

Direct Action

For Workers' direct
Control of Industry

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CONTENTS:

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ПРОТИВ
ВСЕХ БОМБ
(AGAINST ALL BOMBS)

The Campaign in Britain against nuclear weapons is beginning to turn towards the working class. As it does so, it will create an increasing challenge to the capitalist State.

This marks a development both in the activities and in the consciousness of the Campaign. It is a genuine turn to the masses of ordinary workers, not to the bureaucracies of the Labour and Trade Union movements. Already as a result of this emphasis we have seen the beginnings of industrial action against the Bomb. Workers directly involved have refused to handle nuclear cargoes. Other have held token strikes.

THE BOMB IN CLASS SOCIETY

More and more people in the campaign are seeing the deeper implications of working class action against the Bomb. The class which dominates production controls society. It decides policy and, despite the democratic facade, enforces it through its State apparatus. Until the ordinary people are free in production, they cannot have any effective say in the decisions of war and peace, life and death. Only a society with inhuman relations in production could produce these monstrous weapons.

But the USSR has the same monstrous weapons. Should not this be different if your society is fundamentally different from ours? We know the means of production are nationalized. But Marx himself insisted that it is the 'relations of production' (the relations between men and men at work) which determine the class nature of society.* The property relations might reflect these relations of production or might serve to mask them.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

What has happened to your Revolution that your rulers should threaten the workers of other lands with these weapons. What has happened to the internationalist ideals of October?

The Revolution made sweeping changes in the property relations. But it did not solve the central contradiction of class society, that between rulers and ruled in production.

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* 'The sum total of the relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which arise legal and political superstructures'. K. Marx & F. Engels, Collected Works, vol.13, p.6 - 7,

ПРОТИВ ВСЕХ БОМБ

Continued from front page.

It was never the policy of the Bolsheviks to allow the workers to take over power in production itself. In 1921 Lenin wrote: 'It is absolutely essential that all authority in the factories should be concentrated in the hands of management. Under these circumstances any direct intervention by the trade unions in the management of enterprises should be regarded as positively harmful and impermissible'. This typifies the whole ideology and practice of the Party in this period. Here were the roots of Stalinism.

From this viewpoint, the USSR has essentially the same relations of production as Britain or America. The Russian worker has to get up in the morning when the alarm clock rings. The time is not of his choosing. Someone else decided what he shall produce, how much and at what cost to himself. Has he chosen to have Sputniks rather than butter?

Both East and West management makes all the plans, and seeks to reduce the worker to a standard unit in them. It consciously removes variety and decision-making from his job, and subjects him to the ruthless tempo of the machines. In Marxist terms, he is alienated. And any opposition to this system bring him up against the forces of the State, which, again, are beyond his control.

Is this a State that is 'beginning to wither away from the moment of the Revolution'? Or is it the kernel of the socialist programme that has withered away?

INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

In Britain our protests bring us up against our State forces too. When a mass demonstrations tried to immobilize the NATO base at Wethersfield last December, six of our members were gaoled for long periods. Many other have been arrested on similar demonstrations.

We have also protested against the Russian H-tests, which threaten workers all over the world with 'socialist' leukaemia. Our bourgeois police have protected your Embassy against us, and arrested hundreds of demonstrators.

Our struggle is the struggle for new relationships in production and in society. Both East and West, privileged minorities protected by their State machines manage production and parcel out the social product. They try to protect these privileges against greedy neighbours.

That is what the H-bomb defends. But workers gain nothing by assisting in protecting their own rulers against others. We must have faith only in ourselves, in our ability to transform society. We extend our hands in solidarity with the working people of Russia, over the heads of our rulers and yours. We have already taken up this struggle: it is yours too. Together we must ACT - OR WE SHALL PERISH TOGETHER.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !

THE COMMITTEE OF 100 exists to organise mass civil disobedience and resistance against the production, testing and threatened use of nuclear weapons. Its basis is in rank-and-file action, not in politicians' manoeuvres.

Its Industrial Sub-Committee seeks to develop these ideas among ordinary workers. Its first leaflet stated: 'Workers make the weapons of mass destruction, transport them, handle them, install them. They supply and equip those who use them. When they no longer accept to do so, the politicians will have to fight their own wars'.

The Sub-Committee is composed of workers in the Docks, in road and rail transport and in the Engineering, Building and Printing industries.

Editorial

EXPOSED

There has been more tears and gnashing of teeth over the past week than any time since the Hungarian Revolution.

The 'Peoples Bomb' has been blown sky high by the leaflet printed on the front page, which was issued by the Industrial sub Committee, Committee of 100 for the Peace Congress.

The leaflet poses the \$ 64,000 question. If the Soviet Union is a socialist state, as claimed, why the competition with capitalism for bigger and better nuclear weapons? The question has no answer, for this reason, Russian workers have no more control over their destiny than do workers anywhere else in the world, therefore there is no difference between the nuclear mad leadership of the USSR and Britain, America and France.

The theory of the 'Peoples Bomb' is as criminally false as the theory of the 'deterrent'. Don't let us have this defence of socialism bull shit! Defence of 'state beauracracry' is nearer the truth, therefore the people of the Soviet Union need to protest and act as much against nuclear madness as workers in any other country in the world.

The C.P. and 'fronters' are left with their trousers down. The Special Correspondent in the Daily Worker of July 13 bleats about "providing grist for the mill of the worlds anti Soviet Press".

Canon Collins had a quiet little sniffle, he is reported in the Worker, July 16 as saying that a leaflet that had nothing to do with C.N.D. or Committee of 100 caused grave concern to the Soviet authorities and he thought (Canon Collins) with very good reasons. It was challenging the authority of the Soviet Government over its own people. This is exactly the point, if the Committee of 100 can assist people in any country to oppose any government who possess nuclear weapons it should do so. There must be no ifs and buts about it.

Let us be perfectly frank in the face of all this ducking and diving, the Committee of 100 and the Industrial Sub Committee stand firm against ALL BOMBS, it does not, and cannot justify the position of any country possessing nuclear weapons.

There is no compromise, not even for Lenin, Khrushchev, Uncle Tom Cobley and all, and the sooner the misty eyed fore flushers realise this the better.

A Precedent Has Been Set

The British Employers Confederation advised the Government against introducing legislation to give workers greater security.

Issuing a policy statement the B.E.C. President said that redundancy compensation schemes to help older workers with long service could not be dealt with in this way.

In a later speech, reported in Financial Times 20.7.62, Mr. Hunter B.E.C. President said "If a company falls on evil days it may have to cut down its activities and reduce its labour force and money is likely to be in short supply for all who consider they have claims upon it, creditors no less than work people.

The plight of workers affected in this way has to be considered in relation to the National Insurance scheme".

In other words the dole, the recent injunction against the Daily News paying compensation has set the precedent. Employers are in business to make profit first, second and third, if there are any crumbs workers may queue for their share.

The unions view on compensation is that any payment established by law would automatically become the minimum, and they are not far wrong. On the other hand there are very few unions who have any policy at all on 'the sack'. There can only be one immediate aim "shorter working week without loss of pay". Any other policy than that is pure 'kid stakes'.

Direct Action Against Fascism

Ken Hawkes

Fascism in Britain has received considerable publicity since the bombardment with eggs and tomatoes of pocket-fuehrer Colin Jordan's would-be Nazi commandos in Trafalgar Square. While sympathising with many of those - particularly the Jewish and Coloured people - who have protested loudly about the activity of these psychopathic gutter-politicians, we are extremely sceptical of appeals for legislation against fascism and the fascists. For good reasons.

Some of us remember the pre-war days of Mosley's London rallies, when race-hatred was whipped up, notably in London's East End, by Hitler-style propaganda. Then, as now, calls were made to a Tory Government for the activities of the blackshirted, jackbooted thugs to be made illegal. This at a time when the Rothermere press were loudly extolling the fascists' virtues (even offering tickets for fascist rallies as prizes in newspaper competitions); when the latter-day anti-fascist crusader Churchill was praising the virtues of Mussolini and Hitler ("If I had been an Italian, I would have been proud to wear a black shirt", "Should Britain even find herself in the same position as Germany, I pray to God that we shall find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among the nations"); when Mosley's meetings were zealously guarded by the police and protesting anti-fascists given strong-arm treatment.

The advocates of Parliamentary legislation got their wish with the 1936 Public Order Act. The legislation was promptly used against anti-fascist organisations - and Mosley's meetings went merrily on until the war, temporarily and only apparently, made anti-fascists of us all. It is estimated that from 1936-39 at least 20 anti-fascists were prosecuted to every one of the Mosley-William Joyce outfits.

During the war Mosley underwent a spell of internment, having a well furnished private suite, with service, at Holloway Prison, until Home Secretary Herbert Morrison, acting as His Majesty's chief copper in the Churchill coalition, took pity on his one-time party colleague and released him. The excuse, we believe, was that poor Sir Oswald had an attack of phlebitis, or flea-bites, or something similar.

After 1945 the ragged remnants of the BUF's pre-war cohorts re-formed and returned to their old Jew-baiting activities. Mosley had temporarily retired to his country mansions in Ireland and France. Once again the cry went up: "Ban the fascists!" Some young Jewish workers in the East End had more practical ideas: they formed the "43 Group" which, by direct action methods, persuaded some anti-semites that discretion of retirement from the political scene was the better part of valour. But the Government - a Labour Government this time - answered the call for a ban on fascist activities by suspending ALL political processions. For two years there was no May Day march in London. Once again anti-fascists were the major sufferers.

Buenaventura Durruti, the Anarcho-Syndicalist militant whose organising ability played so great a role in the workers' militias' successful fight against fascism in the early months of the Spanish Civil War, analysed the problem correctly during that struggle, a month or so before meeting his death from a bullet in the back on the Madrid front. "No government in the world fights fascism to the death", he said. When the bourgeoisie sees power slipping from its grasp, it has recourse to fascism to maintain itself."

Fascism cannot be fought by Act of Parliament, or by rational argument. It is a disease, bred of everything stinking and rotten in a decaying social system. So long as class society persists it will be with us, relatively impotent in periods - like the present - of expansion; rapidly gaining strength in slump and depression, when it plays off latent racial antagonisms (Gentile against Jew, White against Coloured).

The fascists can be kept in check by "43 Group" type direct action and by "pirating" their meeting places, as the old Anarchist Federation did several times at Notting Hill in the post-war years, and CND speaker Olga Levertoff in Charing Cross Rd., recently. But finally the way to end fascism is by rooting out its social and economic causes.

Meanwhile, there are such subsidiary problems as the suspended teaching activities of Nazi Colin Jordan. The answer, surely, was in the hands of parents, by removing their children from his classes, they would effectively have sent him to Coventry, without giving the martyr's crown of thorns provided by dismissal.

IRISH WORKERS FIGHT ATTACKS ON STRIKES!

As a scapegoat for their economic difficulties on entering the Common Market, the Irish Capitalist class has decided to make an onslaught against unofficial strikes. This follows the recent unofficial strike, when 6,000 busmen came out against the decision of C.I.E. to introduce a one-man crew on tour buses without their consultation or agreement. The workers see this as the "thin end of the wedge" and in a country of few jobs this can be seen only as a policy of creating fewer still. Six busmen on Union instructions refused to drive the buses and were immediately sacked. The Union stalled and wanted immediate action postponed through the gimmick of serving seven days notice. At a meeting called the same night the platform of Union officials refused to hear the mens demands for immediate action. However the busmen left the meeting disgusted with the official attitude and marched to the garages declaring an unofficial strike. The busmen were "stabbed in the back" by their Union - the Irish Transport & General Workers Union. Their General Secretary told the busmen when they marched to Union headquarters that he could not deal with "the mob".

Some weeks ago, John Conroy, President of the same Union spoke out at the Union Conference against unjust strikes and undisciplined action, attacked the selfish outlook and actions of workers who are in a strong bargaining position; continuing his talk he made the following statement, "If all members of the Union had 40 or more years experience in the matter of endeavouring to secure social justice they would have greater appreciation of their trade union". This kind of contradictory "bull shit" is now the regular theme-song of the trade union leaders whenever they get the chance.

Last month a meeting was held in Dublin between representatives of the Federated Union of Employers and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to discuss "points of common interests". It is quite absurd to imagine that the working class and the Capitalist class have anything at all in common. Of course the trade union bureaucrats and the Capitalist class have points of common interest, they both live on the backs of the working class.

In spite of all this handicap the human underdogs still have blood enough to kick back. Despite the schools, newspapers, sermons, radio etc., the underdog refuses to become part of the automated society in which he is honoured to press the buttons and pull the levers. His mind cannot be sufficiently hammered, nailed and shaped as to make it incapable of producing any original sounds. This is perhaps one of the more heartening aspects of humanity. Now the ruling class has another method - the bayonet!

Clearly then as a scapegoat for the drastic failure of their obsolete social system, the Capitalists have chosen to pin the responsibility on the shoulders of the working class. This is borne out by the statements in the Dail (Parliament) by the Minister for Industry & Commerce. Some weeks ago and immediately after the busmens unofficial strike, he let slip that he was considering introducing legislation to outlaw unofficial strikes in the semi-State industries (C.I.E., the national transport system is classified as semi-state). In reply to a question in the Dail he confirmed this and it appears that the Government is going ahead with this Fascist measure.

Legislation of this sort must be opposed very strongly by the working class. Action necessary to dampen the Govt-Employer bloc's fascist ardour must be taken immediately. It is quite unreasonable to think or expect any sort of lead or even support from the official Labour apparatus. The Government has said that they expect to have the support of the Trade Union leadership in this legislation. It seems quite likely that the Government and certain leaders of the Congress of Trade Unions are working in collusion on this project. The Lemass Government which defied the Congress last September in the E.S.B. dispute with the five years jail Bill has learnt its lesson. The leadership of the Congress of Trade Unions far from opposing such a Bill will undoubtedly favour it, to support their weakening control of the working and paying masses with the truncheon, bayonet and prison cell. Support cannot be expected from the Labour Party which is of course in close alliance with the C.T.U. bureaucracy.

The responsibility for fighting this fascist Bill falls on the shoulders of the working class. Committees should be formed in every factory, shop and centre of production to fight this proposed measure. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty! Let us remember this very well.

Pat Kelly.

SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION

AIMS & PRINCIPLES

THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION seeks to establish a free society, which will render impossible the growth of a privileged class and the exploitation of man by man. The S.W.F. therefore advocates common ownership and workers control of the land, industry and all means of production and distribution, on the basis of voluntary co-operation. In such a society, the wage system, finance and money shall be abolished and goods produced and distributed not for profit, but according to human needs.

CLASS STRUGGLE. The interests of the working class and the ruling class are directly opposed. The S.W.F. is based upon the inevitable day-to-day struggle of the workers against those who own and control the means of production and distribution, and will continue that struggle until common ownership and workers control are achieved.

DIRECT ACTION. Victory in the fight against class domination can only be achieved by the direct action of the workers themselves. The S.W.F. rejects all parliamentary and similar activity as deflecting the workers from the class struggle into paths of class collaboration.

THE STATE. The State in all its forms is the enemy of the workers, and cannot exist within a classless society. The S.W.F. does not, therefore, hope to use the State to achieve the emancipation of the working class; it does not seek to obtain seats in the Cabinet or Parliament. Nor does it desire to build a new State on the ruins of the old. Any attempt, by an allegedly working class party, to create a new State, can only result in a new ruling class.

ORGANISATION. To achieve these aims, the workers must organise. They must replace the hundreds of craft and general trade unions by syndicalist industrial unions. As an immediate step to that end, the S.W.F. aids the formation of worker' committees in all factories, mines, offices, ship-yards, mills and other places of work, and their development into industrial unions, federated to an all-national Federation of Labour.

INTERNATIONALISM. The S.W.F., as a section of the International Working Men's Association, stands firm for international working class solidarity.

SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION

I WISH TO JOIN THE S.W.F.

Delete where not

I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION

not applicable

Name

Address

Industry (If employed)

Trade Union

Date

Send to: 25a Amberly Rd., London W.9.

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