best run event they'd seen in years, as not one person was hurt. So, looks like the Unity Carnival is to become an annual event if there's enough money to cover costs for this year and fighting on behalf of large US based next. Please feel free to send donations to cover costs to:

> > Anti-Fascist Action BM 1734 London WC1N 3XX

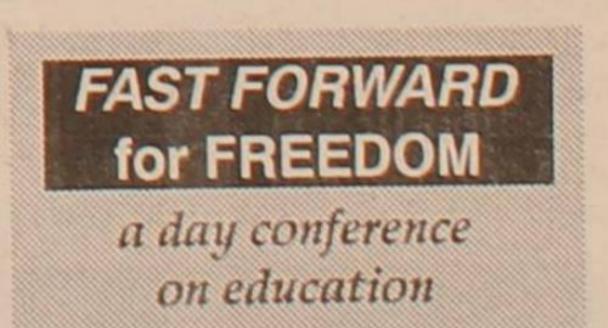
America and the Gulf is that the Gulf conflict was fought publicly and in the full glare of the media. However, **19TH OCTOBER**

commonly known as "The Gulf War", 11.30 - 12.30 HOLLOWAY PRISON JOIN MAIN MARCH AT CALEDONIAN PARK 1.00

We want to draw attention to the fact that many women have been im-These three books are good in detail- prisoned for 'crimes' related to pov-

> of women who defend themselves against domestic violence and women lice violence - in the home and on the streets, self-defense is no offense!

If you're particularly interested in - the women's picket and would like to get involved, contact Rozanne or Debbie via the Prisoners' Support



at Vaughan College St Nicholas Circle, Leicester

on Saturday 2nd November from 10 - 6 plus evening enterntainment

> for full information send an sae to: Lib ED, The Cottage The Green Leire Leicester LE17 5HL

INDUSTRIAL

INTRODUCTION

We present here two articles on the enviroment.

The first article exposes the fraudulent claims by car manufacturers for green and enviromentally friendly cars. The second article describes how one group of workers demostrated how their industry could be altered to produce socially useful products.

We hope that these articles stimulate debate. Let us know what you think about cars, poullution and workers' control. We would like to hear about workers' struggles over enviromental and health and safety issues, particularity those that present scientific issues in simple and understandable ways.

WORKERS AND THE ENVIROMENT

have changed their tune. Gone engine as it now stands continues to is the competition over speed be a serious danger to our present and and high performance and in is future. the greenhouse effect and green In addition to road deaths and injupolitics. They've now all got ries - 5025 people died on the roads in green consultants.

We're told that, fitted with catalytic converters and running on lead-free petrol or even water and and made form recyclable components, cars will shortly be "pollution-free". Can it be? Can capitalists have solved the environmental crisis?

No! Manufacturers' claims of "green' are nothing less than outright lies and deceptions. True, lead-free petrol reduces the amount of lead in exhaust fumes. Lead certainly is a dangerous ers reduce the emission of another pollutant, nitrous oxide. But, both of these "green" measures produce greater emissions of carbon dioxide. And, it's carbon dioxide, not CFCs and nitrous oxide, that makes the greatest contribution to the greenhouse effect.

Fuel cells are being hyped as creating the "car that runs on water". Not so, the real fuel is not water. Fuel Cells are charged by electricity. Electricity is produced at the power station. So, carbon dioxide isn't emitted by the car, it's produced at the power station. Unless, of course, it's a "clean" and "safe" nuclear power station! A case of out of sight, out of mind?

Yet another con is BMW's claim that their cars are 80% recyclable. In truth the rate is nearer to 75% and this has been standard for all cars since the recycling is green. Recycling just reduces the need for some raw materials, but it still uses lots of energy. It might be an idea to produce things that last longer. Of course, there would be less profit in this.

Car manufacturers have jumped on the green band wagon certain in their belief that their claims will not be questioned. A good look at the facts also best placed to provide the solu-

Car manufacturers appear to behind these claims that the petrol

Britain in 1988 alone - there are the socalled "secondary" deaths related to pullution from cars. One report estimates that 30,000 deaths every year in formulated an alternative developthe United States are directly related ment plan for their industry. They to car pollution. There's also the dev- demonstrated that workers can come astation caused by road building and the mining of raw materials.

Don't get this wrong - cars in themselves aren't wrong. Working class and environmentally-friendly cars people should have access to good safe transport suited to their individual needs. In a free society this would that worked for us rather than for day's society we just don't have that choice. Everything is built around cars. "Public transport" is poor and if you've got a disability you might as well forget it.

cally sound forms of both power gen- socially useful goods. eration and transport systems. Many are relatively inexpensive. Of course, it would cost time, effort and money to develope them. Developement has been consistently blocked by governments and industries. They've even bought up patents and sat on them! ers were based at thirteen different Why? Well, there's certainly less sites, so the production of the plan ing factories and much of the exist- ent thinking is a challenge to these room for profit in socially useful pro- was co-ordinated by a delegate shop ing technology. All were in areas bureaucrats' very lifeblood - negoduction. And capialists are blinded stewards' combine. Workers were where workers had skills and exper- tiation and status quo. For this they 60s. Anyway, it's a bit of a myth that to the environmental costs by greed involved through their delegates and tise. Being produced by workers, the require a passive workforce and the and self-interest Even now, as their a regular combine bulletin. These plan aimed to challenge existing control of, not by, workers. own experts point to enviromental structures proved successful. More- working practices replacing these disaster, all they can offer is whitewash and cosmetic tinkering.

> Change quite obviously will not come ness the immediate effects. We are with specific proposals.



SWORDS INTO PLOUGH-SHARES: A workers alternative shows how the economy could be organised.

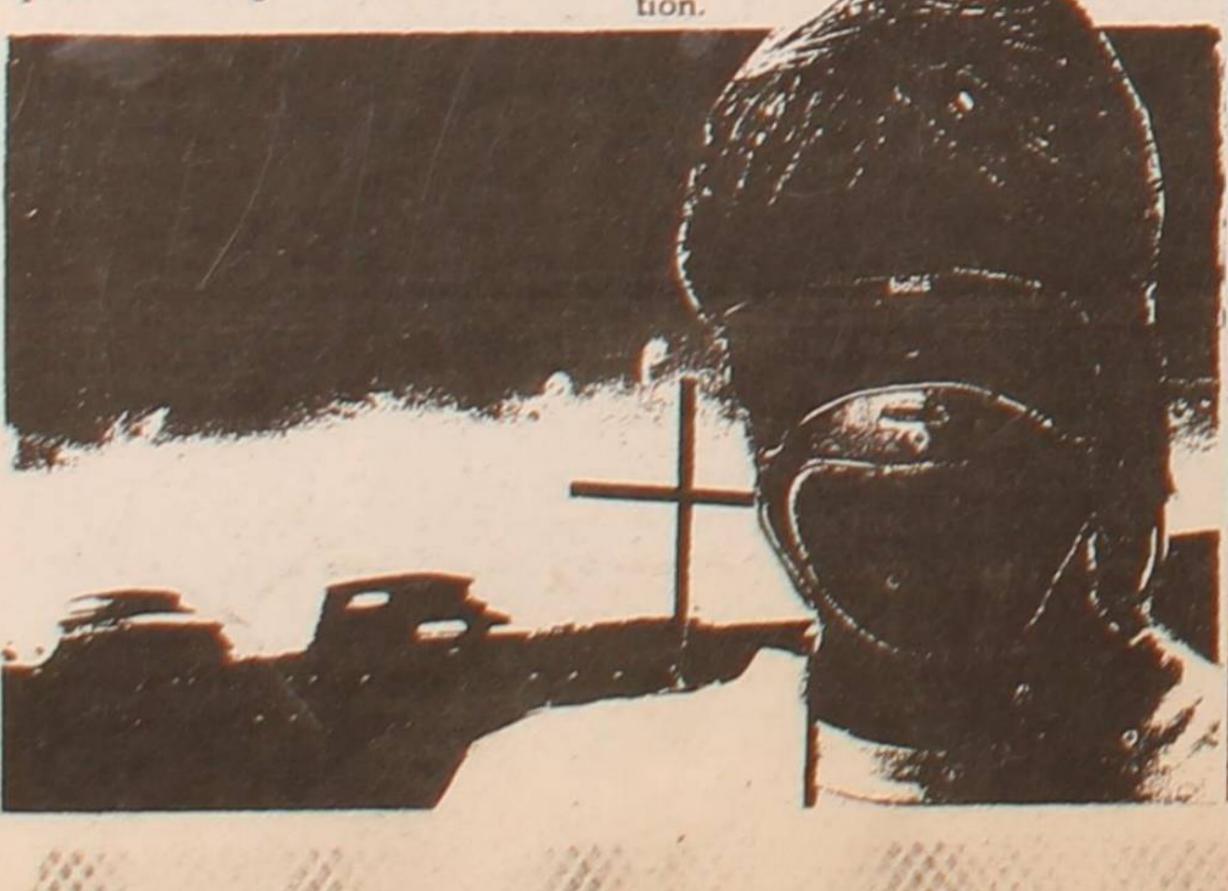
In the mid-70s, workers at Lucas to grips with science and technology. Their experience proves an insight into both the possibilities and obstacles to workers control.

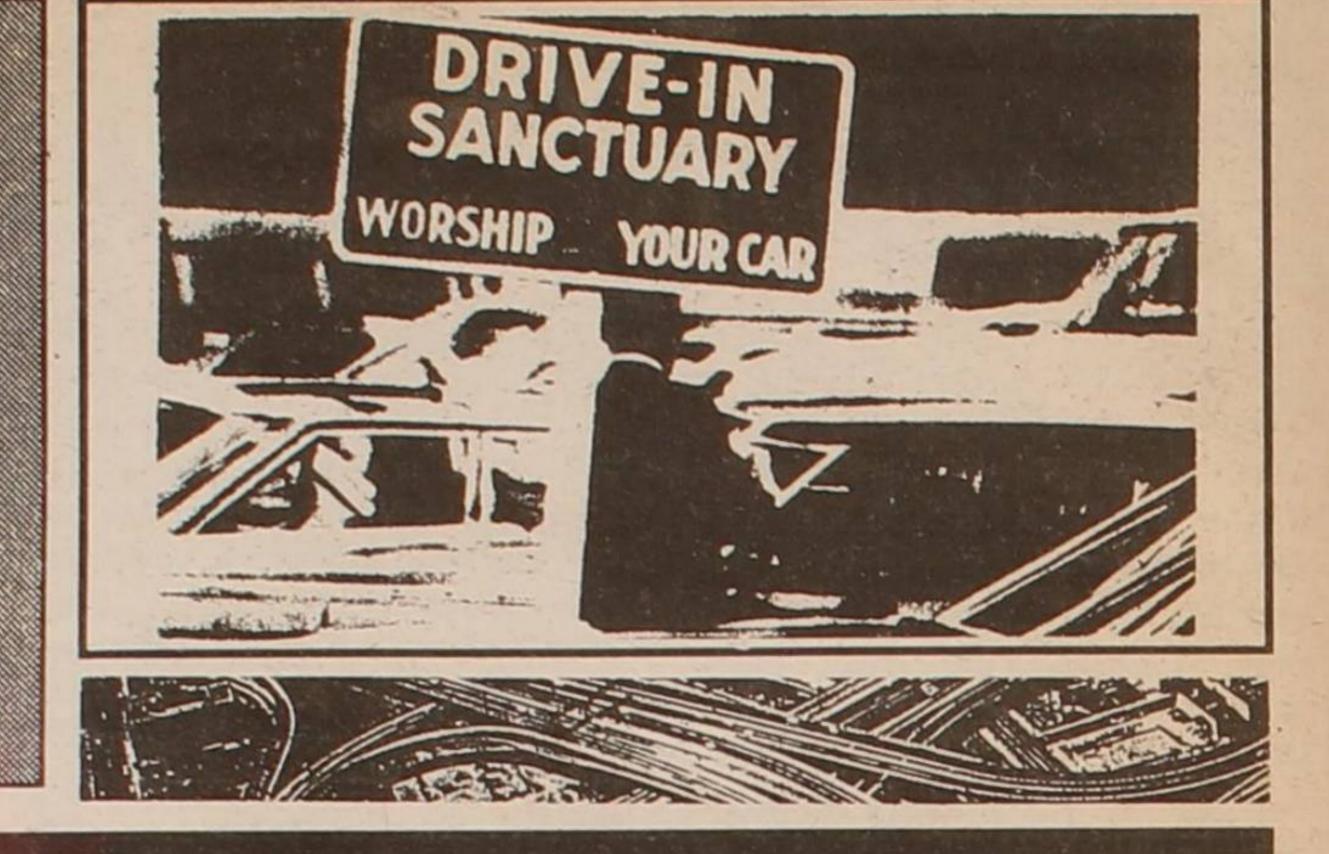
Lucas Aerospace, now part direct link between designer and user all without the involvement of of British Aerospace, produced pre- gives a glimpse of what production management and on workers' own involve individual means of transport dominantly for military uses. Be- could be like in a free society. De- terms, would have meant giving in -cars, bicycles-as well as more collec- tween 1970 and 1975, five thousand spite the prototype's success, Lucas to workers. The Labour government pollutant Also true, catalytic convert- tive ones - buses, trains etc. But we'd jobs out of total of 18,000 hd been management refused to develop it of the day and the trade unions were have developed cars that didn't por axed by Lucas. Faced with further because it was incompatible with just as unenthusiastic. Jeff Rooker, a son us and we'd have buses and trains cuts in military spending, workers their product range. produced a development plan for employers and supermarkets. In to- their industry. They used their own Another memorable proknowledge of their factories and their posal was for the development of a capabilities. They researched areas road-rail vehicle. This lightweight Aerospace actually saw their aspiraof potential need amongst their vehicle could run on railway track tions trampled under the feet of many communities and amongst a wide and on roads. The cost of building full-time officials who used inadevariety of health and social presssure railways would be greatly reduced quate, out of date, trade union struc-For many years numerous designs groups. Through this process, they because there's no need for tunnels tures to fight their own members. have existed for alternative ecologi- came up with a wealth of alternative if your train can drive up a hill. and Management loved it". so providing transport services to remote areas could be cheaper. This In contrast to many so-cal- vehicle makes so much sense that always regarded the shop stewards ledworkers' plans, the Lucas Plan the fact it has not been developed combine as unofficial. It was organwas produced not by full-time un- almost defies belief. It's versatile, it's ised along industrial lines rather than ion officials nor by academics. Work- cheap and it reduces pollution.

over, the workers themselves de- with ways of working that extended roment. We are also the first to wit- consulted, only therree responded edge of the technical staff".

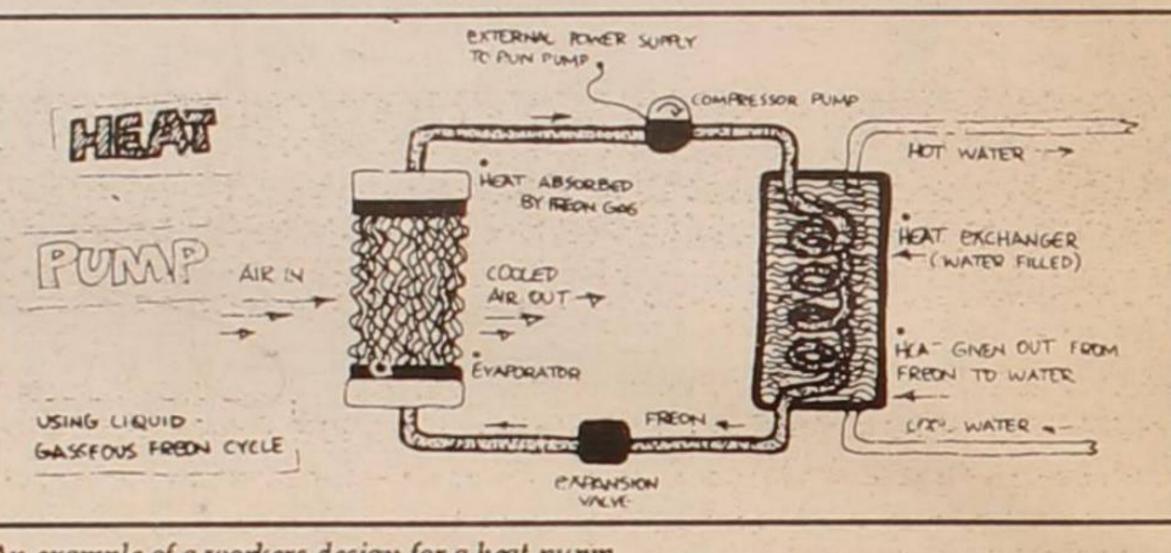
pumps, wind generators, airships bosses. and a high energy efficient and low pollutant motor engines.

enriching experiences of his life. This Accepting the plan, produced after ture.





SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES



An example of a workers design for a heat pump

native energy sources and transport, But despite this, it does demonstrate ested in profit. they included improved kidney that workers without recgognised machines, an ambulance life sup- technical skills can produce much

Labour MP and hardly a radical one,

"The workers at Lucas

The trade union bureaucrats craft lines cutting across traditional All these ideas used exist- trade union boundaries. Independ-

The Lucas workers' initiamonstrtated their creativity. They workers' skills and creativity. They tive was attempted within the framecame up with more than 150 times envisaged linking the "experience work of social democracy. It appealed from above. Workers are best placed ideas for new products. In compari- and commonsense of shopfloor for support from politicians and to identify the dangers to our envi- son. out of the eighty acadenmics workers" to the "scientific knowl- bureaucrats, whose interests lie firmly in the maintenance of capitalism. It was, therefore. bound to fall on deaf The plan was far from per- ears. Capitalists are not interested in From these ideas a set of fect. It was not a revolutionary docu- how socially useful their products concrete and achievable proposals ment. For one thing, it envisaged are as the very existence of a comwere developed. Divided into broad workings alongside management pany like Lucas Workforce demonareas like medical equipment, alter- gradually introducing new products. strates. The bosses are only inter-

> The Lucas Plan demonport system, energy-saving heat better technical ideas than industrial strates that we can take control of science and technology. We have ideas and solutions. We can solve Of course, management the environmental crisis. But we can rejected the plan. They said the pro- only do this without management, One apprentice designed the posals did not fit in with the com- politicians and trade union bureau-Hobcart, a vehicle giving mobility to pany's capabilities and reputation. crats. By rejecting them, we can rehildren with spina bifida. He de- They meant the ideas were not prof- claim what is ours: the wealth we scribed seeing one child's pleasure itable. Most of all, the bosses wanted create, our labour, our communiusing the Hobcart as one of the most to control and subdue workers. ties, our environment and our fu-

Direct Action page 5

those in struggle!

COMPANY INFORMATION SERVICE

to offer company information to the Solidarity Network? It's only searches. They can provide you de- £10. They produce a monthly bulle- band's overalls, an inquest heard. tails on profits, shareholders divi- tin containing information about dends, directors salaries and more. working class struggles here and The service is free to Solidarity internationally. For more informa-Network affiliates. To others the tion contact the Solidarity Network cost is £1 for information on a Public at 74 Kingsland Road, Plaistow, Limited Company (PLC) or £3 for a London E13 9PA. limited company.

The Solidarity Network is now able Why not get your union to affiliate A Charlton woman died because she

INDUSTRIAL **DISEASE AT HOME**

inhaled asbestos dust from her hus-

Mrs Irene Keen's husband had worked as a fire engine builder, and had frequently come home with dusty overalls. Breathing in the dust as she washed them had given her a malignant tumour in her lung, which developed into broncho-pneumonia.

The inquest returned a verdict of deat by industrial disease.

AMBULANCE WORKERS SACKED

Two Bridgewater ambulance workers have been sacked for allegedly refusing an emergency call. The call was only upgraded to an emergency when the two requested a short break. Bridgewater Trades Union Council have set up a support group to help their defence. Solidarity contacts: Mike Wallburton 0278 459112 or Dave Chappel 0278 450562.

Source: Solidarity Network Bulletin.

Strikers in the long-running Pergamon Press dispute have outlasted Robert Maxwell. He's sold the company. Whilst Maxwell's departure is to be welcomed, it hardly represents the great victory being claimed by NUJ officials. After 2 years in dispute the strikers' demands for re-

strikers do feel that outright victory is much closer than ever. As always donations are welcomed. Contact the strikers' office on 0865 60762.



'TRANSPORT WORKER'

Transport Worker is a new quarterly paper written by transport full of news and analysis on a whole range of issues affecting transport workers. We re-print below an article on the occupational hazards of being a bus driver.

Transport Worker can be contacted c/o PO Box 574, London, SE4 1DL.

If you are interested in recieving Transport Worker regularly, send them your name and address along periods of sitting were thought to be tackle. These problems are deeply with £1.50 p&p for a year (4 issues). If you would like to help distribute Transport Worker, please contact them.

As with all these things Transport Worker is run on a shoestring, so donations are always welcome.

of absenteeism, illness and death English, Finnish and French studies possible improvement and take diamongst bus drivers reveal greater came up with the same results. A rect action for our own health and health risks in our work than in many study of 12 general disease catego- safety, just as workers had to decother jobs. Three main risks have ries amongst transport labourers, ades ago when faced with deaths been pin-pointed:

Cardiovascular Disease Mortality - having greater digestive problems - longer lives if nothing else! in a study of 31,000 London bus 4.6 times above average. drivers and conductors, death from strain in drivers' work and long to three times higher.

death from coronary heart disease, can lead to fatigue and poor nutri

drivers.

bus drivers were compared to ad- the real needs of our communities. ministrative workers of the same age

coronary heart disease was twice as Absence from work due to illness is Disease in Bus Drivers: A Review high amongst drivers than conduc- more frequent and for longer peri- and Synthesis of Epidemiological tors. Reasons being greater mental ods than workers in other jobs - two Studies; from 'International Journal

Causes for such high rates of illness are varied and numerous. One factor is exposure to carbon monoxide, noise and lead, each of which are RSWs' conditions. This includes See 'CONTACTS' for addresses. known to cause disease. The fact that our work is made up of rigid times schedules, long hours and shifts with little control over our work periods of sitting. In another study environment affects our health in of 41 occupational groups, bus and different ways - disrupted lives, poor taxi drivers show the highest rates of diet and sleeping habits, for example, workers for transport workers. It's partly caused by a higher occurrence tion, increasing our risk to illness. of hyper-tension, physical inactiv- Also high level of job responsibility ity, smoking and cholesterol in the may directly add to greater health

> Cardiovascular Disease Morbidity So the question we must ask our-(Illness) - bus drivers are found to be selves is what are we to make of twice as likely to suffer chest pain. these findings and what can be done? Serious coronary heart disease oc- This is beyond the areas covered by curs three times more frequently in health and safety laws and without drivers than amongst conductors. doubt beyond the will of govern-Again stress from the job and long ment departments and politicians to responsible. It must also be remem- rooted within the very nature of our bered that inner city drivers suffer work and the economic system that greater stress than suburban or rural relegates us to the level of wage slaves. Reducing the health risks we face demands a public tranport sys-Gastro-intestinal and Musculo-skele- tem run by ourselves, addressing tal Morbidity - when 800 German the madness of today's roads and

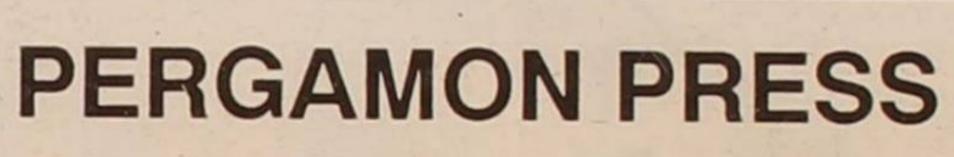
and sex, the drivers showed higher In the meantime, there being little rates of digestive disorders, nervous will to challenge the chaos of public Studies into higher than normal rates problems and back pain. Similarly transport, we need to look at areas of office workers, drivers and conduc- and injury at work every day. Direct tors showed the latter two groups control of our work is a must, for

> Source - Excess Risk of Sickness and of Epidemiology'.

INDUSTRIAL

Solidarity with

RSWs' REGRADING CLAIM



instatement and union recognition have yet to be met. However, the

The Residential Social Workers' salaries, material conditions in esbe submitted and after local action alone. was taken NALGO then switched, claim should take priority.

talk!

be supported as long as it did not organise themselves even on a local impinge on the national claim. In level, and the attitude and actions of places like Manchester, where the NALGO, both nationally and locally local claim mirrors the national one, hinder the situation. RSWs need to the two days of action already taken break away from their traditional have been for nothing, and if any insular outlook and begin to organmore action is taken then not only ise independently against the emthe employers but NALGO itself will ployers and their own union. be in opposition.

The employers are talking of asking for an extra £50 million from central government for improvements in

Regrading Claim reached its anti- tablishments and training. The govclimax, remarkable even by NALGO's ernment has already indicated that it standards. As previously reported, intends to increase the budget for NALGO had shown lukewarm training by £5 million next year. This support to the RSWs' claim and only has to be seen against the scale of the really took it up in the wake of the cuts being imposed on social serv-'Pin Down' scandal. After first rec- ices all over the country that amount ommending that local claims should to over £11 million in Manchester

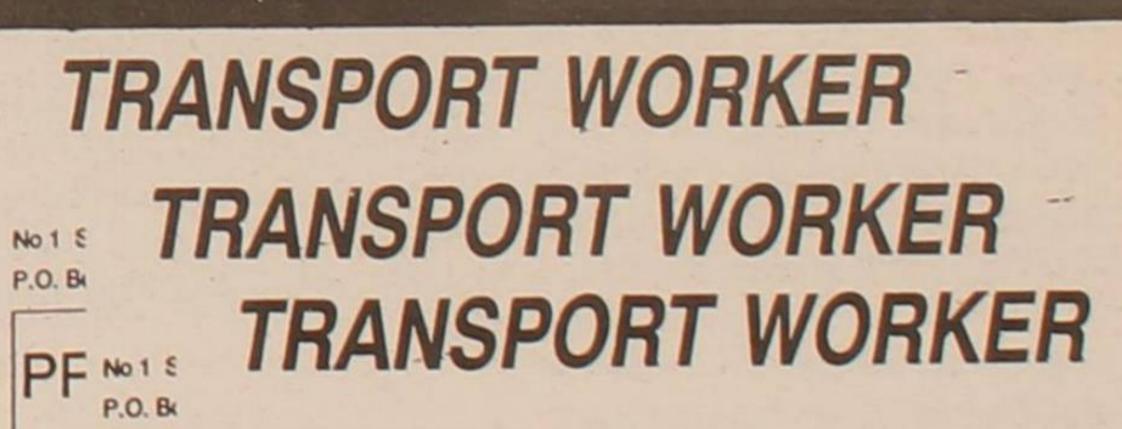
and 18 months later said the national Pinning hopes on the enquiry could prove fatal. There is no certainty that the report will recommend the re-To this end a 'National Delegate grading that RSWs want. The last Advisory Meeting' was held on 25th RSWs' dispute in the mid '80s was July to decide future action. About called off pending an enquiry and 100 'delegates' (more correcly 'rep- ended up in no gains being made at resentatives') attended. NALGO told all. NALGO is talking of industrial the RSWs that they should wait unitl action if the result of the enquiry is the results of the enquiry into Pin not satisfactory, but this raises ques-Down are known in November. Their tions about who has to be satisfied line was that if RSWs go for indus- the RSWs or NALGO? Also, by trial action now the employers would November the impetus that could not be happy and would refuse to have been built up may well be gone torever.

Action on local claims would only It is notoriously difficult for RSWs to

Contact - Council Workers Network c/o Manchester & North London DAM

THE THREAT TO

TRANSPORT WORKERS



No 1 Summer 1991

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This w P.O. Box 761, Camberwell SDO, London, SE5 9JH

In over The B PRIVATISATION

s will be the end of a programme of privatisation which began with the selling o of hotels owned by British Rail, followed by British Rail Engineering (BREL) and The un involves continuing with the deregulation of buses outside London 5 years ago. to fight Tories In every case this has meant quick profits for cess has already begun with that tried buses the Tories' friends in the City and a worsen- and trusted tactic of not taking on wor

political ing of pay and conditions for the workers kers wholesale, but picking us off group the most involved. It is little wonder, then, that the by group. When management at London berahit The uni Torics have left British Rail and London Buses Forest District won a tender they to fight buses until last because they are both chering politically sensitive and, in the case of BR, advanc have off the most difficult to privatise.

bling a The unions have done little or nothing so far most g bership to fight privatisation and the resultant butthey ar On the chering of workers' pay and conditions, but up in pare th have often seemed more interested in squabindivid advance bling among themselves to maintain memted pay engaged bership in the newly privatised companies. our cos most gr On the railways the re-organisation to pre-

of start they are pare the network for privatisation is well have a up in advanced. At the moment management are attemp individu engaged on a programme of restructuring In the ted pay most grades from P-way to drivers which, if allower our con they are allowed to get away with it, will end forcing of starti up in a backdoor method of introducing On the have a individual contracts with performance-relaattempt ted pay. Faced with this massive attack on In the long term, a network has to be In the 'our conditions the RMT and ASLEF, instead built amongst all 'transport workers. B allowed of starting a campaign to resist restructuring forcing | have sat down with management in an vate or state-owned, so that action can be On the attempt to squeeze a few extra concessions. _ In the case of the S&T they stood by and allowed management to isolate individuals, D) forcing them to sign new contracts.

. On the London buses the privatisation pro- long.

immediately turned round and imposed a 20% pay cut. Fortunately, the workforce resisted these moves and came out on strike after an overwhelming majority voted for action.

FREE

But this is only the start of the campaign On the railways pressure must be put on the unions to resist the restructuring and to start a campaign against privatisation On the London buses resistance to dere gulation must be escalated and links should be built amongst rank and file busworkers across London. We canno afford to be deterred by threats of illegality by whinging union officials only concerned for their cushy jobs far removed from the reality of our lives.

whether that be buses or railways, pa organised which would paralyse transport networks and so begin to redress the disgusting pay and conditions transport workers have had to endure for far to

By Transport Workers - For Transport Workers

Direct Action page 6



'The union or the Party?' has occu- African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and among socialists of different per- which were to become NACTU. suasions throughout the world. It is probably at its most intense in Of these, FOSATU was syndicalist South Africa, where it is further in outlook and its leaders advocated complicated by the existence of a independent working class politics number of trade union federations, which included some looking ultiand several political parties, all of mately to the formation of a new which lay claim to the working political party. The NACTU unions class.

tions in South Africa, plus a number bureaucrats with years of experiof smaller federations, as well as a ence of manipulation. For a while large number of unaffiliated unions. this led COSATU to refuse to share The two main union centres are the platforms with organisations not Congress of South African Trade Un- aligned to the ANC. ions (COSATU), and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). Throughout this time a debate raged The smaller union centres tend to be within the organised working class politically linked, such as the right- about the Freedom Charter and the wing scab union, United Workers Workers Charter. The Freedom Union of South Africa, which is linked Charter is an ANC document, drawn to Inkatha and has had secret fund- up by them with a lot of input form ing from the apartheid government. the SACP, which commits them to There is a third significant union, the running a mixed economy South South African Congress of Trade Africa, with some nationalisation. Unions (SACTU), although it has no This makes it a lot easier for the strength on the ground and is in the black middle class, as represented in process of merging with COSATU. many areas by the ANC, to exploit SACTU has been operating in exile the black working class. The Workfor so many years that its structures ers Charter was a socialist docuwithin South Africa had all but collapsed. SACTU has very strong links Although flawed, it addressed how with the African National Congress industry could be controlled by work-(ANC) and the South African Com- ers directly. munist Party (SACP).

SACTU are merging is because ing congress, but the ANC Freedom is now characterised as being about leadership is dominated by exiles members. Workers' interests are fun-COSATU has entered into an official Charter was foisted on affiliates and "two hats", and the limits on indi- with no experience of mass organialliance with the two political par- ultimately the Congress itself, with viduals holding prominent positions sation. ties. How has this come about, and little consultation with the member- in both the unions and the ANC/ why is the SACP growing when ship. Communist Parties all over the rest of the world are on their last legs?

revolt which began in the townships, something. and involved workers, organising and taking political strike action. In some townships, the communities GLOSSARY used boycotts as well as driving out We know that initials, abbreviations and unfan operated with the apartheid regime. mean: This was action which involved the working class as a whole, and it was determined by the working class. It would be true to say the ANC were taken by surprise.

COSATU was formed in the early eighties, drawing upon three tendencies within the labour movement. These were the Federation of South

pied much time among socialists a number of unions close to its posithroughout history. Marx and tion, the pro-ANC unions, princi-Bakunin differed over whether the pally the South African Allied Work-First International should be a ers Union (SAAWU) and the Motor workers organisation or a political Assemblers and Components Workparty. The debate continues today, ers (MACWUSA), and the unions)

dropped out of the negotiations, and FOSATU, whose base was in the There are two main union federa- factories, were swamped by ANC

ment drawn up by trade unionists.

Since then the ANC have drawn on Now that an ANC government in the has said that the unions need a "strong cians are redundant. the immense prestige they have as near future is on the cards, unionists ANC, an ANC biased towards the During the mid to late eighties, the one of the oldest liberation move- are having to re-assess the role they poor and the working class." He Lenin and Bolshevism has been situation in South Africa changed ments in existence, and the prestige should play in relation to the govern- sees no contradiction in holding gov- toppled in Russia, but their pupils in dramatically. The focus of the lib- of prominent individuals like Man- ment. FAWU's Transvaal regional ernment and being a union leader. South Africa are waiting to repeat eration movement and its worldwide dela, to increase their stranglehold secretary has said "I am not too opti- Presumbaly if the ANC nationalises his seizure of power. Whether they Stalinist apologists, the Anti-Apart- on COSATU. Even now, more than mistic that the ANC will protect the metallurgical factories, he could be will is dependent chiefly on how heid Movement, had been on the a year after his release, there is interests of workers and that it will negotiating with himself! Others see well the ruling National Party (NP) armed struggle coupled with eco- virtually no critiscism of Mandela. be in favour of socialism when it is problems in the alliance, such as maintains its power. The NP has nomic and political isolation of South When grievances about the ANC the government." Trade unionists have Chris Dlamini, who has said that if opened itself up to blacks, and may Africa. This tactic had failed. What are aired, it is always assumed that further complaints. Lack of consulta- the ANC rejects or dishonours the well attract significant sections of shifted the position of the National Mandela knows nothing about it, tion with COSATU, lack of consulta- aspirations of the working class there the black middle class away from Party and the government was the and that if he did, he would do tion and democracy within the ANC, will be no need for an alliance with the ANC. This would seriously

the police and other forces which co- names can be confusing, so here's what the

| AAM | Anti-Apartheid Movement |
|---------|--|
| ANC | African National Congress |
| COSATU | Congress of South African Trade U |
| FANU | Food Allied Workers Union |
| FOSATU | Federation of South African Trade U |
| Inkatha | Pro-capitalist movement led by Chief Buthelezi |
| MACWUSA | Motor Assemblers & Componen Workers Union of S Africa |
| | |



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SOUTH

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WORKERS & TENANTS IN YOUR FACTORIES & TORMSHIPS

Apartheid is apparently crumbling. But a capitalist South Africa will mean that the economic exploitation and bad conditions that the black working class live in will continue to exist. Apartheid is one particularly horrible form of institutionalised racism, but wherever black and immigrant workers are forced into sweat shops, do the low paid menial jobs, they are also effectively excluded form decent housing, schools and hospitals, and from those areas where these exist. A fighting and revolutionary working class organisation is what is needed...

SACP.

no programme of action and organi- it.

COSATU had adopted a resolution gained the territory they had lost strategy, an over-willingness to com- parties which can became the gov-One of the reasons COSATU and of political independence at its found- within the working class. The debate promise on major issues, and the ernment. But that's no good for their

of NUMSA (Metal workers union), the economy. If that happens, politi-

| niliar | MK | Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC |
|-------------------|-------|--|
| ey all | NACTU | National Council of Trade Unions |
| | NEC | National Executive Committee of the ANC |
| | NUMSA | National Union of Metalworkers of S Africa |
| | SAAWU | S African Allied Workers Union |
| | SACP | S African Communist Party |
| nions | SACTU | S African Congress of Trade Unions |
| | SWAPO | South West African People's Organisation, cur |
| Inions | | rently in government in Angola. |
| | UNITA | Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de |
| | | Angola (National Union for the total |
| ts | | Independence of Angola), Pro-capitalist |
| | | and was supported by the S African government. |
| a second a second | | |

It suits some union leaders to build Gradually the ANC and SACP re- sation, secretive negotiations, poor their political careers in political damentally different from those of politicians, and both centre on control. Socialism cannot come about Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary until workers themseelves control

> undermine the ANC's credibility with international capitalism. It would be especially ironic at present, given that Inkatha is in trouble after its links with the government and the South African Defence Force were exposed. For the ANC to succeed as a government in a capitalist nonapartheid South Africa it needs to deliver what the capitalists want control of the black working class.

See 'Anarcho-Syndicalism for Beginners - An Anarchist Approach to National Liberation' (Page 11).

AFRICA



"MUTINY IN THE ANC, 1984. **AS TOLD BY FIVE OF THE** MUTINEERS"

Price £1.50. Available c/o Bill McElroy, Secretary, Solidarity with Ex-SWAPO Detainees, 17 Tudor House, Tudor Grove, London E97QS.

This 27 page pamphlet tells of a widespread rebellion in the training camps of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC (African National Congress) inside Angola and Tanzania in 'mutineers' involved in the rebellion and also details conditions inside some of the ANC's detention camps, in particular the members of the SACP - ruled over notorious 'Quatro' camp, known the security apparatus." as the 'Buchenwald' of the ANC/ SACP (South African Communist The strength of the ANC in Angola Party).

Reports of injustice and dissatisfac- and the authors write that MK was tion in the rank and file of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) stretch back 20 years. As a precursor to the 1984 'mutiny' the first large rebellion took place in 1979 at Fazenda camp in Northern Angola. Trainees at Fazenda were in Fazenda was not to be tolerated supposed to spend three months in though; ANC general meetings, the camp before returning to fight which had been platforms for alongside their sisters and brothers discussion were terminated, in the Townships of South Africa Fazenda was closed and its occuforces. It soon became apparent

and a second course was introduced, that they were being fooled, to keep them busy.

Complaints from the rank and file of the camps, many of whom were eager to return to struggle in South Africa, were further fuelled by widespread dissatisfaction at the lack of democracy and the suppression of criticism. Inequalities in the Viana to join and support the living standards of the ANC/SACP mutineers that same day. officials and the majority of guerillas went hand in hand with the authoritarian internal functioning of ward several demands: an immethe camps. "ANC administrative 1984. It was written by five of the bodies ruled over its elected bodies, department with an investigation the security department ruled over the administrative organs, and the KGB trained officials - no doubt

> was underscored by its support from Cuba and the Soviet Union, really an extension of the KGB in Africa, with its role in Angola being fixed by Soviet foreign pooicy interests.

The spirit of resistance and criticism against the South African security pants were distributed among other camps. The majority

of the MK forces were taken to Zimbabwe to fight against Smith's Rhodesian Regime while three of the most vocal at Fazenda became the first inmates of the newly built prison camp, Quatro.

After fighting in Zimbabwe many of the MK forces refused to return to Angola, wanting to go to S Africa, and there were calls in June 1980 for a conference of the whole ANC membership where this issue and other dissatisfactions could be settled democratically. This call was rejected by the ANC leadership and during this period a 'spy-network' was 'discovered', becoming a pretext for rounding up anyone who wanted to "overthrow the leadershp of Tambo" by calling for such a conference. Detainees in the prison camps received beatings, torture and punishment under the guise of 'reeducation' and 're-habilitation'.

But the demands for democracy though, as the months went by did not go away and in 1983, to diffuse further calls for a confer ence the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC were forced to announce various changes in the organisation that were, however, merely cosmetic. This simply confirmed feelings in the grass roots of the organisation that the leadership had nothing but contempt for their demands and ideas and the discontent spread further thoughout the camps.

In January 1984 rebellious forces at Kangandala on the Malanje front presented a package of demands to MK second in command, Chris Hani, and on hearing Mutiny, were soon acting as of this the NEC ordered all the forces from Malanje to come to Luanda to meet the ANC leadership and resolve the crisis. At the transit camp, 'Viana', near Luanda, the guerillas were ordered to surrender their weapons to the security forces, but fearing reprisals from the guards they disarmed them instead. Crews of guerillas were sent out to ANC establishments to explain their case and hear the positions of others, and despite ambushes of delegations by ANC security personnel, people from all the establishments came streaming to

Mass meetings at Viana put fordiate suspension of the security into Quatro; a fully representative democratic conference with new elections; an end to the role of MK forces against UNITA in Angola and a review of armed struggle and its lack of progress in South Africa.

At the same time rebellions broke out at Caculama and Pango camps, all in all representing a 90% majority among the whole of the trained forces of MK in Angola and repressions within the ANC, (at the time the only country where the ANC had guerilla camps). Despite the scale of the 1984 Mutiny the different rebellions were suppressed with a mixture of treacherous deals, broken promises and military force, with the Angolan army coming to the aid of the ANC Security and their remaining

'loyal' forces. Exectutions, torture This tragic history shows us the and imprisonment followed.

In 1985 a national conference was held at Kabwe, with the ANC leadership being quick to claim that it had nothing to do with the demands of the mutineers, but rather with the political situaiton in S Africa. Delegates were rigorously vetted by the ANC voices that were allowed in order ANC show all the hallmarks of to give an appearance of democracy were easily silenced on the pretext that they would jeopardise 'unity' and divide the ANC.

This, however, was still not the last of the mutineers. In 1988,

Direct Action page 7

familiar workings of authoritarian politics in action. Calls for democracy and accountability were labelled counter-revolutionary and a danger to 'unity' by political leaders. In fact, in the ANC there was a "myth of tried and tested leadership" and the election of people to leadership positions was seen as "unworkable" and "unrealistic". leadership and the few protesting The repressions employed by the Stalinism and the authors of the pamphlet remark on how the Anti-Aparthied movement with its open and covert collusion and censorship represents "the most successful popular front lobby for Stalinism anywhere in the world".



with the Cuban withdrawal from Within the ANC long held illu-Angola, the mutineers, after nearly five years detention without trial, were moved to Tanzania and the ANC Development Centre at Dakwa. Much to the disappointment of the security officers the mutineers received an unbelievably warm welcome from the community there, as the gulf between the mood of the rank and file and the leadership of the ANC had continued to widen since 1984. Members of the 'Committee of Ten', influential in the 1984 representatives in their local organisations - the Zonal Youth · Committees - bringing up the same issues and demands that had already cost them years in detention. When two ex-mutineers were elected to the Regional running of Quatro camp and the Political Committee of all ANC centes in Tanzania in 1989 things had gone far enough; the body was dissolved by the ANC leadership to be replaced by an appointed 'Interim RPC'.

... the authors of the pamphlet remark on how the Anti-Apartheid movement, with all its open and covert collusion represents "the most succesful popular front lobby for Stalinsmanywhere in the world."

Faced with more reprisals and a refusal of protection from the UN in Tanzania, some of the ex-detainees escaped to Kenya. Others made it to S Africa where, following detention, a group of them held a press conference in Johannesburg on 16th May, giving an account of the Mutiny to the disbelief of Anti-Apartheid journalists. The ANC dismissed the revelations as the work of enemy agents, and shortly afterwards Sipho Phungulwa, one of the group and a long standing and respected activist, was murdered. The rest of the group remained in exile along with an estimated 40,000 others.

sions about the leadership being unaware of the repressions and the subsequent calls for enquiries and investigations and demands for the removal of key personnel, show that many retained a hope that the ANC could be reformed. As Anarcho-sychicalists we completely reject the idea of political parties; however, the insistence on independence, accountability and democracy coming consistently from the rank and file gives voice to aspirations we can recognise.

The ANC are currently seeking the integration of certain members of MK into the S African army and police. Among them are MK commander, Joe Modise and second in command, Chris Hani, two of the most notorious for their role in the repressions within the organisation (this parallels SWAPO's recent decision in Namibia to appoint S African security police to head its secret organs of coercion). And with the ANC preparing to take over the reigns of capitalism in S Africa, what the authors of the pamphlet termed their own "cruel journey of consciousness" to question the goings in in the organisation, must surely take them futher to look at the deeper logic of its structures and methods as a political party.

The tragic events described in the pamphlet may seem all too familiar to anarchists, but for the rank and file of yet another struggle the lessons have had to be learned the hard way. This is not to say that the ANC represents the total struggle in S Africa. It has long been of relatively little relevance within the Townships, though its new bargaining position of government in waiting has meant the extension of its politics, including those of the 'necklace' over recent years.

This pamphlet is valuable, though, for providing a detailed look at the goings on in a current liberation struggle and provided some scarce inside information about the South African situation.



While visiting our IWA sister organisation in Norway (NSF), DAM members attended a conference organised in opposition to the policies and structure of the national trade union federation (LO). Unions in Northern Europe have in common with unions in Britain high union density, a strong commitment to welfarism and strong worsened. It was the workplace clubs they had with the earlier syndicaist- lined the positive role of the early links with social democratic parties.

Norwegian unions had accepted many aspects of 'New Realism' before World War 2, like limits on secondary action and picketing. After the war, like many 'liberated' countries, Norway adopted a constitution influenced by the Allies, which was designed to provide a stable background where western capitalism could flourish. This led to a highly centralised union movement working closely with the state to limit militancy.

This is still the case, with the LO negotiating pay and conditions directly with employers' federations. Pay agreements last for two years, and where agreement cannot be reached there are long mediation procedures to go through. Before a strike can be called the parties must submit to mediation, the result of which must be voted on by the membership. Should the proposals not be accepted either party may request that the dispute be settled by voluntary arbitration. But the government has the power to use compulsory arbitration with legally binding results.

Faced with restrictions on the right to strike and a union committed to co-operation with the state and bosses, it appears that opportunity for militant action is more limited in comparison with Britain.

Norwegian workers do have some advantages however. Unlike the British TUC, LO negotiates for all workers in the organisation. Workers identify more with an organisation that has power to determine wages and conditions and where they see themselves as part of a class wide organisation. What worker in Britain sees themselves as belonging to the TUC?

In the LO workers still belong to national unions and federations. There are big advantages in the way the individual unions organise - all workers in one workplace in the same union; so they do not suffer from seperate unions negotiating with the on the shopfloor.

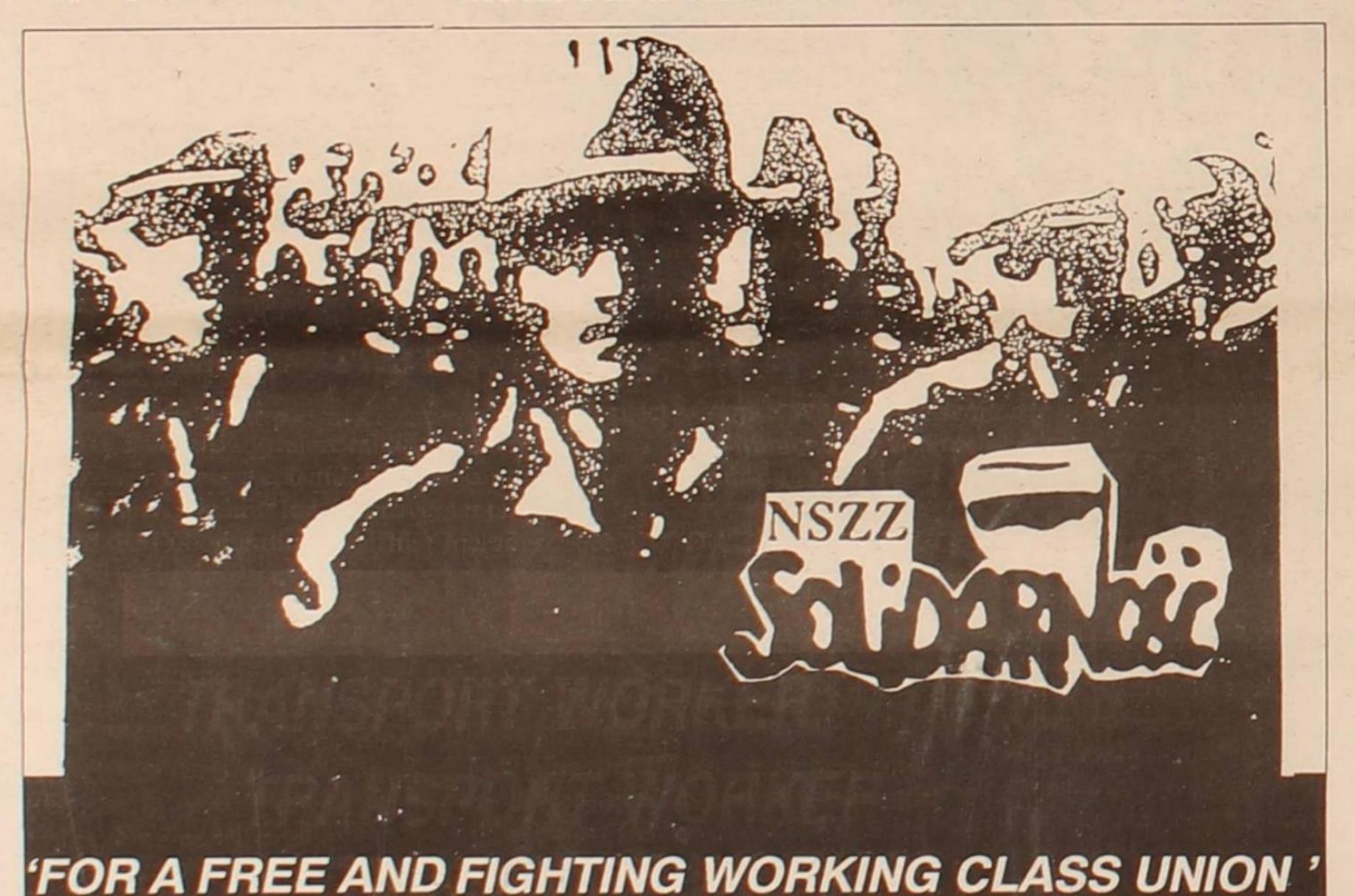
In Britain the first layer of the union organisation known as 'The Club'. at mass meetings held whenever pos- focal point for the struggle. sible during worktime. In larger workplaces, mass meetings elect While we were in Norway one such The largest left wing group in Nor- uading workers from leaving.

The recession and restructuring of countries, wages and conditions

disguised as allowances and expenses. resisting rent rises. This led to conflict with the LO leadthrough regular collections.

to which Norwegian workers increas- inspired labour movement which was syndicalists and contrasted them with illegal and it went all out to break the ingly turned, with the more militant involved in everything from provid- the negative role played by the clubs able to win illegal pay increases ing eating houses for the poor, to communists.

ers and the state. Clubs taking what The militancy and influence of the need to build democratic unions vived. we term unofficial action is illegal factory clubs and local federations independent of the state and the under Norwegian law, with those has upset national LO leaders. LO's Labour Party, and calling for the This experience inhibited moves to involved liable to fines. In some cases whole rationale is social democratic, Labour Party to stop interferring in leave the LO: but a ballot was still workers found ways around this. In and about compromising with the the union youth movement took held over whether to leave the LO one famous case one of the best state. This has led them to sabotage place. 'Free And Independent Trade amongst construction workers. A organised groups, the lift engineers, actively the efforts of workers. They Unions' became a buzzword. But as narrow majority forstayed with 51% incurred fines for striking, but on have organised an LO national con- the conference progressed splits for, and 49 against. Disenchantment returning to work they went on an ference in 1993 to reveiw the whole occured over how these unions were spread to the shipbuilding industry go-slow, thereby forcing employers structure. The proposals they have to be built - inside or outside of the (now mainly involved in building to pay the fines. Financial victimis- sofar put forward is that LO goes the LO? This battle rages in many sec- oil rigs) with calls coming from tion and the unsupportive stance of the whole way and becomes " one big tors of their trade union movement. many areas to leave the LO. It became widely recognised that the LO convinced workers of the need for union"; in a cynical move to underfinancial independence. This resulted mine the growing power of the rank Workers in the offshore oil industry influence of Maoist shop stewards in clubs having their own funds, raised and file of the new union, the local had organised an independent un- arguing to stay in the LO was disfederations are to be disbanded. ion outside of the LO, a move seen as uading workers from leaving.



organisation equivalent to our local conference. Links had already been follow. But the new union was in branches. For example, workers in built between activists in a national volved in a strike that the state made an engineering works send a dele- campaign for Polish and Latin illegal and it went all out to break the gate to a town or city-wide engineer- American workers in which clubs union. The dispute became increasing branch. These branches then had been at the forefront. The first ingly bitter with workers occupying affiliate with branches from other conference, in 1989, proved little more the rigs and ended with the sacking industries in the same town to form than a rally dominated by political of 20 workers. But the union sura local LO federation, each with its groupings. The following year in vived. own building, "The People's House". Oslo, it was sabotaged by manou-These structures date back to the verings of the LO. Calls came again This experience inhibited moves to same employer or unions compet- turn of the century when LO was for a conference in 1991 with ten leave the LO: but a ballot was still ing against each other for members influenced by syndicalists. In more union branches to help organise it. held over whether to leave the LO recent limes they were not utilised The conference was moved to Trond- amongst construction workers. A fully. During the recession they again heim, far to the north of Oslo, and narrow majority forstayed with 51% proved useful to workers when they details widely circulated. 300 people for, and 49 against. Disenchantment operates outside the workplace - the were faced with closures and job attended, 40% of them women, with spread to the shipbuilding industry branch. In Norway it is a workplace losses. In many places the local LO the majority as mandated dele- (now mainly involved in building federations provided the framework gates. Norway has a small popula- oil rigs) with calls coming from In smaller workplaces LO members for whole communities to fight back, tion so the delegates attending rep- many areas to leave the LO. It beare in one Club, decisions are taken with People's Houses providing a resented up to 10% of the union came widely recognised that the

delegates to a factory wide club struggle was taking place in the town way are Maoists, but under propormeeting. These clubs have limited of Odda which had been the scene of tional representation they concen- Delegates from places like Odda and negotiation rights to make improve- a fight against local job losses and a trate on parlimentary and local the oilfields made it clear that their ments on local pay and conditions. struggle to prevent the closure of a council politics rather than the in- priority lay in building an effective hospital. The local federation was at dustrial scene and were not present trade union movement, if that meant the centre of organising support in in any strength. The conference began being expelled "then so be it". But in capitalism in the '70's and '80's af- workplaces throughout the town and with a talk from a labour historian many areas workers were commitfected Norway like other western the locality. Shop stewards involved outlining the history of the Norwe- ted to the LO. Where previous dewere saying how much in common gian Labour movement. She out- bate had not been held they were far



organised workforce.

Clubssend delegates to a local union Activists proposed an opposition an initiative other workers would

influence of Maoist shop stewards arguing to stay in the LO was dis-

volved in a strike that the state made union. The dispute became increasingly bitter with workers occupying the rigs and ended with the sacking A wide-ranging discussion on the of 20 workers. But the union sur-

> Delegates from places like Odda and the oilfields made it clear that their priority lay in building an effective trade union movement, if that meant being expelled "then so be it". But in many areas workers were committed to the LO. Where previous debate had not been held they were far more reluctant to be involved in actions that might result in expulsions. The debate was good-humoured and free of the sectarian point scoring which dominates the British scene. A national network is being set up with the local federation from Odda being the co-ordinating body. The aim is to exchange information and co-ordinate national support for strikes; to organise opposition to attacks by the LO on local organisation, and to prepare the ground for the next opposition conference in 1993, with concentration focused on preventing the local federations being disbanded.

Norwegian workers have not only maintained workplace organisations but have expanded them. There has been discussion on the role of the reformist union federation, the LO. Links between unions and the Labour party were analysed critically, a rarity in Britain. The special magazine, produced by the NSF for the conference, outlining the opposition in 1911 and the setting up of the NSF anarcho-syndicalist union in 1916, was well received. The Norwegian labour movement is using classic anarcho-syndicalist tactics and the events in Eastern Europe has also led them to give serious attention to anarcho-syndicalism.

In Britain we have faced a decade of a Tory government trying to destroy the union movement. We still have a large union membership and a high number of shop stewards. But we have a more centralised trade union movement which sees its role as providing financial services and looks towards the European social charter and the election of a Labour government to provide a legal framework through which to enter into a social partnership with the state to run capitalism. The question must be asked therefore, "Where is our opposition movement?".

Direct Action Page 9

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY NETWORK - NEW YORK

community in the Lower East Side community festival, the police ri- Janiero, Bristol, Southampton, Lonof New York was attacked by the oted, causing serious injury to doz- don, Liverpool, working class areas police and their home, Tompkins ens of residents. A London solidar- are facing the same State strategy. • Square Park, was demolished. Since ity demonstration was held outside The strongest resistance in Britain to that day, an occupying force of po- the London offices of the New York the Poll Tax and to the bailiffs is in lice have been guarding the area State Department of Commerce on working class areas. against the homeless and squatting 14th August to protest at the concommunity.

back to the early seventies when off to the offices of Cable News fication or resistance to it ... resistance to the State was increasing Network. After entering en masse International Solidarity Network, in many urban working class areas. and blocking the door, we were able 56 Crampton Street The political solution was to destroy to talk about why we were holding London SE17 radical areas by moving the poor out the solidarity action to the CNN into isolated suburbs.

focus for resistance to this social sage. engineering for many years. On

On 3rd June 1991, the homeless 6th August 1988, after a peaceful In Berlin, in Barcelona, in Rio de tinuing police occupation.

European correspondant, who The American ISN address is: 'phoned the CNN newsdesk in New PO Box 24114 Tompkins Square Park has been a York to pass on the solidarity mes- New York

SOLIDARITY IS STRENGTH

NY 10009, USA



800 workers in Zamedelia, South Africa are requesting support. Back in 1987, the workers were sacked by their employer, Sasol, following industrial action. The dispute has been waged through the South African Industrial Courts, which - Surprise! Surprise! - has upheld the company's of 21 soldiers in the US and Gerposition. The workers now face eviction from their Sasol-owned homes.

Strikers are requesting letters of protest to: The Manager, Sasol Ltd, 23 Baker Street, Rosebank 2196, South Africa.

Messages of solidarity to: Mr J L Kekane, PO Box 2661, Vereeniging 1930, South Africa.

Donations c/o Leicester Trades Council, 138

Scarce: Solidarity Network Bulletin.



Away from the glare of publicity, ling gulf war resisters. So far, a total many have been given prison sentences of between 8 and 18 months. Several more still await trial. Eric Larsen and Kevin Sparrock, who both played an active part in the German anti-war movement, have been singled out for particularly heavy treatment. The prosecutor is asking for the death penalty.

Messages of solidarity etc to: DFG-VK, Vogelsbergstr. 17, D-6000, Frankfurt 1, Germany



Nearest tube ... Aldgate East

Corner of brick Lane and Bethnal Green Rd

SPANISH WORKING CLASS HISTORY IN PARIS

a great movement, the survivors of ture, however, remained ossified as and centres. The complex in Paris, at the fascist Holocaust who kept to- it was at the end of the Spanish war 33 rue des Vignoles, consists of a hall gether almost an an extended fam- so that a bureaucracy centred in and several offices (it had a library, ily. Scattered over France in poverty, Toulouse, consisting of people who but the collection has been sent to and at first resented by many as came to prominence in the civil war, Spain). The French CNT has its ofintruders, they were forced into in- took control, and the movement fices there and makes use of the hall. ternment and then slave labour camps tended to become apathetic, looking during the war. Some of the men for a revival in Spain. From its ranks, Apart from huge collections for were able to escape by joining the however, came the Resistance fight- Spanish prisoners over the years, the Foriegn Legion (and later by enter- ers such as Sabater, who renewed CNT-in-France collects for the paring the Free French or British forces), the struggle against Franco. which is how they got their families out of misery.

French Resistance consisted of Span- dreds, as many veterans die off or have a story to tell of past struggles: ish Anarchists and French Commu- have returned to Spain (on a British they have fought fascism and capinists. It was the latter who took orders or French old age pension one can talism, aided the resistance against from the Allies but the former who live well in Spain, especially if one Hitler and Franco; rebuilt the orachieved the spectacular results, but had a house or flat to sell). Though ganisation in Spain and contributed for which they were totally unre- family tradition is strong in Spanish to the building of the French organi warded.

After the war, the Spanish CNT as a Spain. workers' organisation out-

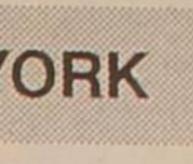
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ENDERIN .

anarcho-syndicalism, activist daugh- sation. ters and sons have either entered the French movement or returned to

The Spanish CNT in France was once stripped many leftist parties. Its struc- The Spanish CNT retains many halls

ent organisation, and publishes 'Centi' monthly. It is a significant historical We visited the remnant of the Span- landmark in working class history ish CNT in France last month. Its that has been ignored. Almost every During the German Occupation, the membership is down to a few hun- one of its ageing members would







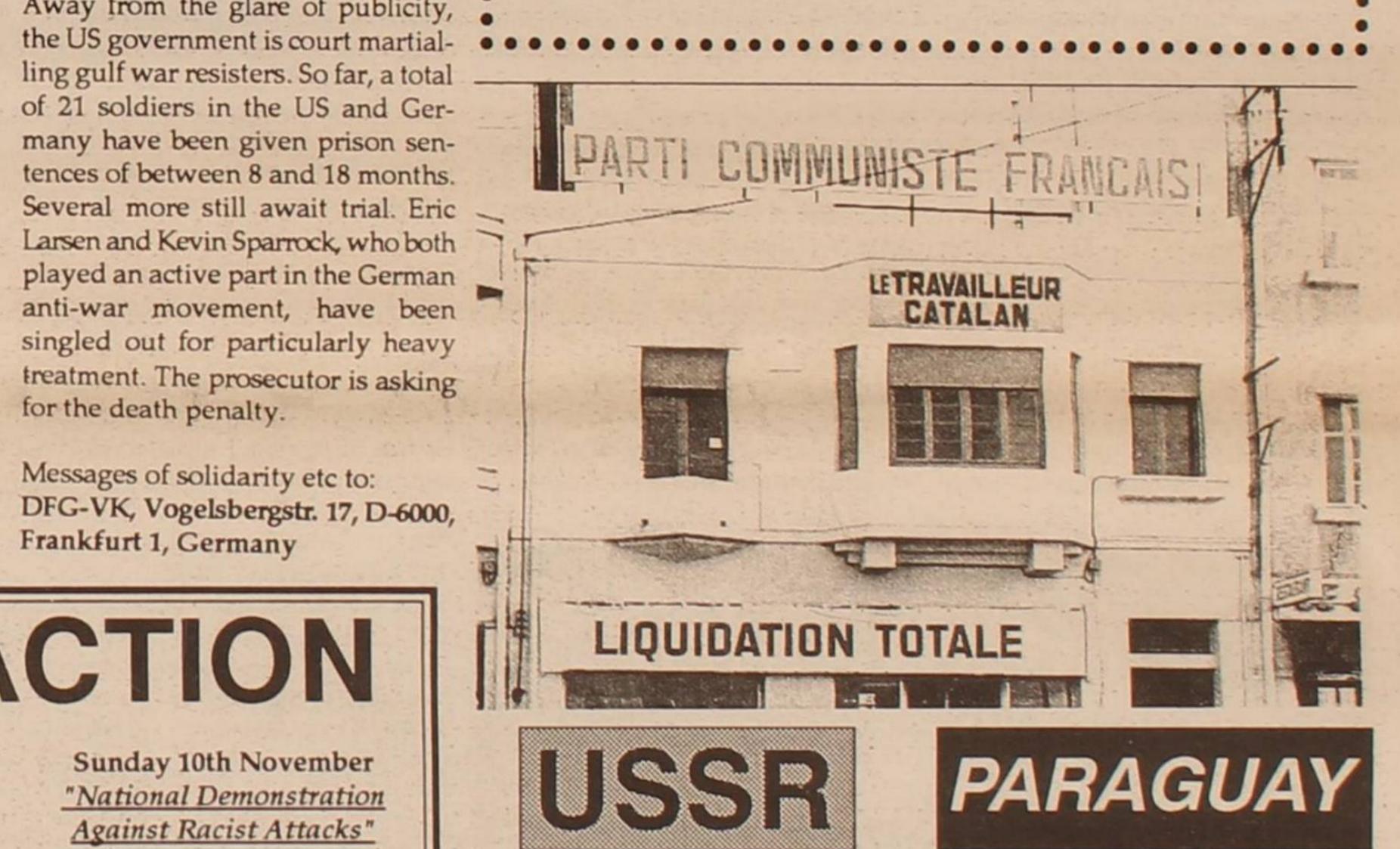
INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA' (June 1991)

Seventy years of authoritarian socialism and attempts at achieving equality in a largely patriarchal and peasant-based country has not brought Soviet women control over their own lives...

The strategy of 'yuppie-fication' goes After a two hour picket we moved For more information on yuppie- Olga Lipovskay, her partner Natalya Filippova and sister Tatyana are to starting an independent women's publishing house in the USSR. The founders are launching an appeal to individuals and organisations. Due to the extraordinarily high cost of obtaining paper in the USSR, they plan to establish their own printing workshop and connnections.

> Help the nascent independent women's movement by sending a donation to the 'FOUNDATION FOR INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA', Account No 7039670 at LLOYD'S BANK, 51 Highgate High Street, London N65 LA, Code 301400.

A first Independent Women's Forum was held from 29th-31st March 1991 in Dubna, a town just north-west of Moscow. It is considered to have been a success. For more information on this or on the publishing house in formation, you can write to Olga -USSR, 191104 St Petersburg, Liteiny per 51-19, Olga Lipovskaya.



The hottest news from the Soviet Union Good news form Paraguay! Workviks (minority).

ship of the Proletariat' statutes say "we organised opposition to the stategather workers who have the highest controlled Paraguayan Workers' level of class consciousness". Their Confederation. It now includes more organisational structure is based, of than 70 unions. COSI see themselves course, on the principals of democratic as signifying the resurgence of revocentralism, "elected decision making lutionary anarcho-syndicalism in bodies.. party members follow strict Paraguay. We hope to carry more indisciplinary rules...majority submits to formation in future issues. minority", etc.

tatorship of the Proletariat are the Piso, Asuncion, Paraguay. Mensheviks! Never mind, better luck next time.

is the split at the last conference of the ers have established an independent Marxist Workers Party between the and revolutionary union movement. Bolsheviks (majority) and the Menshe- The new federation, the Coordinadora de Organizaciones Sindicales Independientes (COSI), was estab-The 'Party of Workers for the Dictator- lished in February 1989 following

Contact: Coordinadora de Organi-Unfortunately within this particular zaciones Sindicales Independiensplit, the Party of Workers for the Dic- tes, Brasil y Mcal Estigarribia, 1er

1.150

Source: Umanita Nova

Dear Readers, Subscribers, Distributors, Bookshops.

Welcome to this issue of DIRECT ACTION. We have recently changed the way in which DA is produced and this has taken us some time to organise. Apologies therefore for any delay in receiving this issue, which we hope you will enjoy.

Distribution note: there have also been changes to the distribution of DA. This shouldn't have affected many people, but if it did please let us know.

ODS & SODS

Anarcho-syndicalism is above all internationalist. As we struggle here against capitalism and the state, we directly support whenever possible the working class in other countries against their bosses and their state. In this we are unique; all the left at times abandon a class position for 'tactical reasons' and support a sometime oppressor - a Saddam Hussein or an mere ahistorical prelude to develop- All over the world, socialist and leftist Of course, conflicts do occur. National The authoritarian approach insists ANC committed to becoming part of ment; the underdeveloped economies rhetoric is used to justify the emergence liberation movements do clash with upon imposing national unity; the libthe capitalist South Africa, which will are not 'lagging behind' the industrial of new ruling classes. continue to ensure the exploitation of economies. They are crippled as a rethe black working class. This is an sult of systematic exploitation. extract from 'An Anarchist Approach to National Liberation' (circa 1978) by These imperialist relationships of ruling class with sustained contact with between rival despots have always Martin Spence.

tion' struggles represent the revolu- areas have exercised a crippling contionary tendency in the world. To criti- trol over peripheral areas (Ireland, the cise them is to take an 'objectively Scottish Highlands) in a classically imcounter-revolutionary stance'. But perialist fashion. these struggles aim to establish 'independent states' and therefore new class The dominant element is not the metrosocieties.

ship between two societies whereby ropolitan and peripheral economies. one dominates the other. Imperialism The mass of people at the metropolis does not require the existence of for- are, of course, excluded from effective mally dependent 'colonies'. A metro- power, but can be encouraged to share politan society dominates a peripheral in a sense of national superiority. society, economically and often politi- Meanwhile, at one periphery, a local cally and culturally. Imperialism is not ruling class profits from the exploita-"the highest stage of capitalism", as tion of the local population and re- ideology is absorbed by the periphery. mately, a state. Lenin argued, but a precondition of sources, and can perhaps share in the This means that advocates of national capitalism, which retains its impor- lifestyle and values of the metropolitan liberation seek to build viable, modern, National liberation is diametrically the National Liberation Struggle' tance throughout capitalism's various ruling class which it aspires to emulate. independent states in the image of the opposed to a class perspective of libdevelopmental stages. The industrial revolution in England and elsewhere NATIONAL LIBERATION was fuelled by the capital extracted The local ruling class at the periphery from other societies by the European acts as a entrepreneur between local countries from their colonies or de- resources and metropolitan profits. A pendents.

consequence of exploitation. Underde- nationalist or socialist terms, setting a the local ruling class, and precisely velopment is the condition of depend- goal of 'national liberation', using because the local ruling class borrows ency in peripheral areas, whose econo- grand rhetoric, setting 'the people' free, its concepts and priorities from the ies, to do that. mies are so structured as to be inca- liberating 'the nation'. The rhetoric is metropolitan ruling class, national libpable of autonomous movement, able impressive, and many socialists justify eration is a demand which cannot lead National liberation is not synonyto develop only insofar as metropolitan their support for national liberation. to a genuinely anti-imperialist strategy.



For many socialists, 'national libera- the metropolitan British economy, core imperialism at which the metropolitan against the other.

politan society as a whole, but the ruling class within it. The class broadly IMPERIALISM involves a relation- controls the development of both met-

section of this class may became aware of this role, and the resentment or guilt Because national liberation is a de-



metropolitan states, to put an end to eration, whereby oppressed masses Our task is not to 'support' national their disadvantageous economic posi- achieve their own freedom in their own liberation, critically or otherwise, but to tion. They envisage doing this via in- way. An effective and consistent anti- participate in anti-imperialist activities dustrialisation, state-directed and cen- mperialist strategy must insist on the in the metropolis. Imperialism is sustralised econmic planning.

'Underdevelopment' is the historical arising from this may be expressed in mand which represents the interests of

AN IMPERIALIST TOOL Since their emphasis is put upon creat- perialist struggle. This generalised re- dominant interests here, can only be of

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ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM FOR BEGINNERS

AN ANARCHIST APPROACH TO NATIONAL LIBERATION

trenched metropolitan interests.

The goal of national liberation has been These conflicts cannot be ignored - they power and dependency are not con- Western society. National liberation caused suffering and death; that is no fined to national boundaries. Within represents a new and subtle stage of reason for us to 'support' one despot

PEOPLE

ests is not questioned. National Libera- replaces imposed political unity. tion movements construct their programmes and activities around con- "We therefore have territorial limits which cepts borrowed from the imperialists, would not necessarily coincide with the and make typically imperialist as- political confines of the preceding state sumptions that there must be a political dissolved by the revolution. In this case the centre, political leadership and ulti-

primacy of class conflict at all times. tained both at the periphery and at the Once we abandon that position and metropolis by denying the conflict of start talking in terms of 'national self- class interests by building up feelings determination' we are talking about so- of nationalism and indentification with lutions within the framework of impe- the state. Our priority must be to reveal rialism. Is it our task, as revolutionar- the clash of class interests at all times; to

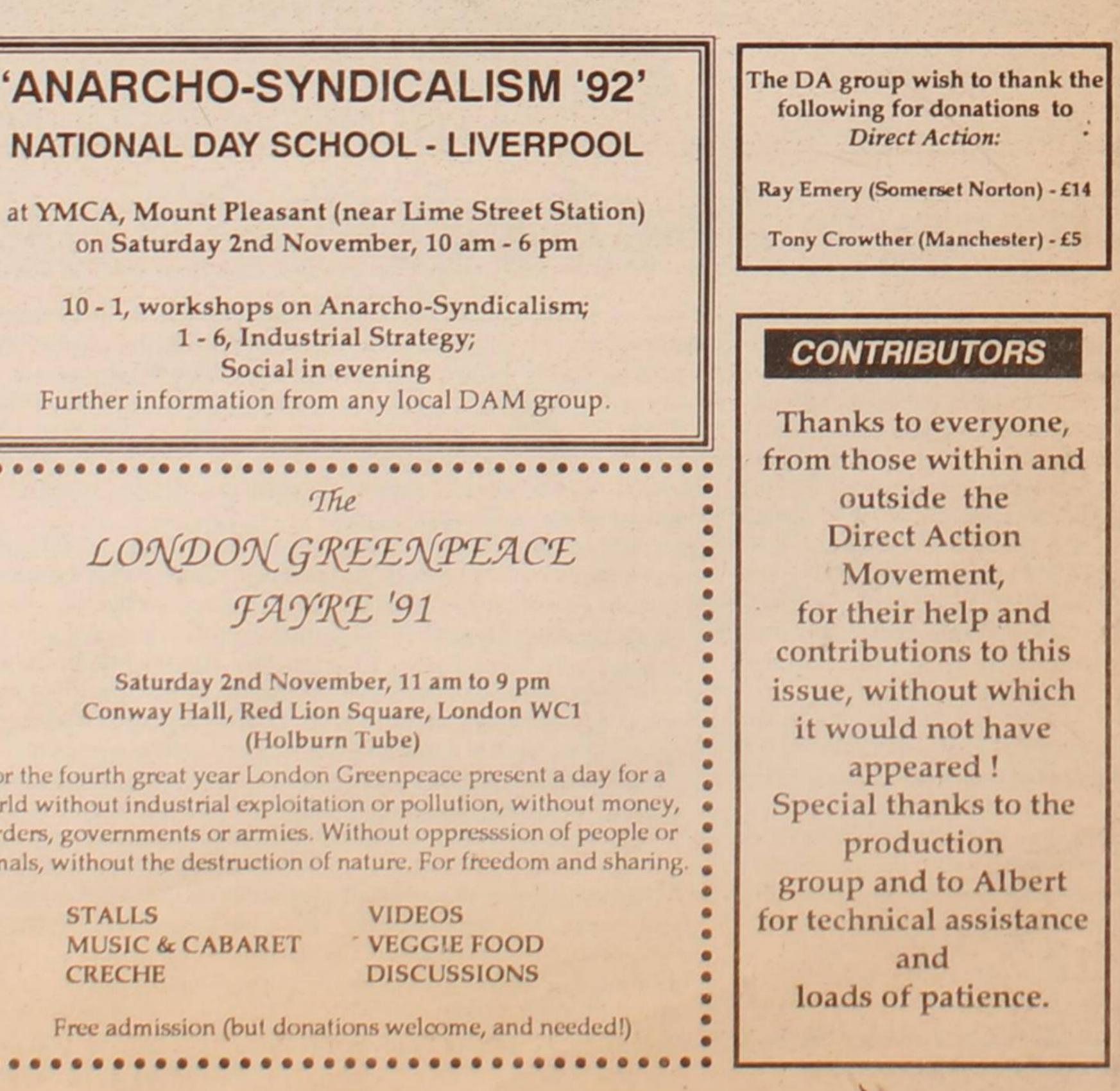
mous with anti-imperialist struggle - in the interest of the ruling class. it is a particular demand, and is sup-NATIONALIST LIBERATION AS ported by certain interests and A militant struggle within the British imposed upon the genralised anti-im- imperialist metropolis, which weakens viable modern states in sistance is going on all the time, all over help to people struggling for their freeg conditions, national liberation the world, and it is the basis on which a dom elsewhere. In the final analysis, gles inevitably lead to compro- true anti-imperialism is built. The gen- imperialist institutions crippled at with one brand of imperialism or eralised resistance starts from every- home would be unable to maintain day realities of the oppressed.

entrenched local rulers, or with en- ertarian approach is to build upon the common class experiences and the common ethnic experiences which exset by those sections of the peripheral cause untold suffering and death. Wars ist. By insisting upon a class dimension to anti-imperialist struggle, we are merely pointing out that an oppressive system can only be opposed by the autonomous actions of the oppressed. By insisting upon an ethnic dimen-NATIONAL LIBERATION v THE sions, we are pointing out that these same people can only start to build a The transformation of colonial territo- free society on the basis of their own ries into 'independent' states does not particular, concrete, everyday experirepresent a blow against imperialism, ences; the common experience of opbut an adjustment within it. The subor- presion, and of the struggle against it, dination of peripheral areas and popu- provides the embryonic form of a new lations to dominant metropolitan inter- social order. An emergent ethnic unity

> ethnic division takes the place of the deforming political division." Alfredo M Bonnano, 'Anarchism and

show that the British state is in no sense 'our' state, but is imposed upon us; and show how the 'national interest' is only

their stranglehold at the periphery.



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| Ray Emery (Somerset Norton) - £14 |
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| outside the |
| Direct Action |
| Movement, |
| for their help and |
| contributions to this |
| issue, without which |
| it would not have |
| appeared ! |
| Special thanks to the |
| production |
| group and to Albert |
| for technical assistance |
| and |

loads of patience.

PUBLICATIONS AND SALES

OUT OF THE GHETT0

OUT OF THE GHETTO.is an unfinished autobiography (1913-1939) of Joe Jacobs, a Jewish working class militant from the East End of London. His vivid and personal book is history, biography and politics all in one. The heart of OUT OF THE GHETTO is the decade of the 1930s and the struggles against fascism. Joe was an active member of the Communist Party throughout the '30's, but was expelled in 1938 for taking too hard an antifascist line. So his view of events in the East End, especially the battle of Cable Street in 1936, differs from the orthodox CP version. The book was published in 1978 but has been out of print. You can help Phoenix Press raise the £4,000 needed.

Firstly, you can lend money in multiples of £40. For each £40 you will receive a copy of the book and the offer of your money back when enough copies have been sold (this is likely to take several years!) If you can't afford £40 but still want to help, than you can buy advance copies at the reduced price of £6. We hope to have the book published in autumn 1991, in time for the Anarchist Book Fair. Phoenix has already published six books through this subscription system.



- A NEW magazine challenging media censorship -

Falklands War Plot. The dramatic untold story of war preplanning and the secret battle to save Thatcher from exposure for deceiving, Parliament, Bush's 'Third World' War. 20 Third World democracies overthrown: the inside story. A review of top-ranking ex-CIA agent John Stock well's new book.

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FBI: Political Police. The F.B.I.'s ruthless "COINTELPRO" campaign against 'Black Panthers'. native Americans and MOVE.

Gulf War Launches 'New World Order'. Ex CIA agent Phillip Agee's comprehensive analysis of American military operations,

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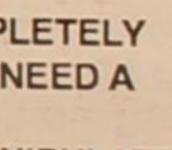
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<u>OTHER</u>

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working class organisation.

2. Our aim is the creation of a free ruling class. and classless society.

3. We are fighting to abolish the tarism and all attitudes and institustate, capitalism and wage slavery in tions that stand in the way of equalall their forms and replace them by ity and the right of all people everyself managed production for need, where to control their own lives and · not profit.

4. In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take 8. The Direct Action Movement is over the means of production and resolved to initiate, encourage and distribution. We are the sworn ene- wholeheartedly support the creamies of those who would take over tion of independent workers' unon behalf of the workers.

5. We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is 9. The Direct Action Movement is a All such workers' organisations must bosses and so-called experts.

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

CONTACTS

6. We are opposed to all states and state institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is world wide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police 1. The Direct Action Movement is a of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those states, they exist only as the repressive arm of the

> 7. We oppose racism, sexism, milienviroment

> ions based on the principles of anarcho-syndicalism.

by independent organisation in the federation of groups and individuwork place and the community and als who believe in the principles of federation with others in the same anarcho-syndicalism: a system where industry and locality, independent the workers alone control industry of and opposed to all political par- and the community without the ties and trade union bureaucracies. dictates of politicians, bureaucrats,

There is no section of the International Workers' Association in Ireland, but we maintain links

ORGANISE! (Anarcho-Syndicalist group based in the Six Counties), C/o 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast 1, Ireland

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

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

IDEAS & ACTION (US Anarcho-Syndicalist paper), PO Box 40400, San Fransisco, CA 94140, USA REBEL WORKER (Australian Anarcho-Syndicalist paper), PO Box 92, Broadway, NSW 2007,

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION (North/South/East/South-East London Branches), BM 1734, London