

**"Direct rank-and-file
control of the struggle is
the road to workers' self-
management of society"**



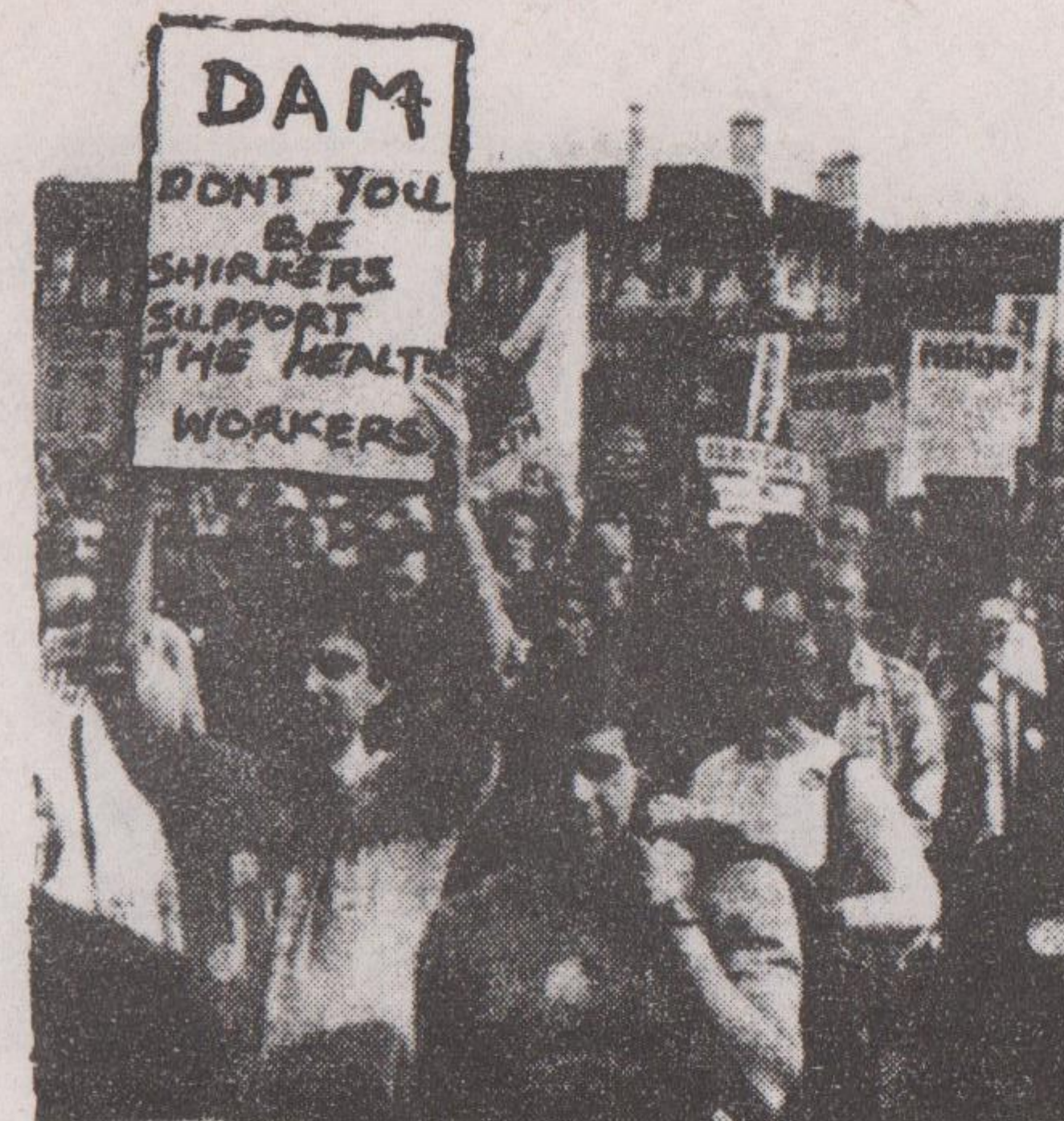
**READ
'DIRECT ACTION'
PAPER OF THE DAM.
FROM NATIONAL ADDRESS**

CLASS STRUGGLE

5p

DAM # 1 ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST BULLETIN PRODUCED IN HULL IW/

PAY UP...



As the Health Service workers' pay claim drags on there is still no sign of the government budging from its measly offer of 6% for ancillary workers and 7.5% for nurses. Meanwhile, other 'public servants' like the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and the Secretary to the Cabinet were awarded 15% increases, giving them an increase of a mere £6,155 on top of their paltry salaries of £35,845. Military brass hats didn't do too badly either, their salaries now range from between £25,000 and £42,000 per annum. While on the subject, let's not forget the judiciary. Their pay limit was sealed at 21% (Lord Denning scooped £7,250 -18%- no doubt it will help pay the increased fares on London Transport). Maybe we should all take heart and follow the lead given by our esteemed leaders. Those wonderful men and women called Members of Parliament, who have, god bless 'em resigned themselves to accepting a 4% rise. Good 'ol 'em isn't it. Mind you 4% to a bureaucratic parliamentary careerist means a damn sight more than it does to a hospital canteen worker!

So, the government's got no money, eh? Funny how millions suddenly materialised when action stations was sounded in the South Atlantic. (Wonder how many more people died off the Falklands than would ever die through hospital industrial action). Of course they've got it. It's up to us to make them come up with the goods. The way to do this is through *effective*, co-ordinated organisation and solidarity between health workers workers from other industries and the general public. By adopting such tactics as a general Health Service strike, mass pickets, sympathy strikes, selective sabotage, and general State and administration debilitating industrial direct action. But beware, the TUC and friends already proved that given half the chance they will betray workers in struggle. Don't forget the rail workers. Remember, the TUC are in reality nothing more than the wage negotiators of capitalism. Already thanks to the TUC's ineffectual running of the dispute much time has been lost in token days of action (for all the wrong reasons the Tories are right when they call them "days of inaction"), which don't go far enough. Six months it's taken them to get this far and still not enough pressure is being brought to bear on the government.. Adopt a militant stand now. Reject bureaucracy and hierarchy at every turn. Organise independently, without "representatives". One struggle for us... the class struggle...

Victory to the health workers!



DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

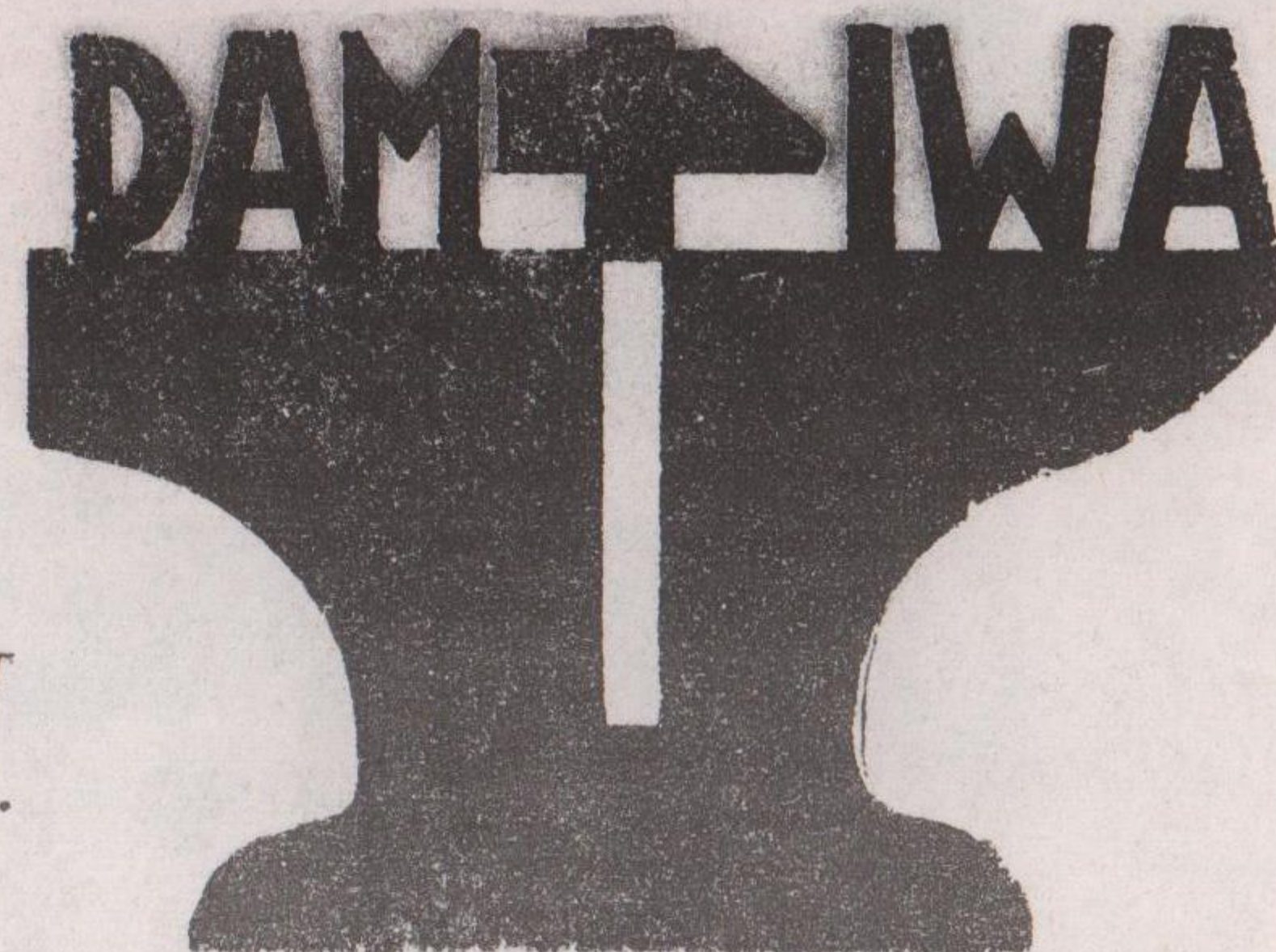
- (1) *The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.*
- (2) *Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.*
- (3) *We are fighting to abolish the State, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need not profit.*
- (4) *In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over 'on behalf of' the workers.*
- (5) *We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is through independent organisation in the work place and community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers' organisations must be controlled by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all delegates of such workers' organisations must be subject to instant recall by the workers.*
- (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 of all States do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.*
- (7) *We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of people everywhere to control their own lives and environment.*

The Direct Action Movement is a federation of groups and individuals who believe in the principles of anarch-syndicalism; a system where the workers alone control industry and the community without the dictates of politicians, bureaucrats, bosses and so-called experts. Rather than diplomacy and endless political debate we believe in direct action.

If you would like to know more about/join the Direct Action Movement write to the address below, giving your name, address and postcode. If you want to join also include details of which industry you work in if you are employed.

Direct Action Movement,
Box 20,
164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings,
Manchester M4 3BN.

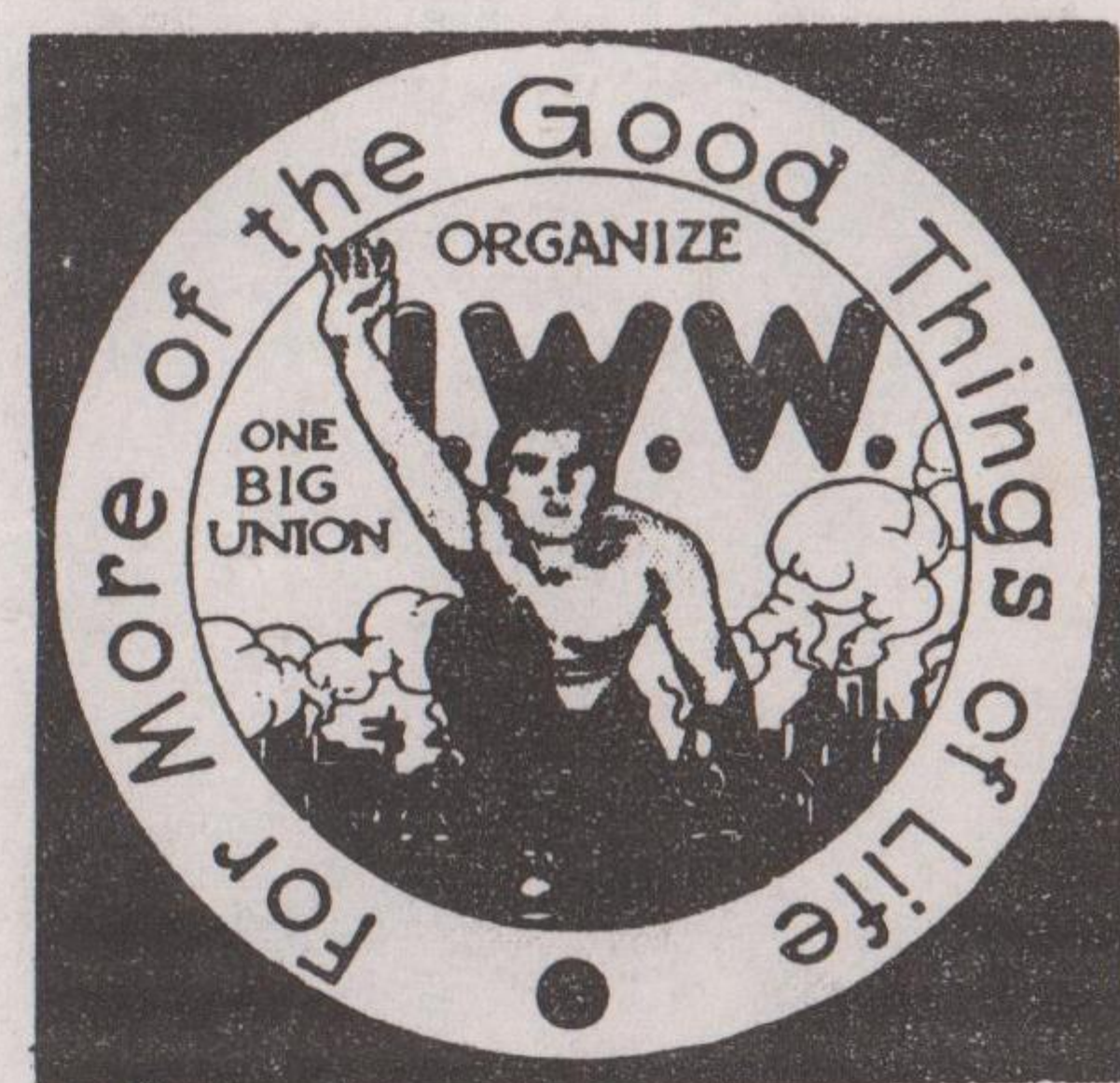
This first issue of *Class Struggle* has been produced by some members of the DAM in Hull. We hope to continue to put it out, and improve it as we go along. Readers contributions always considered, as are donations to enable this bulletin to appear regularly. Please send money and articles to the above address with 'Hull' on the envelope. Finally, anyone willing to distribute *Class Struggle* in their factory school, in the street etc. please get in touch.



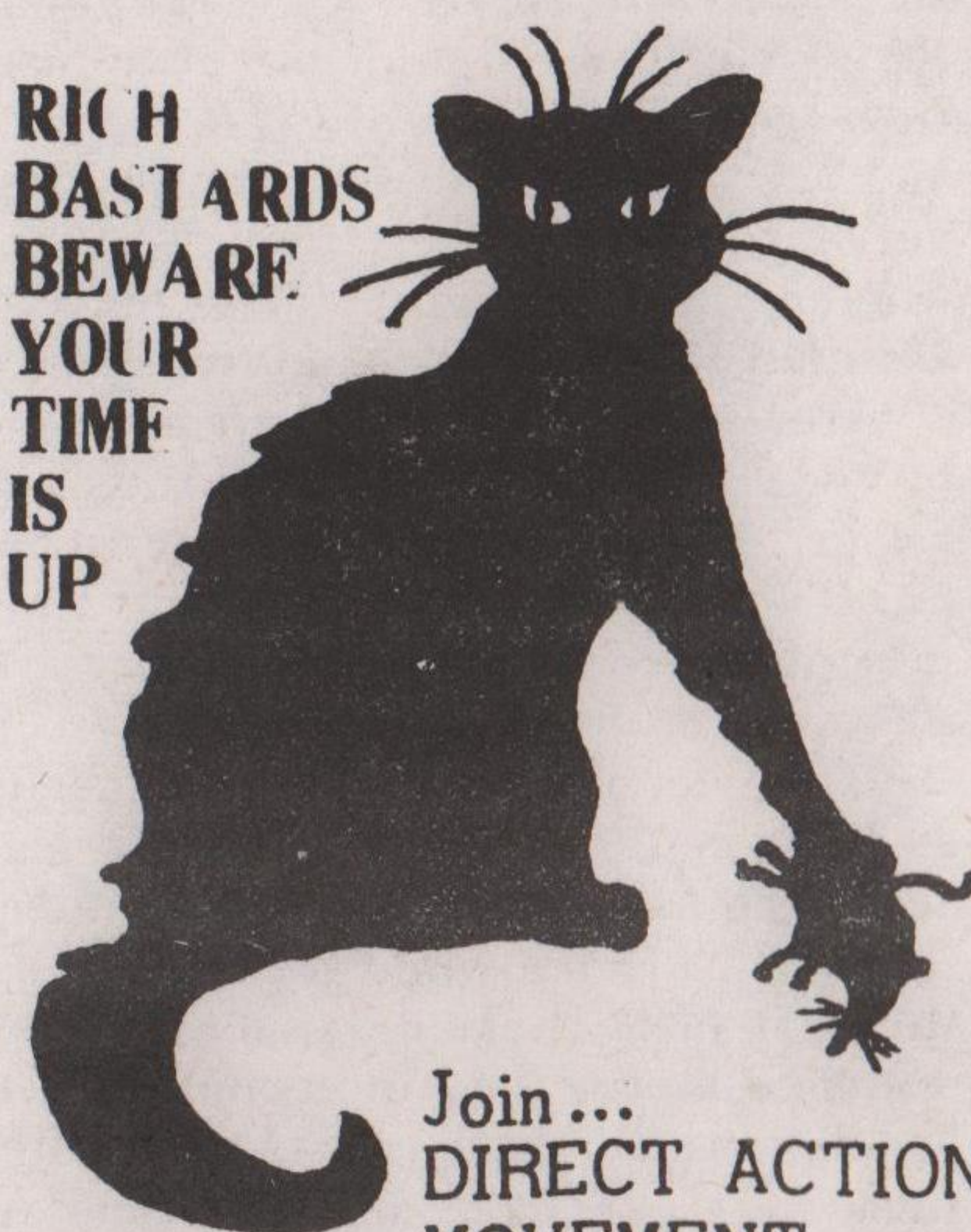
NORTH EAST

ANARCHIST FEDERATION

c/o Project 35,
49a Market Place,
Doncaster,
South Yorkshire.



RICH
BASTARDS
BEWARE
YOUR
TIME
IS
UP



Join...
DIRECT ACTION
MOVEMENT



New outbursts of popular opposition to the military government in Poland exploded after the Bill "officially" banning Solidarnosc was passed in the Sejm (Polish parliament).

People took to the streets and riots broke out in several major cities. These spontaneous shows of defiance were bloodily put down, a steel worker being shot dead in Nova Huta by a plain clothes policeman.

In Gdansk, the resistance took a different form. On the Monday following the passing of the bill in the Sejm, workers in the Lenin Shipyards reported for work at 6am and promptly declared a strike. Three demands were formulated: release of Solidarity detainees (including Lech Welesa), the lifting of the ban on Solidarnosc, and the release of people jailed as a result acts contravening the martial law. Workers moved quickly, knowing that they had to spread the strike quickly or face isolation. The government knew this too, and on the Wednesday morning issued the following document militarising the shipyards, and making strikers subject to the same punishment as deserters.

Order on the complete militarisation of the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk from the commander of the yards

There will be an unconditional ban on strikes and other protest actions.

There will be an unconditional ban on propagating information through any media without first obtaining written permission from the commander.

Order must be treated as military orders.

Sanctions against those violating the above mentioned rules are the same as those in the case of soldiers, that is:

Up to five years' jail for not obeying orders; from six months' to five years' jail for neglecting duties; for use of force against superiors, from six months to five years' jail; for organising or leading strikes, up to five years' jail; for collecting and propagating information without written permission, up to five years in prison.

Faced with this ultimatum, the strikers had to make a decision. Whether to stand and face the full repression of the Polish state or whether to back down. The strikers felt that the strike had not spread enough and decided to back down because many of the workers, frightened by these threats were beginning to drift away from the strike.

One of the reasons the strike hadn't spread was that the underground leaders were slow to call for support. They thus left the Gdansk striker's hopelessly isolated. The Church, of course, is still counseling moderation.

HULL LABOUR POLISH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
PUBLIC MEETING
7.30pm Monday November 1st
Trades and Labour Club.
(37 '39 Beverley Rd)

Babar still in prison

ON the night of 5/6 July 1982, the Warsaw militia arrested Roger Noel, also known as BABAR, a militant anarchist well-known in Brussels. A member of the self-managed printing works '22 March', he was a moving spirit of the ALO (Assoc for the Freedom of the Air Waves), and was transmitting at the time of his arrest. BABAR (described by Polish TV as 'this Belgian anarchist with sympathies for Solidarnosc', delivered a transmitter clandestinely to Radio Solidarnosc hidden in medical equipment. His arrest is part of a wave of repression directed against Radio Solidarnosc (Warsaw), which has resulted in the imprisonment of seven people.

At present Noel is confined in a cell with 'common rights'—in accordance with his own wishes, and faces a sentence of between 3 and 10 years, depending on the precise nature of the charges. At the moment the situation is still not clear—the first hearing of Roger's case was on August 13th and reports have not yet filtered through, but we do know that *he is still in prison*. His comrades at the 22 March printing works have called for an international campaign of solidarity to secure his release, asking that it be set within a framework of demands for the end of repression in Poland, and the release of all Solidarnosc prisoners.

Letters demanding his immediate release should be sent to:

Consulate General of the Polish Peoples Republic, 19 Weymouth St, London. W1.

Copies of a petition have been produced, and can be obtained from the Direct Action Movement, International Commission (see Below). Please keep us informed of any action you take, and let us know of any response you get from the Polish authorities.

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT,
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

Also available:

Action briefing No: 2 on Arkadiy Tsurkov. (please send sae)

Black & White A3 poster demanding Tsurkov's release. 10p each, plus post.

No Frontiers: First issue of DAM's International Review, 20p plus 16½p post.
issue no: 2 in preparation. 25p plus post.

We live in a society in which the workers are robbed of most of the fruits of their labour. Under capitalism this cannot be otherwise for the mainspring is the profit motive, with its inescapable division of society into - if not the haves and have-nots - at least those with much and those with little. It is clear to all but the blind, this condition prevails also in the so called 'communist' societies, where in theory everything is administered by the state on behalf of the people equally, but in practice there are even greater inequalities than in most capitalist countries. Examples of this are to be seen in fields of housing and consumer goods. In many 'communist' societies special shops containing a wider selection of consumer goods exist to serve party officials and high-ranking bureaucrats. Housing is allocated not according to need, but according to one's position.

The difference between the two forms of economy are superficial: production and distribution in both societies are controlled by a handful at the top. In neither case have the workers any effective say in the running - or rewards - of industry. Nor will they have until they cast aside the sham substitutes for industrial democracy with which the ruling classes have bemused them for so long, and establish workers control.

Unfortunately, those who consider themselves to be the leaders of the working-class - Labour politicians and trades union bosses - are foremost among its betrayers. When the Labour Party came to power in 1945, it seemed to millions as if a new and more just age had dawned - an age in which class and privilege would be abolished. Yet their six years of supremacy left the capitalist structure of society, with its attendant economic and emotional insecurity for the individual worker, basically unaltered. Labour supporters should be reminded that the 'welfare state', quickly pointed out as the great achievement of that government, ensured that in every area of health care and education the division remained. Indeed many need to be told that the education act that brought in free education (sic) for all, was in fact law before that government came to power.

Nationalisation was then the cure-all, as it remains today for many, despite the fact that in nationalised industries workers are expected to accept **LOWER** wages and **LONGER** hours in **WORSE** conditions than some workers in private industry. It was with

WORKERS' CONTROL

some embarrassment that advocates of nationalisation learned during the last steel strike, that Hatfields (a private steel company) was already paying its workers the increase that BSC workers were striking for. Yet when workers kick against such flagrant injustice by striking or threatening to strike, they are exhorted to consider the welfare of the whole community, just like the corporate states of Spain and Portugal, modelled on Italy under the fascists. It is this tactic of plating the community off against workers that has ensured that nurses and health workers are kept so low down in the pay league.

But we all must become aware that when this fails

the government will resort to other measures such as the use of troops to break strikes, as we saw in the firemans strike of 1977 under a Labour government. The impotence of the trade unions in those countries where nearly all the industries are nationalised, the 'communist' countries, show clearly that the state at both national and local levels, is the most dangerous of bosses.

Other ersatz socialists have of course abandoned their faith in nationalisation and now champion the purchase by the state of shares in private industry as happened in the case of BP. A more cynical alliance of state and capitalism is difficult to imagine.

One can feel confident that bogus partnerships in industrial democracy or the 'every-workers-a-capitalist' profit sharing scheme, like that at ICI, will be seen for what they are by intelligent workers. But the call for nationalisation goes on even if with a number of modifications.

The reason for the persistence of the demand for nationalisation is simple: the illusion remains that nationalisation is a step towards workers control. Yet how far is it from the noble vision of those great pioneers of the idea of workers control and, incidentally of the trade union movement.

The people who founded the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1834, were largely inspired by Robert Owen's ideas for co-operatives - not the phoney consumer co-ops of the present day, but equalitarian communities of workers, who would unite their labour and share its fruits. The ultimate aim of the GNCTU was the taking over by the workers of all the means of production and distribution. And how far nationalisation is from the syndicalist ideas with which Tom Mann, Jim Larkin and Jim Connolly fired the whole trade union movement in the years before the first world war.

It is high time for the workers who really believe in workers control of industry to realise that, far from being a step towards it nationalisation is a leap in the opposite direction! It is high time for those Socialists who really wish to see capitalism abolished, to realise the **Socialism** has, and can have nothing to do with the **State**. State Socialism and the welfare state are nothing but the old inequality under a new name.

Under the age old division of society into rulers and ruled remains the same, as the USSR has so tragically shown. Yet this is all that nationalisation is all about, this is what ownership by the state means.

Workers control can have nothing to do with the state for the two ideas are in conflict; they are incompatible. The state is concerned with state control, with control by politicians and bureaucrats. It cannot

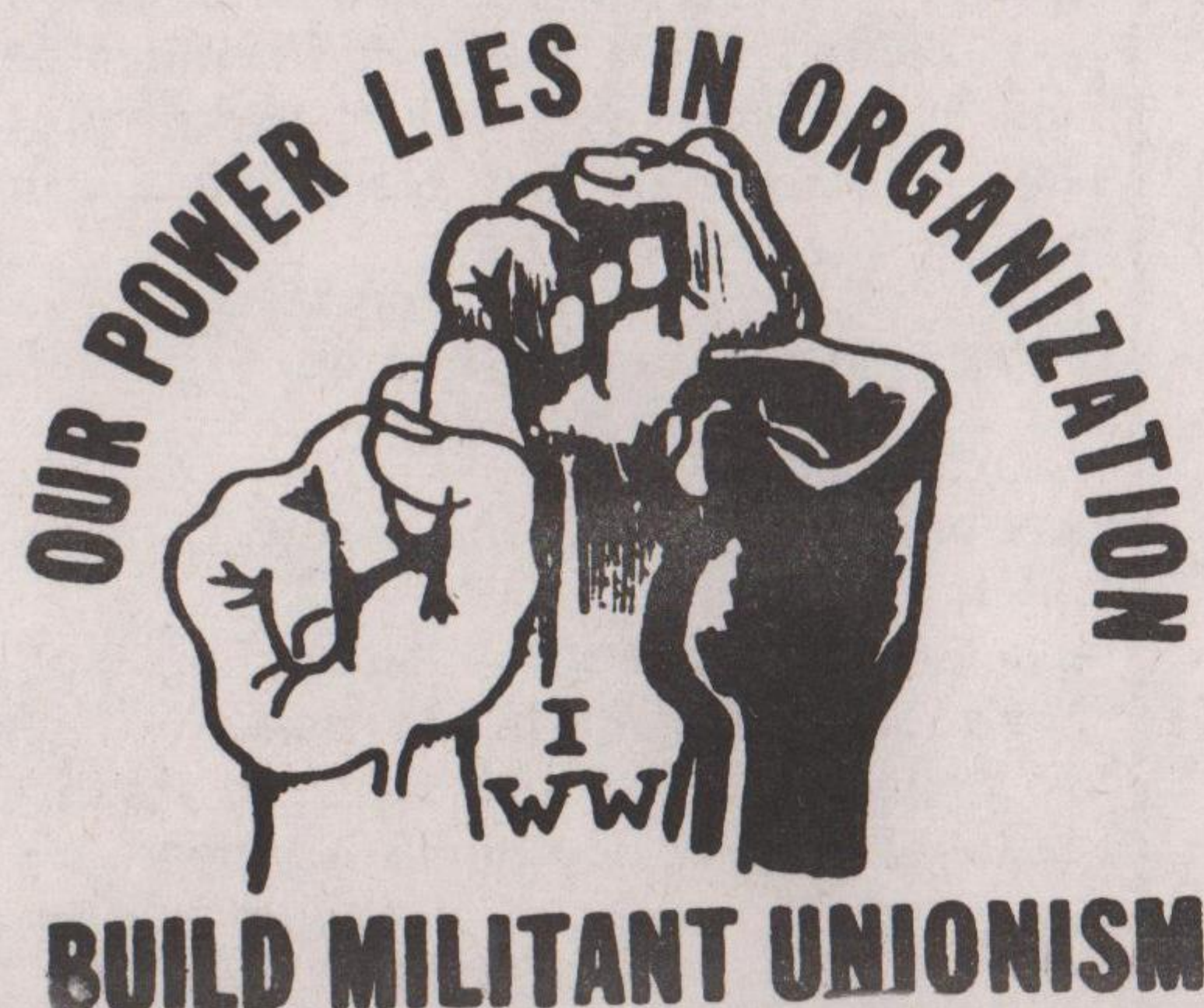
be concerned with worker's control which is as much a denial of the usefulness of the state as it is of capitalism. A moments reflection of this obvious incompatibility is enough to dispel the absurd pretensions of the 'communist' countries of having established worker's control through the setting up of officially sponsored workers councils. The recent events in Poland have shown us all what the workers there think of these 'official' workers councils. On the other hand, genuine equality and workers control are inseparable. It is impossible to imagine one without the other. Thus any step towards workers control would be a step towards a free and just society.

But the smallest step in this direction necessarily involves repudiating the official leaders of the trades unions, for they have a stake in the status quo. To put it bluntly, they have become part of the ruling class. Whenever workers on the shop floor use their initiative in disputes with the management, whenever they resort to spontaneous direct action, they undermine the power and privileges of the constitutionalists, whose jobs rest on workers depending upon them to sort things out, so often to the detriment of the worker's interests. This explains their dread of 'unofficial' strikes. They frequently spend far more effort in arguing with the workers than with the bosses and whenever the members get out of control and disgrace them by their actions, we see them siding with the capitalists and issuing statements in the capitalist press denouncing the very people they are there to represent. They would rather break the union move-

ment than the constitution, and the very thought of a political strike turns them pale. Like one boss of America's United Automobile Workers Union, many of our union 'leaders' believe that the trade union movement should "not concern itself with the overthrow of capitalism but rather help it to work".

The constant challenge to their privileged position also explains the frequency and virulence of their attacks on shop stewards, for shop stewards are delegates rather than representatives. They do not operate on such an Olympian plane, and because they have to meet those who elect them face to face everyday and are more easily got rid of, they are less inclined to ignore their wishes in favour of constitutional burlings. Since they are elected by workers at shop floor level from among their own number, instead of being salaried office holders, they represent a tendency in direct contradiction to the generally centralised, authoritarian character of trade unionism, a tendency of decentralisation, of solidarity, of direct action, a tendency in fact towards workers control.

Orthodox trade unionism is a house divided against itself, for the unions are not designed to co-operate, but to compete. Often they indulge in really cut-throat competition with one another for fields in which to organise, as with the dockers and transport unions, and for particular jobs and the maintenance of differentials as with the craft unions (remember the Isle of Grain dispute?). Clear there are and will be many problems when unions are organised on a craft or hotch potch basis instead of an industrial basis, which would give strength and unity at the work place, an indisputable prerequisite for solidarity throughout the whole movement. As for the aims of the trades unions, most have no real goals than the never ending squalid scramble for a few crumbs from the rich mans' table.



This article is taken from 'Black Star', and is part of a pamphlet first published by the Syndicalist Worker's Federation (a forerunner of the Direct Action Movement), which is being updated and serialised in 'Black Star'



Farm workers seek pay increase of £50 a week

The farmworkers' are after a £50 rise to put their salary on a par with industrial workers. Minimum rate now is about £70 a-week. It is claimed that average earnings are about £101 a-week, with overtime and bonuses, and that the average farmworker works a 46.7 hour week to get this... The farmworkers' union says that one in six of all recipients of Family Income Supplement is a farmworker.

But as the farmworkers put in a claim for a living wage, the National Farmers' Union is intimating that the farmworkers may have to take a wage cut instead. Times is hard the farmers say, and they want to reduce the pay bill. They might try to do this by scrapping time-and-a-quarter pay for holiday work, reducing the juvenile rate and cutting payments for part-time and casual workers.

Contrary to the picture put out by the employers, the union says it has generally been a good year for agriculture, with some bumper crops and the annual

Ministry of Agriculture census showing expansion in almost every sector. In fact it seems that agriculture is doing better than almost any other industry at present.

The number of farmworkers has shrunk steadily over the years as mechanisation has cut the demand for labour on the land. There are now about 240,000 left (including part-timers and casual workers), and unemployment among farmworkers is very high. In country areas of course, where a worker might have worked all his or her life on the land, there is little other industry to find employment in if you lose your job.

Pay restraint urged • Inflation at 7.3 pc lowest for 10 years

Heard the latest, inflation is down to 7.3%! (well, according to government figures anyway, though going by the wage they deliberately underestimate the number of unemployed by over a million we shouldn't accept their statistics at face value). Well pack your bags, this'll mean you can take that holiday in the South of France like the boss does. Happy times are here again! Back to work with Britain! etc. etc. And by the way you impudent slaves, this means you can forget about that pay rise... We've all got to be reasonable

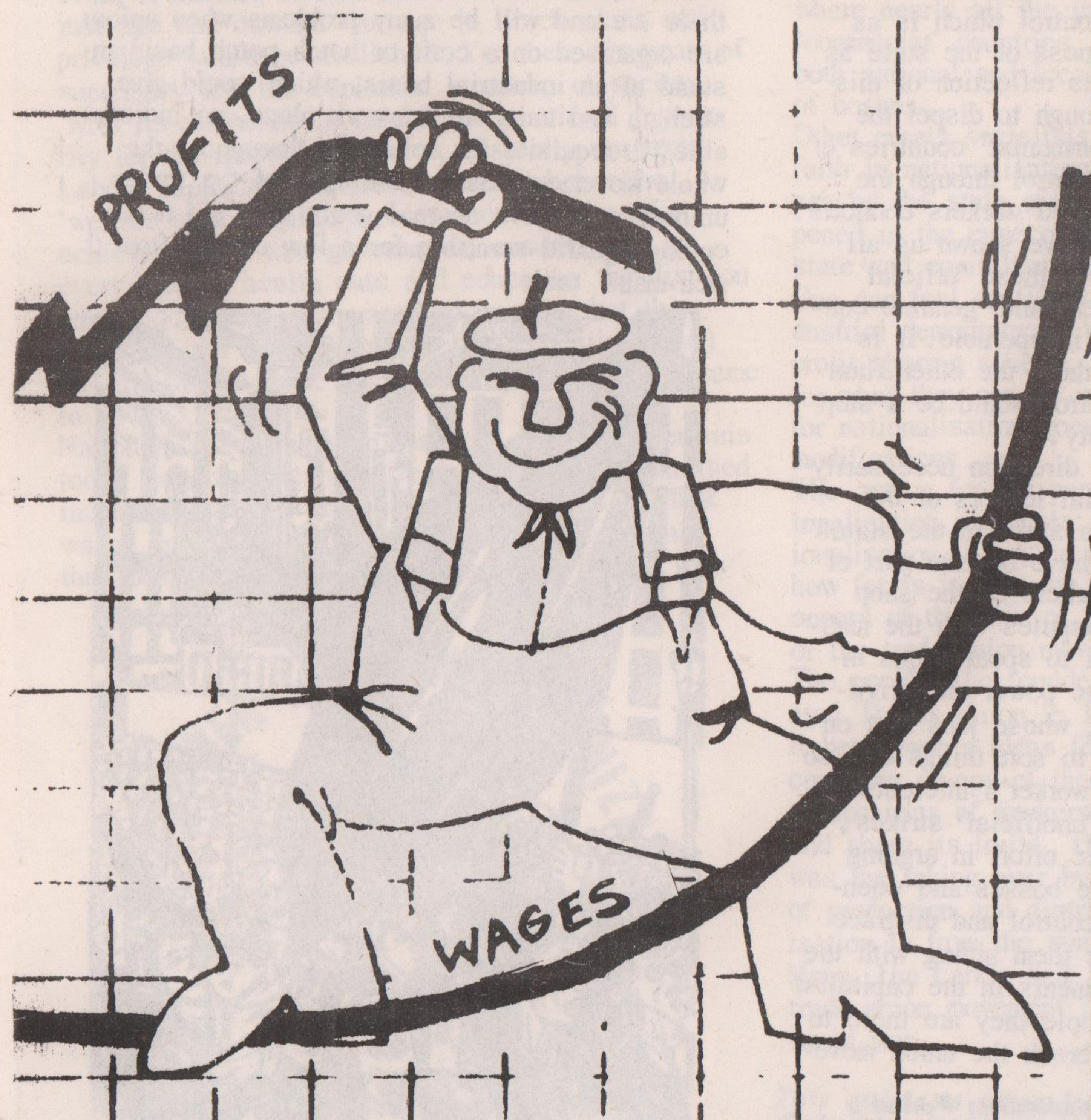
now and accept a cut in living standards, 'cos we're on the road to normality folks. And 12% for the health workers is absolutely out of the question.

Another bloody con!

Can't say I've noticed it getting easier to make ends meet. Prices still going up, the dole queues getting longer, the real value of wages decreasing (don't know where our rulers get our 'average wage settlement' from, I don't know anyone who gets them). Pay the health workers you stingy bastards!

ONE WAGE RISE WE DON'T SUPPORT...

Mike Craven is "personal assistant" to Humberside County Council leader Michael Wheaton (Labour). Craven has been regraded and given a £50 a-week wage rise. Nice to see the Hull University graduate and prospective Labour parliamentary candidate for Bridlington doing so well for himself. Maybe Wheaton, who is a lecturer at the university, was able to "pull a few strings". After all, good "socialists" have to stick together so they can hold onto their cushy jobs.



PRISONERS SUPPORTED THE HEALTH WORKERS' STRIKE

WE, some of the prisoners of HMP Hull, in accordance with the workers' day of action in support of the health workers, will be withdrawing our labour on September 22nd.

We wish to encourage all prisoners in other prisons to do likewise, to demonstrate their total support for the health service workers by this method.

We wish to express our total support for the legitimate demands of the health service workers for a decent living wage.

While we recognise that ours will be not the most important contribution to this cause, we hope our actions will show the breadth of our support that the health workers enjoy across all sections of the community.

We wish to assure workers that any trade unionist imprisoned for the exercise of his or her democratic rights will receive the fullest support we in the prisons can give.

We urge that all trade unionists join the day of action on September 22nd to support the health service workers and to ignore threats of imprisonment, as we in the prisons will ignore the inevitable reprisals that our action will draw.

Yours fraternally.
The socially conscious
prisoners of Hull

IDEAS

WORKERS taking strike action face one of their biggest difficulties in the way the media can whip up 'public opinion' against them. This is especially the case with service workers, as in the recent rail dispute and the present Health Service strike. One way round this is to consider methods of industrial action which hurt the boss but do not cause problems for consumers (for the most part fellow workers).

The 'good work strike' means providing a better or cheaper service, at the bosses expense of course. This isn't a tactic that can be used in every situation, but it certainly could be used more than it is nowadays.

For example, health workers at l'Hopital de la Merci in France, afraid of patients dying if they struck, instead refused to file billing slips for drugs, tests, treatment and therapy -usually filled in by nurses, aides, technicians and ward clerks. As a result patients had better care, since time was spent caring for them instead of on paperwork, and the hospitals income was cut by half. Panic stricken, the hospital gave in to all the workers' demands after 3 days.

In Lisbon, 1968, drivers and conductors on trains and busses turned up for work as usual but didn't collect any fares, in protest at their wages not being raised. Thus transport ran normally but the company suffered a huge financial loss. Not suprisingly, public opinion was behind the take-no-fare strikers.

On the Paris metro tickets are punched as passengers come onto the platform. Tickets brought one day can be used on another. Selective strikes by ticket-punching personnel enable hundreds of thousands of passengers to travel free. Such strikes, while they hit the company hard, are not reented by the passengers.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World in an American canning factory put labels for the most expensive cuts onto the tins of spread and vice versa. Thus those who could only afford spread got the very best salmon while the rich got spread!

Really, there are quite a few alternatives to long, drawn out strikes in many situations. For example clerical staff in the gas and electricity industries could destroy records of how much people owe, postal workers could handle only letters without stamps etc, etc. So, let's get to work, right?

