

FUSEROWER

A year of bitter struggle has gone by, a year of suffering for mining communities in which men and women have been brutalised by the state's forces, seen their comrades killed, beaten or imprisoned, seen them commit suicide, seen their families impoverished or broken up and their close-knit communities torn asunder.

A year in which all the forces that modern capitalism can muster have been used not only to try to discredit the miners, but also to try and alienate them from the support of their fellow workers. Everything from the most veiled and subtle comments to blatantly vicious and lying attacks has been used by the media; press, radio and television have daily put the boot in, regardless of the fact that in this strike we have witnessed the greatest mobilisation of the state's repressive forces since 1926, and at a cost of over £5 billion.Money is no object when the stakes are high.

But what are the stakes?



But you see, even these vest-"The right to manage"; it is this igial elements of syndicalism power which underlies the whole struggle, because it is this power are a danger for those who aspire to "manage" the new order, for to impose decisions on workers which the industrial organisation what is it that syndicalists have always urged?That workers should of the working class came into MANAGE THEMSELVES.What a dangerbeing to resist, and it is this ous thought -- that they should resistance which must be destroy ed when the workers enter the not be content with bargaining Brave New World of tomorrow. To and accepting the wage system this end Big Sister is totally but should actually challenge the very bedrock upon which economic dedicated. But, you may ask, why the NUM? exploitation is based. The boss class know that this challenge to The NUM was born out of the old Miners' Federation and it their authority to manage must be was Syndicalists who brought it totally smashed if the Brave New into being. It is, out of the World is to come about. With the miners beaten, the reactionary Trade Union movement of this country, probably the most methods of direct action would, they hope, be discredited, no other militant and democratic union, having retained much of its union daring to challenge their original, syndicalist, industrial power to manage, whilst the workers union structure, though not all, are left uselessly to grope in for when it came into being it the blind alleys of politics, was revolutionary syndicalist and without a hope in hell of ever committed to the replacement of being in a position to manage Capitalism by "building the frame their own industry. work of the new society within Beneath this struggle, then, is the shell of the old".However, a conflict of interests covering like all unions its involvement far more than just the coal indwith other "Bargaining Limited ustry: the boss class fight to Liability Companies" in the TUC retain the ability to boss, and its subsequent tie up with against the syndicalist concept the Labour Party have diverted it of what the French call "Autogestion"--Self Management. from its original goal in past

with an even greater urgency, born of the frustration experienced as a result of the State Control policies of the Labour Party.More and more workers are concerned with bringing about a more accountable society--a return to the stance taken by early syndicalists:decentralisation, delegation subject to recall, accountability. All these are discussed in many trade union branches, and it is such concepts as these which spell the death knell to capitalism and to those who would MANAGE PEOPLE. As syndicalists we say -- with the ancient Chinese sage Lao Tsu -- "The time will come when man's rule over man will disappear, and instead will be humankind's admin-

istration of things".

SWANSEA DAM

Britain is entering its second Industrial Revolution in the age of the Super State, and the role to be played by working men and women is to be precisely defined and controlled. It is in this context that the underlying issues of the present struggle can be seen as part of an overall strategy.

We are told by the media that the issues are centred round the question of closures of so-called "uneconomic pits".Yet willingness on the part of the miners' union to enter into discussions without any preconditions are rejected by the National Coal Board, and a written undertaking to accept pit closures demanded before ever any discussion takes place. Even the Independent Review Body proposed in the NACODS agreement would only be an advisory body, who no doubt would lack the power to implement any decision which went against the interest of the Thatcher government.

Then what is the underlying issue that demands that the NUM is not only defeated but humiliated as well?Thatcher has spelt it out in her phrase years, and men like "honest Joe" Gormley found you don't get knighted if you rock the boat.

In recent years the call for workers' control as opposed to nationalisation has re-emerged

INSIDE THIS ISSUE: *LIVERPOOL: Marxists in control. *ROMANIA: Miners' food riots. *MINERS' YEAR-LONG STRIKE: 75 years ago. * DIRECT ACTION: View of Willie Gallacher. *BARKING: One year on. *COCA-COLA: Repression -- the real thing. *Plus lots more

CORRECTION

In our previous issue we stated that Mr Peter Heathfield was a member of the Communist Party.We have since been informed that he is not and never has been, so we would like to apologise for the no doubt extreme embarrassment this mistake might have caused him.

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Opinion

FOR REAL INDUSTRIAL ACTION

February 11th was the TUC "Day of Action"at least in Yorkshire and Humberside and the South East--not that you would have noticed unless you were in the know.

"Strike for the day ... or an hour...or take whatever action seems appropriate" or "give a day's wages...or an hour's..."--yes, the usual watering-down of calls to action that we have come to expect from fraction of the support the TUC.It's the usual waste of people's militancy:days of token action, a waste perfected during the healthworkers' dispute when the surge of solidarity felt by working people for these workers was squandered in regional days of action whose only result was a lost day's pay. The February day of action was doomed to fail for many reasons. Its terms were deliberately left imprecise to allow the lowest level of involvement, fostering the "I did my bit--I gave an extra quid to the miners" attitude. It was also called without any significant publicity or preparation.Where were the thousands of pos-

Yorkshire and Humberside TUC.Who the hell are they?What relevance do they have to the shop floor?

As it was, only the most militant workers took any action. Certain pits held mass pickets with the help of miners support groups from other towns, and power stations throughout the North were also picketed. But this is only a present in the working class for the miners. How can this support be mobilised by a body as remote from workplace practice and as hostile to industrial action as the TUC? In the here and now an all out general strike call from the NUM ignoring the TUC, could move workers to action. A strike call independent of Trade Union bureaucracy and vigourously advertised could meet with success. But the events of the last year underline that for the future we need to forge a new unionism, militant and independent of political parties, solidly based on a rank and file movement.

SOLIDARITY-OR SECTARIANISM?

The Mineworkers' Defence Committee's 2nd Conference was held on February 9th and attracted less than 300 delegates. In a realistic and honest statement from the platform the speaker from the MDC said that few miners' support groups or workplaces were represented amongst the delegates.

The organisers had emphasised that the conference was not intended to be a rally but a decision-making conference; in reality it was neither ...

Given the lack of rank and file activists present, the list of resolutions calling for the setting up of "workers' defence corps" and all-out general strike strikes can only be seen as abstract propaganda on behalf of the resolution sponsors, who consisted not of workplace groups or trade union branches, but a number of Trotskyite papers, etc. This conference was ideally timed and situated to be the foc ocal point for the Yorkshire and

Humberside TUC call for a 24-hr general strike in its area on Feb 11th.Instead the event was not even discussed -- one of the most shameful aspects of the conference.It was also notable for its undemocratic procedure:some delegates were refused the right to speak, and resolutions, including the resolution from the Burnley Congress for Industrial Action(calling for the organisation of a general strike for March 6th, anniversary of the national miners' strike)were "lost".

A local NUM speaker in the afternoon summed up the frustration of many when he said he had attended the TU workshop (one of three). "What did we get? Not solidarity but sectarianism"

The Mineworkers' Defence Committee, which is made up of various, self-appointed trot groups, has sought to combine in a national organisation local Labour Party groups, CND members, Greenham Common women, gay activists, and almost as an afterthought, trade unionists and miners' support groups. In trying to form such a wide united front they are missing an important point: the strength of support for the miners lies within the rank and file of trade union activists. If the miners are to win we should be looking towards building a rank and file movement based upon the existing workplace miners' support groups and committees. The key to delivering real solidarity is in building these groups within factories and workplaces and not in Leftist groups and university campuses. The overwhelming message of the conference, and indeed the miners' strike itself, must be that parliamentary action is a non-runner--only direct action . and industrial solidarity will ensure economic freedom. John Simpkin, Burnley DAM.

In February 4,000 Spanish workers in a single city, Vittoria, came out in sympathy when three militants were imprisoned. The sort of unionism we have in Britain couldn't manage to call out 4,000 in the whole country on February 11th. Models for a unionism which can inspire workers to militant action exist.It's time to look to this syndicalist tradition and learn from it in Britain today. Guy Cheverton HULL DAM.



All unfit for human consumption

ters calling for action?Where were the mass meetings?

All we got were some grubby leaflets, vaguely urging some kind of action, from SERTUC or

to make another section of the population redundant.No, not the usual blue-collar unskilled jobs,

but the very jobs which were set * to benefit from computerisation are at risk. It now seems certain that many low-level computer operators and programmers will soon be redundant. The new, highlevel computers will be able to adjust themselves or write their own programmes without needing



The continuous introduction of people. The new machines will also computer technology now threatens be largely voice- or light-pen operated, doing away with the need for keyboard operators, data entry operators, etc.

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No-one sate

So far, these people, low-level programmers and operators have felt secure and tended to steer clear of unions and class-coscious activity.Now, generally unorganised, they can be pushed about, sacked or redeployed and have no resources to offer them solidarity or mutual aid.

Syndicalists can take a leading part in the struggles of these workers. Traditional trades unionism has little to offer, but syndicalism can offer decentralised organisation, direct action, direct democracy and a classbased objective, libertarian communism. The existing unions, tied as they are to the labour party and the notion of reforming the present system through parliamentary action and negotiation, lack both the tough combative spirit and the revolutionary long-term view of syndicalism.

Instead of seeing themselves as part of the elite, the computer operators will soon see what capitalism is really like.And, as the new technology staff become increasingly vital to the economy, class consciousness could give them a new power, a power to help the rest of their class to smash the state.

A wage increase of 6% has been awarded to food shop workers, which means a rise of about £4.50 to £75.50. This is way below the target,£100 minimum, the shop workers' union USDAW wants for all shop workers. Moves to formalise and legalise Sunday

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opening come as an added insult to the paltry rise.Notoriously difficult to unionise, there should be a campaign of propaganda aimed at informing shopworkers of their rights. Huddersfield DAM.

PALTRY!



Ideas & Action

William Gallacher's 'DIRECT ACTION'

INTRODUCTION

The following article first appeared in pamphlet form 65 years ago but it is safe to say that it could, with some modifications, be reprinted today, and easily have as much relevance to the industrial struggles facing us now as it had in 1919.

Although Gallacher later joined the Communist Party, it should be remembered that around the time of World War One two opposing ideologies competed for support within the working class.With the apparent success of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Marxism gained a much-needed boost.After spending years looking in and commenting from the sidelines, marxists were able to recruit many former syndicalists such as Gallacher. Today, with the possible exception of a number of Trotskyite groups, who become starryeyed at reports of NUM officials visiting Libya, there are no distant lands to which workers can look, believing that there workers have achieved Utopia. The ideas and real contributions of these early syndicalists can be discussed and their relevance to today's struggle can be evaluated dispassionately. J.Simpkin.

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in petty struggles for the fraction of a penny per hour increase in wages.

Not so, however, the industrial struggles of today. The industrial wars of today are taking place on a constantly larger scale, which threatens social dislocation, thereby making the labour unrest the most outstanding social feature of our time.

Under the guise of "scientific management" the capitalists are introducing into industry schemes for dividing operations and making the labour of the workers more automatic. The result of this tendency is to deny the worker responsibility, rob them of initiative, and reduce them to the level of some ghastly, inhuman, mechanical puppet. The capitalist idea of more "automatic" workers is bound to conflict with the workers' aspirations for greater responsibility, greater initiative and the democratic control of industry. The two are absolutely incompatible. There can be no compromise between them. THE NEW OBJECTIVE Formerly all labour troubles were centred upon wages and hours.If the employer met the work workers' demands there was little disaffection. the idea that the capitalists' possession of the tools of industry should be challenged by industrial organisations of workers would have seemed outrageous to those who formed the existing national trade unions of the middle of the last century. Their ideal was a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Their ambition was to make that despotism a little more benevolent, thereby bringing about harmony between employers and employed. The intelligent worker today understands that the factory they work in, the marvellous machinery they operate, is the embodiment of the labour of workers in other industries. They have no respect for

carried on. It is against this industrial degradation that the workers are beginning to struggle They are recognising that the right to vote for Parliament once in five years is of little value compared to the right to vote on the way industry should be carried on: consequently the demand is arising that the brain and manual workers is arising that the brain and manual workers in industry shall, by electing their own controlling bodies democratically manage the industry in which they work. THE ROAD TO INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM No great social change has ever been brought about by people who desire change being content merely to express pious opinions on the matter. A drastic social change, such as the taking of industry from the control of the capitalist, demands that the workers shall exercise initiative and assume responsibilities in the every day struggle with the functionaries of the employing class. The workers' power rests upon the circumstance that it is they who keep the wheels of industry turning round, without which an ordered social life is impossible.It is by organising the workers' power of numbers, in the place where that power can be applied most successfully, namely in industry, that we will be able to break the power of the employers and their puppet government. To enable the workers to acquire the requisite power, a remodelling of the workers' industrial organisations is imperative. The bulk of trade unions of the country have been built up to attain a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and in power and organisation they are totally unfitted to bring about a change of social and industrial structure.Indeed it may be questioned if they would be able to defend the existing wage standard of the workers against a concerted attack from the employers.



FINAY workers.But this is merely temporary. It is due largely to the hostile attitude of the manual workers and the fear of victimisation. But with the development of the struggle for control the manual workers will realise the necessity for getting staff on their side. While the growth in the strength of the workshop movement will afford the technical workers adequate safeguards against victimisation. It is essential when a struggle arises, that

the industrial power of the workers shall be capable of being mobilised quickly. Trade union branches, meeting once a fortnight or once a month attended by an infinitesimal fraction of the membership they represent, hampered by constitutional proceedure, cannot move with the rapidity that alone can ensure success in a time of social crisis.Such rapidity can only be secured by workshop organisation. Immediately a crisis arose, workshop meetings in the industries not immediately affected could be held, the facts of the situation put before the workers, and the whole industry be prepared for action if necessary. The district committees and district councils would elaborate ways and means of feeding the workers. The national committees of particular industries and the national council of all industries would prepare for action. This would increase the workers'

There is not a country in the world today where the position of the working class in industry is not the foremost theme for discussion amongst those interested in the social question. We do not mean to say labour unrest is an entirely new thing. Discontent has always been smouldering amongst the workers.But in the past it did not wear the menacing aspect that it does today(1919). If we except the stormy days of the Chartist Movement, and the heroic if premature attempts capitalist property if made by Owen, Docherty it is the fruit of past and others to achieve robbery of the workers. class unionism about the Today the worker is same period, working merely a living tool class discontent in Briwith no voice in dettain has until recent ermining the purposes years expressed itself for which industry is

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL There is a tendency for technical workers to stand aloof from the general movement of the

Social Struggles

LIVERPOOL Marxism in action

Apart from unemployment and football, Liverpool also has a "Militant"-dominated Labour City Council.Derek Hatton, now a national celebrity, thanks to the gutter press and TV, is actually only deputy leader, although you would never guess it. John Hamilton (a Quaker) who is neither seen nor heard except when having his picture taken alongside Hatton, is in fact the leader, but The local arse-wipe, the Echo, would have you believe that threat to Liverpool since the riots of '81(or '82-'83 if you choose to ignore the general riots were a Militant-inspired

WHO HAS THE. SAY

Prominent in the opposition to Bond and the City Council have been the "Black Caucus", an unrepresentative body which includes middle-class blacks, crooks, pimps, etc, although these are by no mean means the only people involved. The City Council and their supporters (mostly Militant people while the rest of Liverpool's Hatton, and Militant, call the tune CLPs are divided, with many taking a stand against the Council) have seized on this and claim that Hatton and Militant are the worstworking-class blacks are being manipulated by their own community leaders. This is just not true, but anyway, they miss the point: media silence on that subject). In the question is one of who, ultfact, if you believe the Echo, the imately, has the say--Liverpool's white City Council leaders, or plot. This paranoia on the part of the black community themselves?

Dole Coupons?

The government has been inves-payments from the DHSS is a very tigating the fact that striking worrying one for people on the miners, who have been lucky enoughsocial security. Already council to receive social security bene- rents are paid directly to the fit, have been using the money council, now that local authorallocated for mortgage interest ities have taken over the job of paying out housing benefit, and to buy food, rather than give it the direct payment of mortgage to the building societies. This interest in the near future would Shoking state of affairs, when further erode claimants' control people put eating before paying of their own spending. How long their debts, means that the government will probably be introwill it be before those on social ducing direct payment, straight security are issued with particto the building societies. But ular tokens for gas, electricity this is not likely to happen and water rates?From there it is until after the miners' strike, only a short step towards the for fear that accusations that issuing of tokens and coupons for it is a weapon against the minersfood and clothes, as already happmay create sympathy for them. ens in countries such as the USA. This development of direct



the Echo and its Liberal party backers is particularly laughable in view of the recent rumpus between the city council and Liverpool's black community.

WISHES OF COMMUNITY

The City Council, completely disregarding the wishes of Liverpool 8's black community, appointed Simon Bond, a building surveyor and Militant supporter from London, as head of the local Community Relations Council, responsible for liaison between Liverpool 8 blacks and the Council Needless to say this did not go down very well ... when the decision was announced, Hatton's office in the council buildings was occupied and Hatton and his assistant were both threatened that unless they changed the decision, they would not leave the room alive.

MILITANT BONDAGE

Opposition to Sam Bond's appointment has continued.Posters have appeared around Liverpool 8 with the message "No to Militant Bondage".Council meetings have been picketed and disrupted, during which various members of all parties have been attacked and assaulted.Bond himself, on his first day in his new job in December, found his office picketed by a sizable crowd; he himself was jostled and punched on several occasions. Things, for the time being, have calmed down--what happens next remains to be seen.



in

Doncaster DAM

THORNTON VIEW: all over

WORKERS at Bradford's Thornton View Hospital decide that their 18 month long occupation will end.

COHSE shop steward Betty Elie told US this week that the occupation will end on April 11th. "We'll try to keep the remaining 12 patients here till then, when the weather will be warmer and they can be moved with dignity."

The workers and their supporters have failed in their main objective of forcing the **Regional Health Authority to** keep the hospital open. But, their battle has significantly delayed the closure, and it has led to patients and their relatives being given a choice of where they will be moved to.

The workers also have other hospitals to move to, and they feel that the 18 month long struggle has at least awakened people to some of the human issues involved in health cuts.

"We can walk out of here with us heads held high," says **Betty Elie.**

Swingin' Star

The Daily Star has recently been running a flog 'em and hang ieves in--none. There is no box 'em campaign in its pages. In the to vote against capital punishbest tradition of the gutter press newscomics it is holding a right for the prosecution to ballot, in order to create its own news.A guick look at the "ballot paper" shows exactly the one! IT'S YOUR VERDICT

sort of democracy the Star belment, minimum sentences or the appeal against sentences -- a rigged ballot if ever there was

Understandably, they changed their minds...

CHANGED BACK

Almost immediately afterwards, they changed them back again ... Hatton claims he wanted to stick to the promise but was over-ruled over-ruled by Tory Environment Needless to say, over-ruled or not Minister Patrick Jenkin, and he's continued to push Bond's appointment.When local City Counc-Labour Party, (Hamilton, for once il workers (NALGO members) refused to handle forms to do with the appointment, the Council employed non-union labour to do it instead. head of Merseypride, the organ-This, however, was not the first example of Liverpool's "socialist" development, are close pals. City Council scabbing on its own employees --- when building workers went on strike over a pay claim (council workers in Liverpool are among the lowest-paid in the country)Hatton, while claiming to listen to their grievances, nevertheless crossed the picket line. Militant's demand for class solidarity in action?



not the only example of Council (ie Militant) high-handedness. At present there is trouble over plans to allow the building of an Asda superstore in Speke,a decision which has been both over overturned by the local District actually voting against Hatton's recommendation). Interestingly, it turns out that Hatton and the isation behind the proposed

.FAMOUS VICTORY?

The present City Council were elected in May 1983 of the platform of no increases in rent or rates, no cuts, and the creation of 1,000 new jobs. The promises over cuts and jobs have, to date, been kept, but the "famous victory" over Jenkin last year was "won" at the cost of a 17% rates increase.A similar confrontation with central government looms this year-it remains to be seen by how much they'll increase the rates---and council housing rents--- this time.

WHOSE INTERESTS

Liverpool City Council have more will do so. Marxism, wherever succeeded in alienating large and whenever put into practice, numbers of working-class people has always resulted in the same in this city, not just in Toxteth thing--working class people still or among its own workforce, but in --thinking it knows best what being told what to do by someone areas such as Speke, Vauxhall, etc. people want. Like all Marxists, above us. Liverpool is no excep-Each time working-class people Militant think of themselves as tion. Only the people themselves HATTON CROSSES PICKET LINEhave come into conflict with a the vanguard: if workers take can free themselves -- no-one council imbued with Marxist ideas actions not organised by them else. Liverpool DAM

I believe that capital punishment should be brought back for the following categories of murder:

Children Police Terrorism All murders Life sentences for serious crimes like murder and rape should carry a minimum term of : 20 years 25 years

The prosecution should have the right of appeal against sentences they consider to be too lenient

* Tick boxes of those statements you agree with, then post the coupon to: VIOLENT BRITAIN, Daily Star, 33 St. Bride St., London EC4A 4AY.



they regard it as counter to the interests of the working class. Despite this it is probably true to say that most working people in Liverpool do still have faith in the Council--at least Militant are not part of the trendy left, an important factor in this city where the trappings of social background still count for a lot.Hatton in particular has exploited this.But many who have come into conflict with them are beginning to see through Militant -- and more and

World News

IWW strike

IWW members have been on strike against the William F Keller Company of East Newport, New York since October 25th, demanding union recognition, an end to Keller's union-busting tactics, and improved working conditions.

Workers at this wholesale fish distributor's put in a broken work week of 60-80 hours without overtime pay before the strike. They have no benefits whatsoever:no sick pay, no holiday entitlement, no health plan, no pensions. They transport fish from Maine to the lucrative New York markets, from a base in a tiny shack, with no bathroom, or bed facility to provide the required eight hours' rest between trips.

Fed up with months of broken promises and rotten conditions, the employees decided they wanted the IWW to represent them.

Keller telephoned his employees saying if the IWW was involved he

Boycott Coca-Cola



On Feb. 19th, 1984, 460 workers at the CocaCola bottling plant in Guatemala City, together with 40 supporters, occupied the plant in response when it was unexpectedly shutdown. Though the plant's operator pled financial woes, the Financial Times charged that the franchiser kept two sets of books, only one of which showed the company going broke. The franchiser had looted the bottling operation by undercharging six Coca-Cola distributorships that he owned. The occuiers demanded that (1) CocaCola International take over direct running of the plant until a new franchise operator could be found, and (2) that the current workforce be retained and union rights respected, and (3) that the workers be paid for maintaining the plant during the occupation. Meanwhile, the military had set up a roadblock around the plant with a warning that they would shoot anybody trying to "trespass" on plant property. On March 2nd a passenger in an auto was shot and killed and two others injured when they drove past the roadblock without showing their papers to the military. During May four university suporters were "disappeared." However, the Guatemalan workers began to receive support from workers in other countries. In Mexico, ten different Coca-Cola plants held rotating solidarity strikes over a three-day period. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in Norway carried out a one-week refusal to handle Coke products in May. In Denmark the Brewery Workers Union agreed not to handle any empty Coke bottles. In Sweden, five food and beverage unions decided to carry out a

three-day boycott of production and distribution of Coke products. Demonstrations were held at 15 Coke plants in the U.S.

The Guatemala City Coke plant has a long history as the scene of anti-labor violence. After a contract had been signed with a former franchise operator in 1978, a period of threats and killings began. On Dec. 12, 1978, Pedro Quevedo, the union's financial secretary, was shot and killed while making Coke deliveries. On April 5, 1979, Manual Lopez Balam was beaten with an iron tube and his throat cut from ear to ear. Three general secretaries of the union were assassinated within an 18-month period. Six other members of the union were also murdered or "disappeared." To fight this reign of terror, the plant union, STEGAC, had appealed for international solidarity. An international boycott of CocaCola eventually forced Coke to revoke the operator's franchise and the company agreed to make monthly payments to the widows and orphans of the murdered unionists. However, when the occupation began in Feb. 1984, Coke stopped sending the payments. At the end of May Coke finally agreed that the existing workers would be re-hired and the existing bargaining agreement would be respected when a new franchiser takes over. But they refused to re-open the plant under direct Coke management and, as we go to press, the occupation continues. Coke agreed to pay the workers partial wages for maintaining the plant during the occupation and to resume payments to the widows and orphans of the murdered unionists. But it says it can't do anything about the "disappeared" supporters.

SLOMR The Free Union of Romania

In the Soviet bloc Romania appears to be the odd man out.At first glance the efforts of President Nicolae Ceausescu to maintain a position in foreign affairs independent of Moscow would appear to be a hopeful sign. However, in its dealings with its subjects the Romanian state is cast very much in the Stalinist mould and as such differs not at all from its neighbours in the Warsaw Pact. The year 1977 in Romania saw the rise of a human rights movement in response to Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia. The moving spirit in this was the writer Paul Goma. Goma, who had served a term in prison for his opposition to the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, sent letters to the Romanian government and to the European Security Conference in Belgrade claiming that human rights were no more respected in "independent" Romania than they were in "occupied" Czechoslovakia. While most of Goma's supporters were intellectuals,22 miners wrote a letter to Radio Free Europe expressing the solidarity of 800 miners with the movement. The support given to the human rights movement by the miners was most significant. In August 1977 miners in the Jiu Valley, where 60% of Romania's coal is produced, went on strike. Their demands were for improvements in pay, food, pensions and working conditions. The spark which ignited the strike was the introduction of a new pension scheme Remember, our fellow workers in which meant that higher paid workers such as the miners would have to subsidise the pensions of lower paid workers.

would shut down completely.After being refused union recognition the workers came out on strike, and have been picketing ever since, in spite of continued threats and physiacl attacks. These included an attempt to run them down with a truck driven by a scab, which actually hit one of the pickets.A scab also brandished a two-foot-long iron bar at pickets.When an IWW member tried to restrain him he was himself arrested.

As the strike continues the pressures on Keller increase. The scabs are not able to pick up all the slack, as their 60-80 hour week leaves little room for speed-ups or extra work.

More than \$300 was raised at a benefit in November at the United Storeworkers' Union hall, featuring the historical film THE WOBBLIES and an auction of memorabilia.

To help these workers in their struggle please send cash help to: IWW-Keller Strike Fund, c/o New York IWW, PO Box 183, New York 10028

The IWW(Industrial Workers of the World) was once a mighty revolutionary union, which was all but smashed by the combined efforts of the state and the Communist parties in the 1920s.

Today it is beginning to expand again, attracting US workers sickened by the corrupt business unionism of the AFL-CIO.

Since last May, Coca-Cola has WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP: violated every single aspect of the agreement. They waited until November 9th before securing a buyer for the plant, meanwhile 1734, Atlanta, Georgia 30301, USA) leaving workers twisting in the demanding that they abide by, thei wind without adequate financial their agreements, and informing means, medical care etc. Evidently them of your support for the the company hoped that this pro-boycott. longed hardship would sap the STEGAC(24 Calle 6-01, Zona 11, workers' will to fight. The new owner has refused to Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala). honour Coca-Cola's guarantees of *Send financial contributions employment levels; has declared for the workers to the IUF (Cocathe collective agreement and the Cola Workers' Solidarity, union defunct; called for wages Banque Centrale Cooperative, and benefits concessions; and Compte UITA Nombre 246750.29. claimed ignorance of the May 27th 246750.29.00.90-3, CH-1211, agreement.Coca-Cola has failed to Geneve 2, Switzerland).Small keep its promises, and at last sums can be sent to DA for word was refusing to meet with forwarding. STEGAC and the IUF. The boycott must be resumed. Guatemala depend on our solidar-These fellow workers and theirity for their very survival. families face severe economic BOYCOTT COKE. hardships.Because they have been (Information from No Middle Ground blacklisted for their labour act-and IWW). ivities, most of them will find it impossible to secure new employment. Their continued safety is dependent on the attention of the

*Boycott Coke and all Coca-Cola products..

*Write to Coca-Cola(PO Drawer

*Send a letter of support to

It is important if the IWW is to grow that Syndicalists worldwide support their strikes.We wish them success.

> BUS OUR UNIO world.



Solidarity with the Miners, is

One of the most recent groups of meetings in December with a abroad to get in touch with the delegation of miners and miners' DAM's International Appeal for wives and will be holding another in early March. This has





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the Organisation Socialiste Lib-involved a substantial amount ertaire of Lausanne, Switzerland, of fund-raising, which was also one of a group of organisations a feature of their day of actwho have set up a campaign for ion, held in over fifteen Swiss solidarity with the British min-towns to coincide with the TUC ers. They have organised a series day of action on February 11th.

In The Tradition

Syndicalism & the Miners



By 1910 syndicalist ideas had reached the British labour movement. The reformist unions of this time were not up to defending their members from a boss class bent on the destruction of rank and file militancy. Union officials living standards began in Septhad become sucked into government conciliation and arbitration schemes, spelling impotence for unionism.

Syndicalist ideas also prospered in the working class as a result of the disillusionment of many Marxists with parliamentary tactics.Militants of the Social Democratic Federation, the British Socialist Party and the Socialist Labour Party joined the syndicalist propaganda movement which originated with the relatively few British anarchists. This in-

miners was also a factor, for the workers were united by a determination to resist attempts by the owners to restrict the increase of labour costs.

Strike action in defence of ember 1910 and extended in scope and support over the next two months, so that by November it involved over 30,000.A most important feature of this unrest was its unofficial character. The moderate leadership of the Miners Federation refused to abandon its policy of conciliation as a means of settling grievances.But the abnormal places issue had already been to the Joint Conciliation Board, and the owners had rejected proposals for compensatory payments.Instead they threatened to fluence, in the case of the miners lock out workers who refused to accept the decision. In this situation the Federation advised against alternative methods of resistance and direct action, and most miners accepted this advice, stoppage by 76,978 to44,868.But a significant minority ignored this decision and stayed out. Unrest was most bitter and protracted in the Rhondda valley, particularly at the collieries of the Cambrian Combine. It was here that the strikes first began, that police guarding the mines; it place, and also that strike action Glamorgan colliery, Llwynpia, lasted longest, for a period of almost one year. Other areas

don't change--in July 1984 the Colorado miners IWW sent a message of support to a miners' rally at Ammanford, and have also sent cash help to miners via the DAM. Likewise French syndicalists, now organised in the CNT of France.)

By early November 1910 there was widespread direct action in the strike-bound areas.Confrontation and sabotage were a common part of the effort to win the strike, while the employers resistance was backed up by police and military. Mass pickets were directed against blackleg labour: trains bringing scabs in from other areas were intercepted, the occupants interrogated and then sent home.Within the community scabs were jeered at, sent to Coventry and sometimes attacked in the streets or at home. The letters B, BL or SCAB were painted on doors, while teams of women and children smashed windows. Similar treatment was meted out to those who cooked for the voting against a general coalfield police sent in to guard the mines. Another tactic was attacking collieries still operating. The targets were usually power houses kept running to operate pumps and ventilation equipment.Particularly bitter conflicts developed between strikers and the legendary Tonypandy riot took was after one such clash at the that the historic riots took place at Tonypandy.Strikers, beaten back from the colliery by police, looted shops in the main square of the village. This was not the random violence of frustration--the rioters tried to avoid damage to private houses and attacked shopkeepers' property, especially the draper's shop, which belonged to a local magistrate involved in legal action against strikers.By the early hours of the morning one striker was dead and many hurt, in some cases seriously, after clashes with the police. Miners also tried to blow up the home of Gilfach Goch manager of the Britannic colliery, and an under-manager at the same pit was beaten up.Perhaps the direct action taken by striking miners was even more developed than it is today. Jesse Clark, a Tonypandy miner, spoke of the police and their role in much the same way as contemporary miners do. "They were there to beat us and they were government men...they are out for the money people. Money people come first, you after." The strike was finally beaten in August 1911, but in spite of this it marked the beginning of syndicalist ascendancy amongst the miners -- a vital influence on the National Pit Strike which broke out six months later in an attempt to win the minimum wage.

The militancy and direct action tactics of the rank and file miners in 1984-85 are not just a continuation of the struggles of 1972-74, but part of a longer tradition of miners' militancy which first flowered with the infusion of syndicalist ideas and practice into the miners' unions during the early years of this century.

Syndicalism is the practice of trade unionism for revolutionary ends. It is characterised by industrial- rather than craftorganised unions, run on highly democratic lines, ie without fulltime officials, all delegater being elected for specific tasks and instantly recallable, and decisions being taken by the whole union. Syndicalists then as now, saw their unions as the destroyers of the existing order, through the agency of a revolutionary general strike, ignoring the parl iamentary socialist charlatans and the Marxist parties, for syndicalists wish to smash completely the state which those gentlemen always uphold. For this reason syndicalist unions remain independent of all political parties. So syndicalism, by organising at the point of production, where the working class have some power, cuts out the role of the middle class parlour socialists and their damaging effect on the revolutionary movement. Syndicalism has a two-fold purpose: to fight for better conditions in the here-and-now, and to prepare its union's members for the management of their own industries and communities in the working-class society that the successful general strike will usher in. These revolutionary ideas triumphed in the French labour movement in the late 1890s due to the tireless agitation of workingclass anarchists who referred to themselves as revolutionary syndicalists.By 1906 they had organised several hundred thousand workers into the CGT(General Confederation of Labour) which struggled successfully due to its practice of direct action andd solidarity.

6

was to remain until the 1920s.

Syndicalism first spread to the South Wales coalfield in the early 1900s among small groups of colliers who recognised the need for tough unionism to fight the pit owners' attempts to limit wages. Thus a large militant minority influenced by syndicalist newspapers and Sunday classes came to challenge the reformist leadership of the South Wales Miners' Federation. This was the origin of the militancy of the miners' action which affected pits in the region between September 1910 and August 1911.



Their initial grievances cenred primarily on wages and conditions of employment. At the forefront of the Cambrian dispute of 1910-11 involved around 30,000 was the issue of abnormal places"men. This refers to the problem faced by piece-rate miners working unproductive seams, where output and consequently earnings were reduced by difficult geological conditions. During 1910 miners demanded special compensation pay to bring these mens' wages normal levels. In the Aberdare valley unrest arose over the employers' withdrawal of customary rights to surplus wood previously enjoyed by miners.Sympathetic action in support of the Cambrian

affected included the Aberdare and Swansea valleys. At their peak the South Wales miners' strikes

Syndicalist influence is shown by the fact that that three members of the Cambrian Combine Strike Committee---WH Mainwaring. Noah Rees and Tom Smith--were active syndicalists. Tom Mann, of the Industrial Syndicalist Education League constantly visited the valleys and put the miners. case in the popular paper THE INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST. The American IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) also visited and sent aid, as did a delegate of the CGT dockers in France. (Some things

NEXT MONTH: THE MINERS' NEXT STEP, THE NATIONAL STRIKE OF 1912, AND THE IMPACT OF SYNDICALISM



SLOMR CONT'D FROM PAGE 5



shortages were another major grievance and the miners were fed up with having to work overtime with obsolete equipment. Some 35,000 miners sat in on the coalface, refusing to come up until their demands were met.When a Deputy Prime Minister and a member of the Communist Party's Politbureau

Owing to a number of distribution problems, DIRECT ACTION is in serious financial straits. The DAM is an organisation of ordinary people and has no rich benefactors.

Therefore, we appeal for any cash donations, however small, that can enable us to keep the paper appearing regularly.Remember, DA is the only Anarcho-Syndicalist paper to appear nationwide in Britain today. If this isn't possible LE COMBAT SYNDICALISTE

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AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIRECT **ACTION MOVEMENT**

(1) The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.

(2) Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society

(3) We are fighting to abolish the state, copitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need not profit.

(4) In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over on behalf of the workers.

(5) We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is for independent organisation in the workplace and community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers organisations must be controlled by workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers movement. Any and all delegates of such workers organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers. (6) We are opposed to all States and State institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all States do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.

arrived in the area they were shouted down and for a while held hostage.

Finally, Ceausescu himself turned up.After having a rough ride, he managed to get the miners back to work, with a promise that their demands would be met. Lorries full of meat and other foods arrived and the Mining Minister was sacked.However, some 4,000 miners were also sacked and deported to their native villages where the authorities ignored their plight.2,000 soldiers and secret policemen were

sent into the Jiu Valley to prevent further strikes.

In an interview Goma stated:"...the strike may have shown that things are possible. It is true that the miners have a long tradition dating from the 1929 uprising, but their example will be followed even if in a less orderly manner." Goma was arrested and forced into exile in France.Some other members of the human rights movement were less lucky. After having been beaten up, tried in secret with no defence lawyer, and subjected to intimidating interrogations, they ended up in a labour camp on the Danube-Black Sea Canal. In protest they staged a hunger-strike. But protest in Romania did not end. In 1978, Karoly Kiraly, a former member of the CP Central Committee, accused the government of oppressing Romania's Hungarian minority.In response, the state banished Kiraly to a remote village and moved 1,000 troops into the area where the Hun-

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

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

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TYPED





This month sees the first anniversary of the Barking Hospital cleaners' strike. The cleaners are striking in defence of a decent wage and against privatisation in the NHS.Before the strike the high standards of cleanliness at the hospital were something the staff were proud of, many of them working extra, unpaid hours or bringing their own materials to help maintain them. Some staff had over ten years' service at Barking. But on the 1st April last year Crothalls, the contractors who employ the strikers, and who have had the contract for twelve years slashed the price the Redbridge Health District had to pay them by 41%. This meant the cleaning workers having to accept a cut

in earnings of 40-60%, reduced sick pay, cuts in holiday entitlement, and new shifts. Some women

Meanwhile the District Health Authority pretend the strike is none of their business, yet while ignoring defaults in the contract they have consistently sided against the strikers, even serving writs to prevent them from sheltering in some huts while picketing. And the District Supply Offic- London EC2. er for Redbridge Health District is named on Crothalls' advertising material as someone to contact for information about Crothalls' services. Conditions in the hospital have been noted in three reports by the Institute of Environmental Health and are described as disgu sting. Toilets are filthy and ants and cockroaches have been found in the beds and cots.Complaints by patients and staff are frequent. The work is being done by scab labour who are not capable of doing the job and are simply told to keep the entrances and corridors clean and skimp the wards. This constitutes a health risk.

Originally there were 92 workers out on strike but the number has dwindled to 24. The rest have not returned to work but drifted off to other jobs or the dole. Encouragingly, the strikers' demands have gone up during the dispute, instead of the usual backing-down and compromising(a tactic used to good effect by Fleet Street workers which can frighten management).

The lively mass pickets of last summer have degenerated into a depressing ritual controlled by the police. The lesson from this seems to be that mass pickets should perhaps be less frequent but then really mean business on the day, preferably with the element of surprise.

On March 26th the Health Authority will meet to decide whether Crothalls should continue at Barking Hospital. Details of the venue of this meeting can be obtained, along with other details for anyone who can offer help, from the strikeline:01:592:5038but be careful, it's tapped.

And the address of Crothalls (and other Pritchards subsidiaries) is: 34-44 Clifton Street,

earning £57 a week would have had to accept only £17.





Mining Dispute; Political Prisoners.

HERE IS A LIST (AS COMPLETE AS POSSIBLE) OF THE CLASS WAR PRISONERS CONNECTED WITH THE MINERS' STRIKE ADOPT THEM REMEMBER THE OLD IWW SLOGAN: WE'RE IN HERE FOR YOU: YOU'RE OUT THERE FOR US.IF

ANDREWS, Rob		HMP Ranby, nr Retford, Netts. DN22 8EV	
BANNISTER, William	- AC	PRISON NOT KNOWN	2 years
BELL, New	054233	HMP Winsen Green Read, Winsen Green, Birmingham	6 weeks
BLACK, Ian		HMP Armley, Armley Read, Leeds. LS12 2TJ	6 month
		West des Bass DO Branten Baston Idage PPOD O	TO

YOU KNOW ANY FURTHER DETAILS TO BE ADDED TO THE LIST, PLEASE SEND THEM TO US AT DA AND WE'LL PRINT THEM.

NRATH, S	HNP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds LS12 27J	
NEWBOLD, Peter	HMP Featherstene, New Rd, Welverhampten. WV10 7PU	
PATTON, Raymond	PRISON NOT KNOWN	2 years
PEARSON, Peter	Sudbury Open Prison, Derby. DE6 5HW	21 JIS
ROUTLEDGE, Anthony	PRISON NOT KNOWN	3 months

	BOOTH, Tedd		North Sea Camp DC, Fresten, Besten, Lincs. PE22 OL	
	BRADLEY, Andy	0954	HMP Sudbury, Derby. DE6 5HW	9 menths
	BROTHWELL, Paul	Cidqu	HMP Ranby, nr Retford, Netts. DN22 8EV	1 year
	BUDWORTH, Jeffrey		PRISCH NOT KNOWN	6 months
	COOPER, Peter		HMP Ranby, nr Retford, Notts. DN22 8EV	6 months
	EDWARDS, A		HMP Linceln, Greenwell Rd, Linceln. LN2 4BD	4 months
	ELLIS, John		HMP Featherstene, New Rd, Weverhampton. WV10 7PU	PAGLAS
	EVANS, Dennis	C 54230	HMP Winsen Green Read, Winsen Green, Birmingham	is weeks
	BYRKBOWHO, Nichael		HNP Armley, Armley Read, LEEDS. LS12 2TJ	
	FRENCH, Terry	B73383	HMP Wandsworth, PO Bex," Heathfield Rd, London SW18	3HS 5yps
	GAUNT, David		HMCP Wellingbenough, Northants	3 years
	CIORE, Mark		HMP Featherstone, New Read, Welverhampton WV10 7PU	
	GOODALL, Steve		Sudbury Open Prisen, Derby. DE6	21/2 yrs
	GREGORY, Steve		HMP Linceln, Greenwell Rd, Liceln. LN2 4BD	
	GREGORY, Victor		HMP Lincoln, Greenwell Rd, Lincoln. LN2 4BD	
	GROVE, Nark		HMP Featherstone, New Rd, Welverhampton. WV10 7PU	
	HANCOCK, Dean	899410	HMP Cardiff, Knox Rd, Cardiff. CF2 DUG	teenid.
	HOBSON, N		HMP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds. LS12 2TJ	3 months
	HODGSON, Martin	No. CARLON	Thorpe Arch DC, Wetherby	
	HODGSON, Nigel		HMP Araley, Araley Rd, Leeds. LS12 2TJ	
	HURST, Peter	G78282	HMP Haverigg, Millen, Cumberland.	6 months
	HYMAN, Chris		North Sea Camp DC, Fresten, Boston, Lincs PE22 OQI	
	JACKSON, Bill	054231	HNP Winson Green Rd, Winsen Green, Birmingham	6 months
	JAMES, David		Sudbury Open Prison, Derby. DE6 5HW	21 yrs
	JONES, Michael		PRISCH NOT KNOWN	2 years
e di	JONES, Paul		HMP Wellingborough, Northants	22 JTS
	LEES, Jimmy		HMP Lincoln, Greenwell Rd, Lincoln. LN2 4BD	
	LOWE, Stephen		PRISCH NOT KNOWN	2 years
	MARSHALL, Neil	1	HMP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds. LS12 2TJ	3 months
	MASON, David		HMP Wellingborough, Northants	22 yrs

SHANKLAND, Russel	883752 HNP Cardiff, Inox Md, Cardiff CF2 100
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THOMAS, Chris	HMP Strangeways, Southall St, Manchester. M60
TRUMAN, Paul	HOP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds LS12 2TJ
WAKEFIELD, Steven	HMP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds LS12 2TJ
WAKEFIELD, Steve	HMP Lincoln, Greenwell Rd, Lincoln LN2 4BD
WALLACE, John	North Sea Camp DC, Freston, Boston, Lincs. PE22 OQX
WARD, Colin	C54234 HMP Winson Green Read, Winson Green, Birmingham
WARD, Lesley	054232 HMP Winson Green Read, Winson Green, Birmingham
WINSTANLY, Nike	HMP Strangeways, Southall St, Manchester N60
WYVILLE, N	HMP Ranby, Mr Retford, Notts. DN22 8EV

CAPSTICK, Terence	HMP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds. LS12 27J
KESTLE, Ian	PRISON NOT KNOWN
LATTHAN, Robert	HNP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds. LS12 2TJ
THOMPSON, Clive	HMP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds. LS12 2TJ

21 JTS

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Netes

* The above list was compiled 12/2/85.

" While every effort has been made to ensure accuracy, it must be noted that the priseners on the above list will have been in on remand and released by the time a letter reaches the prisen.

* VERY IMPORTANT - Send all mail to prisoners by RECORDED DELIVERY.

