

DIRECT ACTION



No. 11

DIRECT ACTION
publication

AIT/IWA

20p

TOWARDS ANARCHISM



by

centre pages

ANARCHISM

anarcho-syndicalism in north america

For a long time the only organisation in the United States or Canada that an Anarcho-syndicalist could belong to was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Now there is no doubt that the IWW is a very fine organisation to be a member of, with a track record second to none in the field of industrial struggle, but it is not and never was an ANARCHO-syndicalist group. Therefore it is nice to hear of the emergence of both an Anarcho-syndicalist group and a paper work-towards the same goals as the DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT.

The Libertarian Workers Group have been on the scene for a number of years, but it has taken them a number of years to get organised. This summer, along with the paper STRIKE! organised an anarcho-syndicalist conference in St Catherines, Ontario. The conference was attended by comrades from New York, San Francisco-Oakland and Southern Ontario, while (and you must remember the size of the continent) statements were received from Denver? Eugene, Vancouver and several other places.

The LWG gave a report on its work in New York with the Polish Solidarity movement and its activities in the trade unions, particularly District 65 of the United Automobile Workers and its general propaganda activity.

The Ontario and Montreal comrades were also working with the Polish Solidarity people. Their trade union activity was mainly among the auto and steel workers as well as working in the womens movement and, of course, producing the paper STRIKE!

The comrades from the San Francisco area gave a report on their very fine paper Ideas and Action (of which a full report appeared in DA No 10), also on their work with the Latin American solidarity network, the LALAW and the Polish Solidarity movement.

The LALAW (Libertarian Aid for Latin American Workers)

was set up at last years' LWG conference in New York but up till now it has not managed to get off the ground, though after this conference things are looking much better and public meetings will soon be held in New York, San Francisco and Toronto. Plans have also been laid for a conference on Anarchism in Latin America and the Anarchos Institute will be approached to provide background information.

The LWG are now part of the International Workers Association (IWA), the Anarcho-syndicalist International. For us in the DAM this is indeed good news, because today more than ever we need solid comrades in North America if we are to be at all successful in our struggle against the multi-national corporations, most of whom have their headquarters in either the United States or Canada. (In fact the multi-nationals are aware of us and last year Shell-Canada tried to take out a subscription with one of the American anarchist papers, they gave up the direct approach idea after being told that subscriptions were based on earnings. If only they had paid up we could have supplied them with an anarchist paper all of their own).

We are looking forward to working closely with our American comrades in the future and wish them the best of luck.

C.L.

The LWG can be contacted at:-
LWG. PO Box 692, Old Chelsea
Station, New York, NY 10113 USA.

The following is a statement on Trade Unions and the Anarchist movement as seen by the delegates to the St Catherines conference, held in July 1982.

The trade unions have, since their inception, been, at best, defensive organisations of working people. They have been unable to alter or abolish the nature of class rule.

This is the root cause of the historic tendency of the unions, particularly at leadership level, to be come intergrated into the continued functioning of capitalism. In recent years that tendency has become more pronounced, especially as bureaucratic elites, who have a direct interest in maintaining the present system of power and privilege, have consolidated themselves at the head of trade unions.

Yet even given this powerful tendency other factors - the structural crisis of capital, ideological needs, etc. - have led the ruling class to attack the unions and force them, often unwillingly, into an adversary role. The unions will even take on a militant and confrontational attitude for a time, but only until a "more reasonable" position comes to the fore within the ruling class.

This is the situation that we find ourselves in today. As revolutionaries, as anarchist workers, there is a great opportunity facing us. The temporary militancy of the union leaders, as well as the deeper resentment of the rank and file against them as well as the bosses, will engender many struggles over the next few years, struggles that may lead to the rebirth of a genuine workers movement. We cannot hope to play any part in these struggles, to put forth our ideas and our programme, if we remain aloof and abstain from them simply because they may take place in a trade union context.

Needless to say, as everywhere else, our activities as anarchist workers are motivated by our principles, and we do not go into the unions to seize leadership for our selves or 'capture' them for anarchism. We recognise, again, that the trade unions cannot be transformed into revolutionary organisations, and in participating in them we seek for new forms of organisation and struggle that will help transform them.

TOWARDS A GENERAL STRIKE

Very few people could doubt the ferocity of Capitals attack on the working class living standards, we have 5 million unemployed by the T.U.C.s calculations and at least one in seven out of work by the governments own estimates. Cuts in education, housing and health are going far to reduce the working classes to the level of the 1930s. Of course we are living in a time of crisis for Capital, in Europe alone there are estimated 20 million out of work, and the troubles in Poland and Rumania as well as the unrest in Russia can all be laid at the door of the recession. But in the U.K. we have grounds for thinking that what is happening here is not just the result of the governments incapacity, but is a direct outcome of the governments intention to teach the working class a lesson.

Lack of Capital.

For instance we hear so much of the lack of Capital (the commodity), yet the truth is, there is no real shortage of Capital, the lack is man made. Capital made here in the U.K. is exported abroad for re-investment in the Common Market, in the Third World, and surprisingly in the U.S.A. Britain is the worlds largest overseas investor, and is the U.S.s largest foriegn investor. At the same time the U.K. is only third from the bottom of the league of wage tables being 14th, with only Spain, Ireland and Greece in that order below us. Whatever the industrialists say it is not wages that cause the poor showing of British Industry today, rather do the facts lend themselves to the planned flight of Capital.

Ungovernable.

One theory is that the British Working Class is becoming ungovernable. The 1972/4 Heath government fell as a result of working class action. Pickets and wildcat strikes, not the ballot box brought down Heath, direct action made the ballot box and the election redundant.

Five years later it was the mass action of the lower paid who brought down the vicious Government of Callaghan.

Labours Defence.

Nothing stands out in all of this, and that is the willingness of the Labour Party to play Capitals game. At no time have the Labour Party/T.U.C. coalition done anything positive to stem the tide of Tory attacks, indeed observation shows us that the result of 17 years of Labour Government since the last war has been to reduce working class living standards even further. The record of the last Labour Government speaks for itself.

HOUSING:- By 1978 fewer council houses were being built than at any time since 1945.

HEALTH:- The first two years of Labour Government saw the loss of 25,000 hospital beds.

PRICES:- These doubled between 1974 & 1979, Gas, Electricity, Postal Charges, Transport all soared as the Labour Government withdrew subsidies. Food prices went sky high for the same reasons.

EDUCATION:- Labour was responsible for cuts that put teachers on the dole for the first time since the Thirties.

JOBS:- Under Labour unemployment hit two million, jobs disappeared at the rate of a thousand a day.

WAGES:- Under Labour the then Financial Secretary to the Treasury said that on January 30th 1979, "A family of four on average earnings were worse off in real terms than in 1972 under the Heath Government". Living standards were lower under Labour than under the Tory Government.

When we realise that the T.U.C. is Labours Paymaster, at local as well as national level, we begin to realise the defencelessness of the working class under the Tory onslaught. In the years of the Tory Government under Thatcher the reluctance of the T.U.C. to mount an attack against unemployment, rising prices or the run down

of the National Health service has been marked. As the Guardian commentator put it, "what motivates the T.U.C. is not opposition to the Tories, but pique, the fact that the Government is ignoring the T.U.C."

The behaviour of the Steel Unions during the Steel Workers strike, the failure of the T.U.C. and indeed individual unions to support the A.S.L.E.F. men during their struggle, the failure of the union leadership to give any real direction in the prosecution of the Health Workers dispute, highlights the lack of will to take on Capital in even a limited way.

A Fight Back.

"If we are to maintain what little we have never mind improve our position, we must fight with every means at our command", so said one speaker on 22nd Sept, Day of Action, the question is how?

The first priority is simply to get the idea discussed, we can do that by bringing the subject up at every possible chance, in the pub, at work during breaks, at our union branches. The main thing is to get fixed in peoples mind an alternative to the usual farce of, "wait until election time", or "vote Labour at the next election". (This latter advice is actually on a car sticker brought out by a North East Labour Party.)

It doesn't matter if people do not agree it is enough that it enters their conscious thinking. If they reject it at first the total inability of the Labour/T.U.C. power group to fight capital is our best friend. We should plug the ideas of:-

1. A series of mass demonstrations in every town and city.
 2. Mass meetings in every workshop before further action.
 3. Literature, Posters and leaflets fully aimed at the unemployed as well as employed workers.
 4. Call for preparation for a Mass General Strike.
- One of the reasons for the failure of the T.U.C.s Day of Action efforts has been their

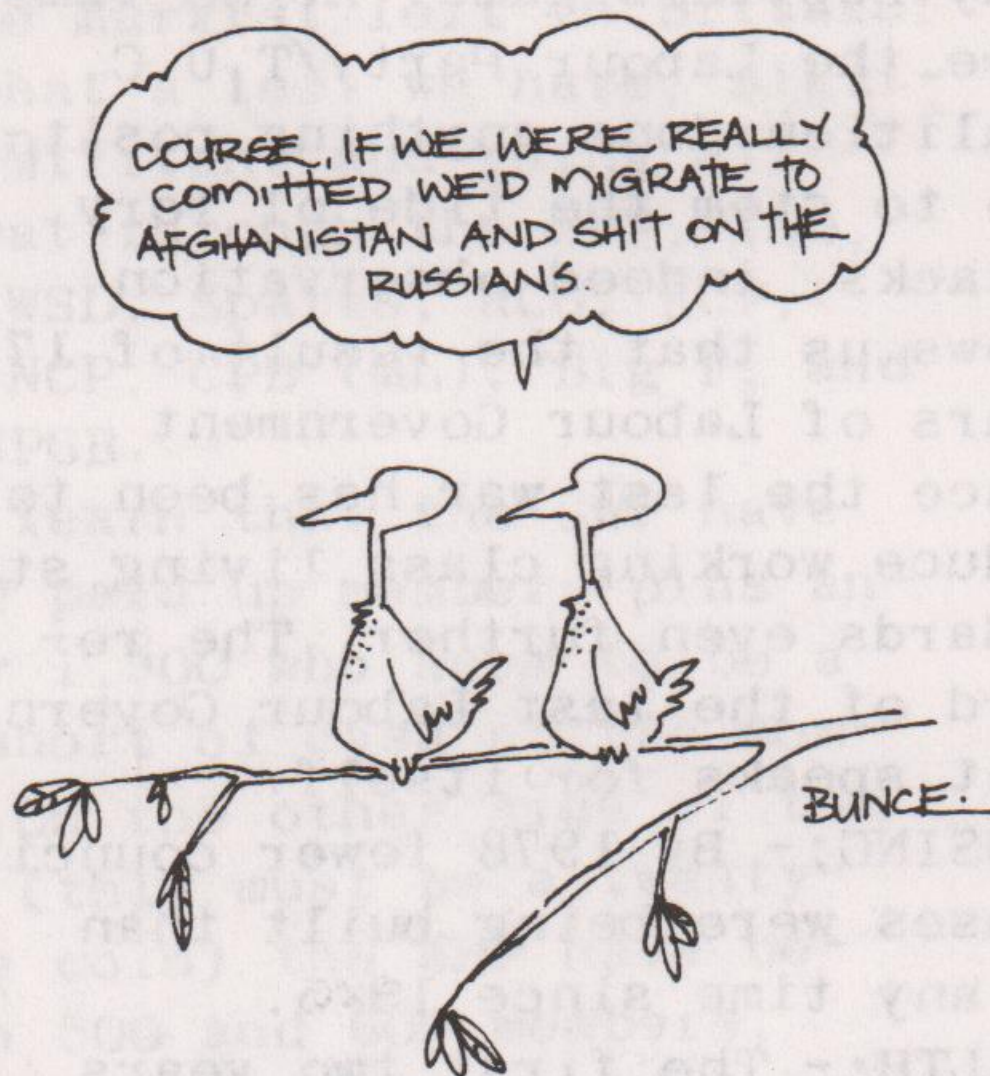
PARTY LINES

Whenever the right-wing of the Labour Party wish to make a telling jibe at the Militant Trotskyites in their midst, they point the finger of scorn and say, "Why don't you join with the other 57 varieties of 'revolutionary' Parties on the outside of the Labour Party and see how far you get?" The implication is that these organisations get derisory votes at General Elections and are, therefore, irrelevant to the political scene. How true is this observation? At present there are several Parties in this country wishing to lead the masses to their version of the promised land. Here we look at the three largest and see what they have to offer.

Largest, but nowhere as large as their continental cousins, is the Communist Party with around 18,000 members, decreasing. With an increasingly tatty and expensive paper, the Morning Star. It has been around since 1920 when it developed from a handful of small socialist groups and from the beginning owed its allegiance and policies to the Soviet Union. Recently, it has tried to distance itself from Russia in the vain hope of gaining a few more members. The contrary has happened because the hard-lined Stalinists, led by Syd French, left to form the New Communist Party. Membership has been declining for years, in fact, since the tanks rolled into Hungary in 1956. They've stood for Parliament since the 1920s but haven't had anyone elected since 1953. Their membership is old and if it weren't for the quite powerful union positions they hold, such as McGahey of the miners and Gill of TASS the C.P. would be virtually irrelevant. The Communist Party has given up any hope of 'leading' the workers anywhere and is as much of a threat to capitalism as Doncaster Rovers reserves.

The last couple of decades has seen the emergence of Trot-

skyist groups as rivals to the C.P. in the Party stakes. Appealing to younger people as more 'revolutionary' than the C.P. and decrying Parliamentarianism as bourgeois reformism, except when they stand for 'propaganda' reasons, they grew to a moderate size in the late sixties and early seventies. Largest is the Socialist Workers Party with 4,000 members, mainly white collar ex-students from the days of campus unrest. Believes Russia to be State Capitalist since Stalin nudged the beloved Trotsky out of being the top potato in the socialist



fatherland in the 1920's. Was viewed by some as more libertarian than most Leninist outfits but has always maintained its adherence to 'democratic centralism' in its running. Its 'libertarian' label was probably attached due to its willingness to support movements such as gays and womens' rights, so long as they see the need for the role of a leadership Party, rather than due to its internal policies. Although it calls itself a 'workers' party its governing body, the Central Committee, is mainly made up of ex-public schoolboys. Recently it has dropped its front organisations such as the Right to Work and seems to be in a bit of a quandary as to what to do next. It looks like the S.W.P. will have to face the problem of what to do when the vanguard of the working class is ignored by the workers they're hoping to lead.

In the sixties the largest Trotskyist organisation was the Socialist Labour League led by Gerry Healy. With several thousand members it decided to go in to the Party business and became the Workers Revolutionary Party. Since then its membership (a

closely guarded secret) has rapidly declined to an estimated 2,000. Even so, it seems money is no problem for the W.R.P., they produce an inexpensive and professional daily newspaper as well as a weekly for the Young Socialist section. Fleet Street has mumbled about Libyan Gold from the megalomaniac Colonel Gadhafi. Maybe so, the slavish praise of Libya by the W.R.P. would make it likely, but their money would seem mainly come from their ability to recruit well-paid members of Equity. Vanessa and her brother Corin Redgrave are only two of the show-biz stars to keep the W.R.P. wheels oiled. The problem is though, that the membership has left in droves, mainly due to its total lack of internal democracy. What Trotsky's envoy on earth, Gerry Healy says is law and no argument. Not surprisingly the masses have tended to ignore this particular vehicle for their own salvation and the increasing decline of this outfit seems, hopefully to be permanent.

A few other, smaller outfits, litter the scene, mainly accusing each other of outrageous crimes such as reformism or, worst of all, revisionism (meaning that someone has dared to criticise the Holy Writ laid down by Trotsky, Lenin or whoever.) All of them have a virtual uncritical view of what the Bolsheviks did in the early days of the Russian Revolution although some criticise Stalin's later 'excesses'. This ignores the fact that the basis for Stalin's rule and dictatorship were laid down in those very same early years. Lenin started the process of defeat for the workers organisations, the soviets, and laid the foundations of a police state with a ruling bureaucracy. Stalin was merely the inheritor.

The workers of this country, or any other for that matter, should not put their hopes for 'salvation' in the hands of various parties but rely on their own self-organisation. Whether reformist or revolutionary the parties have proved they have nothing to offer the working class except their own brand of coercion and control. The only true form of workers control will be achieved by the workers themselves.

GH

The UNKNOWN RIOTS

In the summer of 1982 Micheal Hesaltine made one of his well publicised visits to Liverpool. This self styled Minister for Merseyside is no different than any of the other Tory gang, they like the Press around them wherever they go, but on this occasion we are sure Hesaltine would have preferred to have been somewhere else. The good people of Liverpool have just about had enough of the slick fart Tory and so they set about him with rotten eggs and putrid fruit. The next day the Fleet Street rags were full of the usual crap, "Vicious attack on Minister", "Ungrateful Citizens Pelt Saviour of Liverpool", etc. etc.

Now thats' all good fun; we all enjoy reading about some government hack getting his comeupence, its always nice to start the day with a story like that, but on this occasion Fleet St and the BBC/ITV mob had kept from their front pages and TV screens a story far greater than any Tory Minister could command.

On the same day in the same city a riot broke out large enough to need 200 riot police, twelve van loads of back-up police and carried on for over five hours. During that time Petrol Bombs were thrown and both police and rioters were injured. Well you might say, "I never saw anything in the papers about that", quite true, there was nothing in the papers or on the TV screens but none the less it did take place and the Press did know about it.

The scene of the rioting was a large council estate in Everton known as Sir Thomas Whites, the locals call it 'Tommy Whites' and like many other estates in Liverpool it's falling apart after years of neglect. Tommy Whites is rather like Railton Rd in Brixton, the sort of place the police only go to when they are short of something to do and want to make a couple of arrests. The sort of area where if you put it down on a job application form you can be sure someone else will get the job, the



Press and the police have seen to that.

So on the day that Hesaltine was making front page national news, the rioters of Liverpool were not even making the local papers. The Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford, did not think it important enough to tell the Press, but the Press themselves were not at all outraged when they did find out next day. The Liverpool Post carried just two columns, two days after a major riot had broken out in their city. As for the local radio station, they said they first heard the story from the cleaning ladies (sounds like one of those Whitehall jokes) but because they received no word from the police they made no mention of the riot on their news broadcasts.

Now that might sound strange if it were not for one thing, sometime before the Tommy Whites riots a meeting took place between none other than Chief Pig Oxford and the local Press and Radio and they agreed that all news coverage of rioting (there are many riots in Liverpool these days) would be fed through to the police press office; and to think we always thought reporters used to go out and risk their lives just to bring us a story.

But then the Press is not what it would like us to think it is, when the editor of the Daily Star was asked by a BBC reporter for Radio 4s "Liverpool Week" why his paper had put the Hesaltine story on the front page and did not mention the Tommy Whites riots he said, and I do not lie, "because Micheal Hesaltines life was in danger", unfortunately the BBC man was trained and therefore

did not collapse into convulsions of laughter, but true to form pressed on with the next question, again about the riots this time our man from the Daily Slur just said, "Don't be a bore, riots are not important".

Now thats' not what the Slur was saying last year, but then the Police and the Press were not working together, at least not so well as they are doing now. And its not just in Liverpool. Brixton, Oct 31; we had all read about that, but did you hear about the riots in Notting Hill and Walthamstow on the same night? I doubt it. Just another case where the Police did not think it worth while to tell the Press or maybe the Press did not think it important enough to tell the public.

This close relationship between the Police and the Press is not new, in fact, everything and every organisation within the State and believing in the State must work together or else what they support will collapse around them. The Police are their own worse enemies, time and time again they behave in a way totally unacceptable to the general public, but because the story is never printed or else retold to give a good impression they can escape the wrath of the people.

The events in Brixton are one good example of this Police behaviour, excessive numbers of Police used to carry out an eviction notice, after eviction police still remain in the area, this of course leads to a riot. Riot in London is news. It can't be hushed up so the Police turn to the media for help. The Press came running, "Not the Fault of the Police", "White Anarchists Urge on Rioters" (Evening Standard 2/11/82) or, the more underhand approach of papers like the Guardian who just report the Chief Pig, word for word and then sit back and say, "we are not telling lies, we only quote the Police".

If sometime in the near future our comrades in Brixton are arrested for conspiracy we should well remember who is to blame.

C.L.

TOWARDS ANARCHISM

by ERRICO
MALATESTA

It is a general opinion that we, because we call ourselves revolutionists, expect Anarchism to come with one stroke - as the immediate result of an insurrection which violently attacks all which exists and which replaces all with institutions that are really new. And to tell the truth this idea is not lacking among some comrades who also conceive the revolution in such a manner.

This prejudice explains why so many honest opponents believe Anarchism a thing impossible; and it also explains why some comrades, disgusted with the present moral condition of the people and seeing that Anarchism cannot come about soon, waver between an extreme dogmatism which blinds them to the realities of life and an opportunism which practically makes them forget that they are Anarchists and that for Anarchism they should struggle.

Of course the triumph of Anarchism cannot be the consequence of a miracle; it cannot come about in contradiction of the laws of development (an axiom of evolution that nothing occurs without sufficient cause), and nothing can be accomplished without adequate means.

If we should want to substitute one government for another, that is, impose our desires upon others, it would only be necessary to combine the material forces needed to resist the actual oppressors and put ourselves in their place.

But we do not want this; we want Anarchism, which is a society based on free and voluntary accord - a society in which no one can force their wishes on another and in which every one can do as he/she pleases and together all will voluntarily contribute to the well-being of the community. But because of this Anarchism will not have definitively and universally triumphed until all people will not only not want to be commanded but will not want to command; nor will Anarchism have succeeded unless

they will have understood the advantage of solidarity and know how to organize a plan of social life wherein there will no longer be traces of violence and imposition.

And as the conscience, determination, and the capacity of people continuously develop and find means of expression in the gradual modification of the new environment and in the realization of the desires in proportion to there being formed and becoming imperious, so it is with Anarchism; Anarchism cannot come but little by little - slowly, but surely, growing in intensity and extension.

Therefore, the subject is not whether we accomplish Anarchism today, tomorrow, or within ten centuries, but that we walk towards Anarchism today, tomorrow and always.

Anarchism is the abolition of exploitation and oppression of man by man, that is, the abolition of private property and government; Anarchism is the destruction of misery, of superstitions, of hatred. Therefore, every blow given to the institutions of private property and to the government, every disruption of the present conditions, every lie unmasked, every part of human activity taken away from the control of the authorities, every augmentation of the spirit of solidarity and initiative, is a step towards Anarchism.

The problem lies in knowing how to choose the road that really approaches the realization of the ideal and in not confusing the real progress with hypocritical reforms. For with the pretext of obtaining immediate ameliorations these false reforms tend to distract the masses from the struggle against authority and capitalism; they serve to paralyse their actions and make them hope that something can be attained through the kindness of the exploiters and governments. The problem lies in knowing how to use the little power we have - that we go on achieving, in

the most economical way, more prestige for our goal.

There is in every country a government which, with brutal force, imposes its laws on all; it compels all to be subjected to exploitation and to maintain, whether they like it or not, the existing institutions. It forbids the minority groups to actuate their ideas, and prevents the social organisations in general from modifying themselves according to, and with, the modifications of public opinion. The normal peaceful course of evolution is arrested by violence, and thus with violence it is necessary to reopen that course. It is for this reason that we want a violent revolution today; and we shall want it always - so long as man is subject to the imposition

of things contrary to his natural desires. Take away governmental violence and ours would have no reason to exist.

We cannot as yet overthrow the prevailing government; perhaps tomorrow from the ruins of the present government we cannot prevent the arising of another similar one. But this does not hinder us, nor will it tomorrow, from resisting whatever form of authority - refusing to submit to its laws whenever possible, and constantly using force to oppose force.

Every weakening of whatever kind of authority, each accession of liberty will be a progress towards Anarchism; always it should be conquered - never asked for; always it should serve to give us great-

er strength in the struggle; always it should make us consider the state as an enemy with whom we should never make peace; always it should make us remember well that the decrease of the ills produced by government consists in the decrease of its attributions and powers, and the resulting terms should be determined not by those who governed but by those who were governed. By government we mean any person or group of persons in the state, country, community, or association who has the right to make laws and inflict them upon those who do not want them.

We cannot as yet abolish private property; we cannot regulate the means of production which is necessary to work freely; perhaps we may not be able to do so in the next insurrectional movement. But this does not prevent us now, or will it in the future, from continually opposing capitalism or any other form of despotism. And each victory, however small, gained by the workers against their exploiters, each decrease of profit, every bit of wealth taken from the individual owners and put at the disposal of all, shall be a progress - a forward step towards Anarchism. Always it should serve to enlarge the claims of the workers and to intensify the struggle; always it should be accepted as a victory over an enemy and not as a concession for which we should be thankful; always we should remain firm in our resolution to take with force, as soon as it will be possible, those means which the private owners, protected by the government, have stolen from the workers.

The right of force having disappeared, the means of production being placed under the management of whoever wants to produce, the result must be the fruit of a peaceful evolution.

Anarchism could not be, nor would it ever be if not for

those few who want it and want it only in those things they can accomplish without the cooperation of the non-anarchists. This does not necessarily mean that the ideal of Anarchism will make little or no progress, for little by little its ideas will extend to more people and more things until it will have embraced all the people and all life's manifestations.

Having overthrown the government and all existing dangerous institutions which with force it defends, having conquered complete freedom for all and with it the means of regulating labour without which liberty would be a lie, and while we are struggling to arrive at this point, we do not intend to destroy those things which we little by little reconstruct.

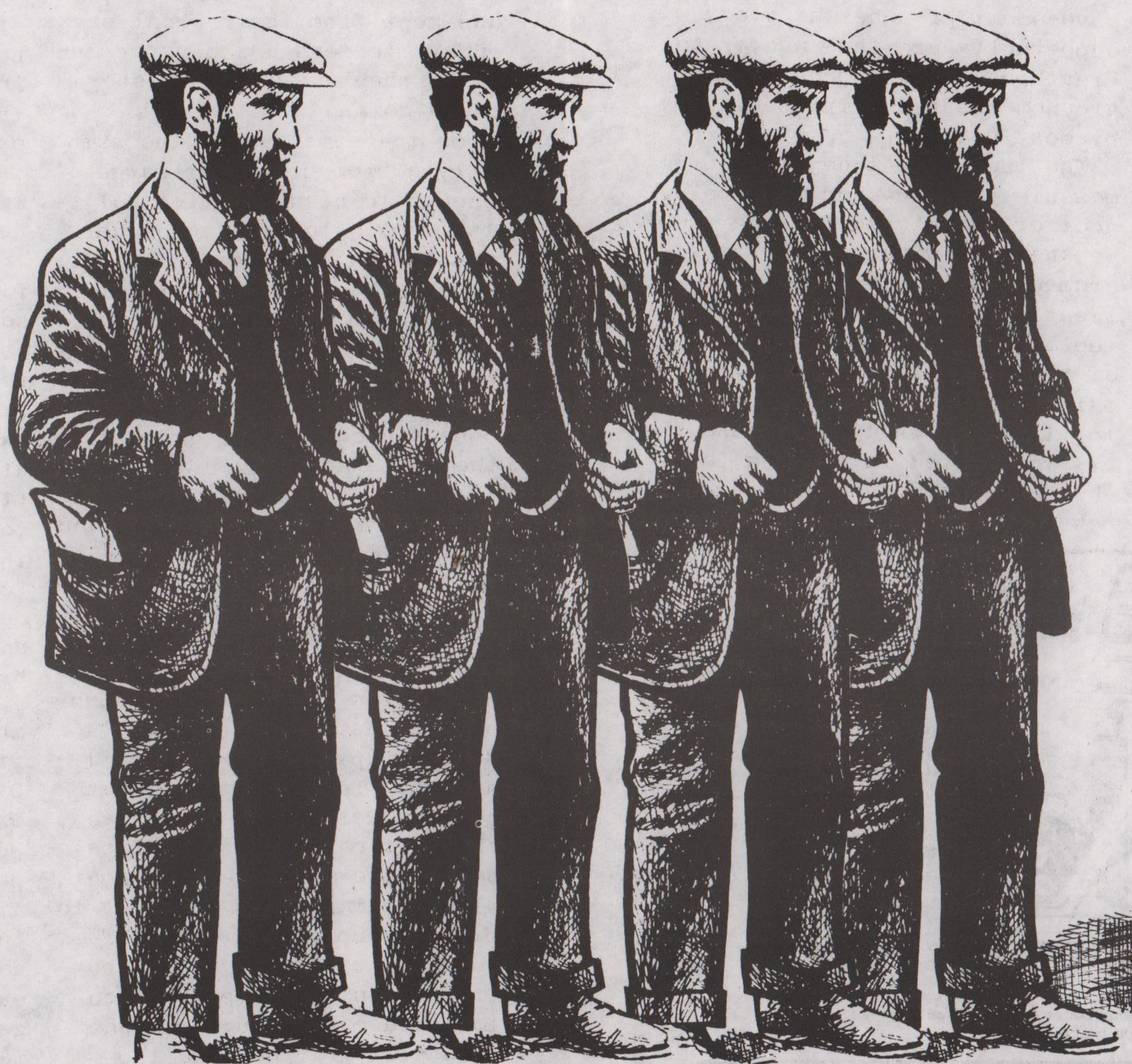
For example, their functions in the present society the service of supplying food. This is being done badly, chaotically, with great waste of energy and material and with the capitalist interests in view; but after all, one way or another we must eat. It would be absurd to want to disorganise the system of producing and distributing food unless we could substitute for it something better and more just.

There exists a postal service. We have thousands of criticisms to make, but in the meantime we use it to send our letters, and shall continue to use it, suffering all its faults, until we shall be able to correct or replace it.

There are schools, but how badly they function. But because of this we do not allow our children to remain in ignorance - refusing their learning to read and write.

Meanwhile we wait and struggle for a time when we shall be able to organise a system of model schools to accommodate all

From this we can see that, to arrive at Anarchism, material force is not the only thing to make a revolution; it is essential that the workers, grouped according to the various br-





MALATESTA

anches of production, place themselves in a position that will insure the proper functioning of their social life - without the aid or need of capitalists or governments.

And we also see that the Anarchist ideals are far from being in contradiction, as the "scientific socialists" claim, to the laws of evolution as proved by science; they are a conception which fits all these laws perfectly; they are the experimental system brought from the field of research to that of social realisation.

ERRICO MALATESTA

The above was first published in the thirties and was highly regarded by Carl Harp.

PLASTIC PEOPLE OF THE UNIVERSE

Ivan Jirous, founder member and artistic director of the dissident Czechoslovakian underground rock group, Plastic People of the Universe has just been sentenced to 3½ yrs imprisonment. This was for the possession of dope and editing and underground arts magazine. This sentence, his fourth for cultural dissidence, will be spent in a 3rd category prison - the harshest regime - which allows only one visit per year for close relatives plus a 1Kg parcel. Three other people have also been imprisoned for their help in producing the magazine.

TORY GAIN?!

The shrinking of the job market has led to unemployment figures that would have been unthinkable a few years ago. Manufacturing output fell by 2.4% in December 1981 to the lowest level for 15 years. Young people have been the hardest hit by unemployment. The Manpower Services Commission said that in the second quarter of 1982 63% of the under 18's will be unemployed and by Sept 1983 the prediction is that 800,000 of the 18 year olds and under will be unemployed.

The Thatcher government has taken the working class for a ride. The De Lorean affair has cost tens of millions, but the boss class has made a dent in the economy of £10bn.

According to the opinion polls the electorate loves the Tories as absolutely as a masochists love their whips. The far left must think, in one way, that their dreams have come true. First there were tax cuts for the rich and then unemployment for the masses, then the selling of national assets like Britoil cheap as near gifts to their friends in the city.

The thatcher administration continues to attract substantial support in spite of presiding over the collapse of industry and mass unemployment. This fact presents a problem of political analysis for everyone who isn't a Tory. The 'Falkland Factor' has been cited but this cannot be used to explain what is going on; at least not over an extended period of time. Nor can the crisis within the Labour Party be used to explain the Tories popularity. The Boss Class has the financial resilience

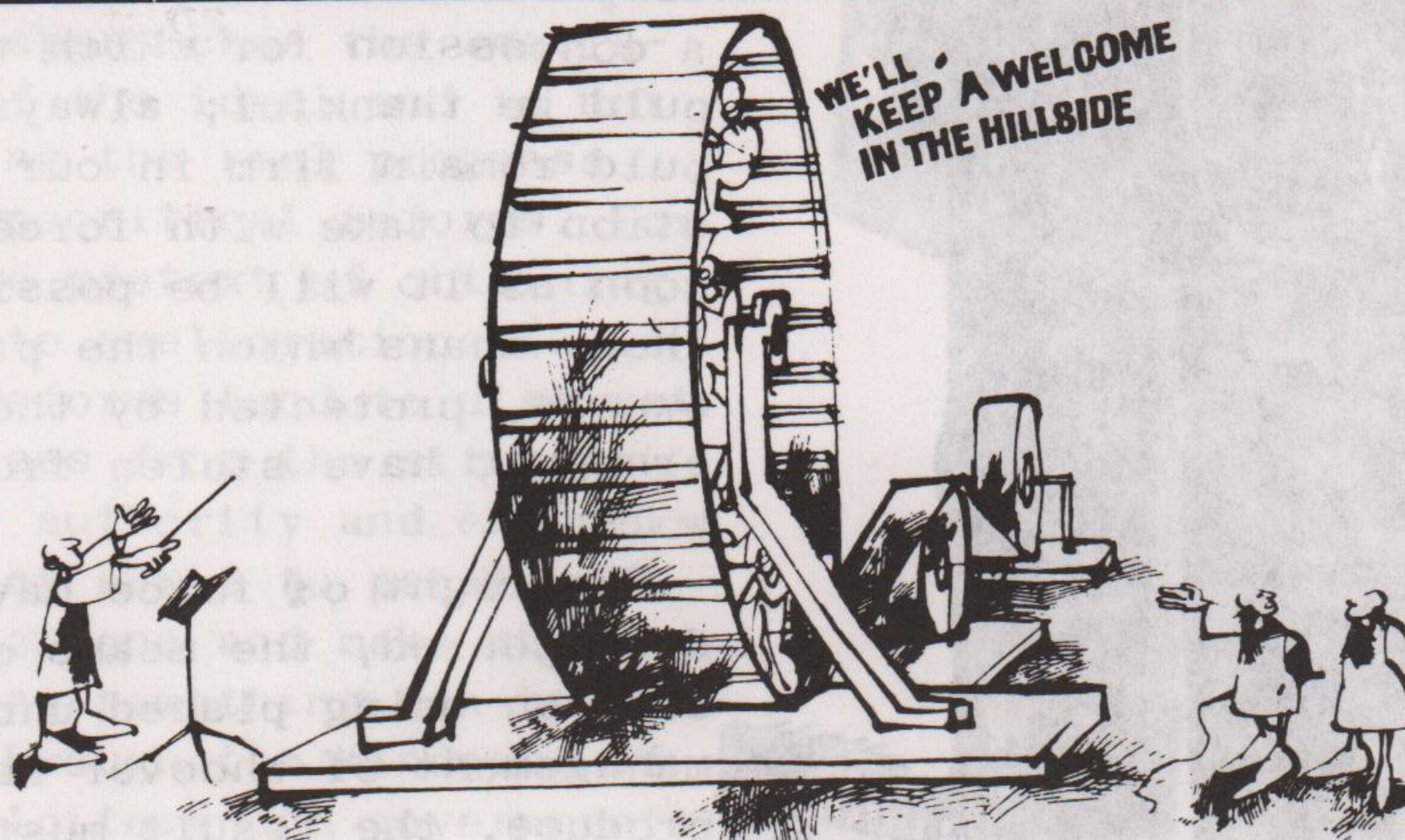
to ride out the recession, but their votes alone would not elect Thatcher again.

The main argument seems to be between those who hold that the working class has now few expectations for the future and can see no alternative path to take. The alternatives are that Thatcher has got it right and there is no other alternative, or that the British voters are stupid. Neither of these alternatives seems very likely to me. What in fact the Thatcher government has done is to firmly plug itself into the underlying ideology of free market capitalism with the emphasis on thrift, hard work and individual initiative. This ideology lies just below the surface of all political parties in Britain. However radical the founding of the Welfare State and 'mixed economy' appeared to be, such developments have never challenged the basis of capitalist power and the values that capitalism endorses.

The values that the present government preaches at every opportunity are thus nearer to breathing to many people, and are not treated sympathetically by most people.

The idea that money is a true measure of value and that being poor or unemployed is a personal weakness is widespread. The governments strength lies in this identification with capitalist ideology and it is to the shame of the so-called 'socialist opposition' that these ideas remain totally unchallenged because they are interested in putting the 'Welfare State' veneer over the power structure

JCB



"Of course it's always been one of our basic premises that a happy treadmill is an efficient treadmill."

TOWARDS A GENERAL STRIKE

reluctance to communicate with the rank and file, now we are getting a definite lash back because of this lack of communication. Various groups in the Health Service i.e. Manchester and London ambulance drivers are breaking ranks and using the inadequacy of the Days of Action, plus the fact that, "at no time have we been consulted", as a reason for their action.

We have to get the struggle taken out of outside forces and returned to the rank and file who are doing the actual struggling. This means by-passing the Union Officials and building our own working class structures, after all there are the people in employment, those who are out of work and those who work at home. Some effort must be made to coordinate the action and the traditional syndicalist way would be a series of Community Councils, by-passing officialdom and run by the participants. JP

THE TALE OF TOLLEYS' TONGUE

Tolley chewed his tongue off during the pay negotiations earlier this year.

That's what comes of talking to your workers with tongue-in-cheek and manufacturing a strike.

As the shopfloor of Holcroft Castings, Rochdale, took to the streets in May, their managing director took to his private hospital bed for serious tongue surgery. This accounts for his disappearance from the factory during the first week of the strike and explains why he didn't take any part in negotiating the settlement.

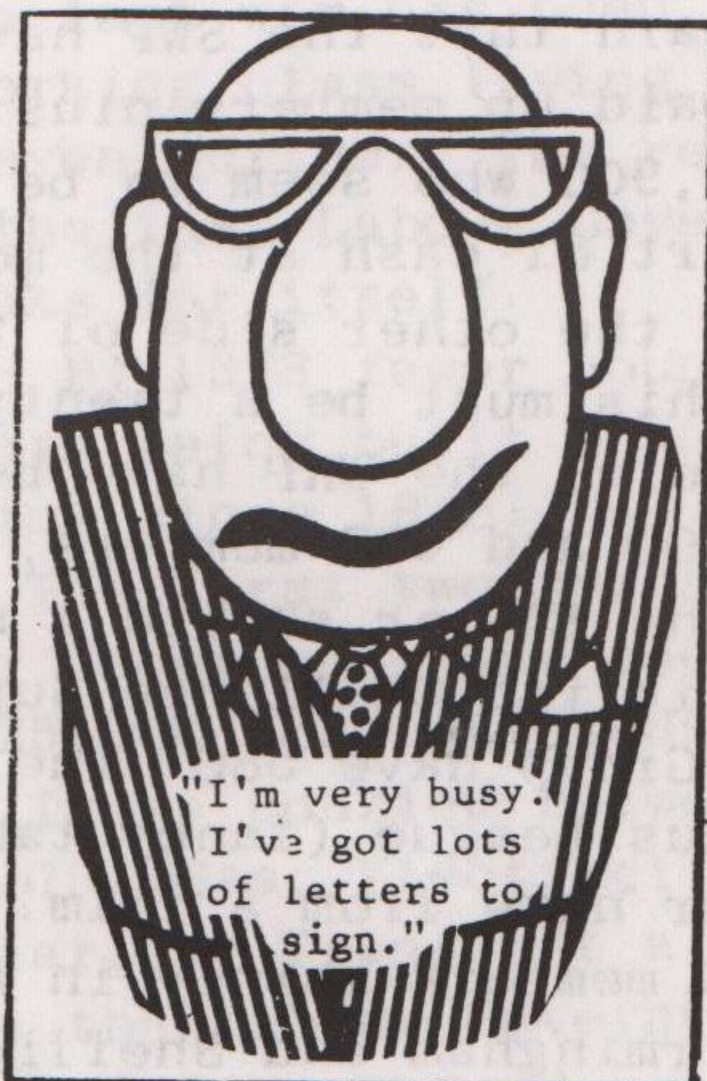
Troublemaking is an indispensable part of the craft of management. So by getting a junior manager to tell a shop steward, "This lot (the Holcroft workers) haven't got the guts to strike", and having Clive Reed of the Employers'

Association, inform the shop stewards committee that "you've had your rise, your back on full time", he moved the shop-floor faster than a dose of senna pods.

Reed's remark worked like a charm - anything more explosive would have been hard to imagine.

A paid armchair agitator Reed, runs the Engineering Employers' Association - a local body of political string-pullers with a keen eye to their bank balances

Fixing the Holcroft strike was a triumph for the Association; as good a business practice required the stoppage to compensate for the problems caused by the strike at their major customer Renolds, Milnrow, and the slackness in trade generally.



The Political Pox.

In the same way that syphilis is a pox of the penis, so politics is a pox of the tongue.

John Tolley has got a bad dose.

He's savaged and abused his tongue almost to the point of political martyrdom. All for the good of the company and combine.

If he's not careful he'll ruin his health. He can rarely address his workers now without coughing and spluttering to clear his throat of blood. At meetings with the stewards he seldom speaks and restricts himself to nods and gestures, and nervous twitches such as one sees more commonly among tic-tacs at race meetings.

Stagemanaged Strike.

But despite these physical disabilities, Mr Tolley is an artful practitioner of his managerial craft. His backstairs manipulation of the strike was proof enough of this.

His masterstroke - his classic contribution, if you like, to the strike, was to put up the workers backs while keeping his own involvement invisible.

All those taunts, sneers and jeers at the workers of Holcroft, delivered by managerial shrimps owed more to Tolley's talents in ventriloquism and puppet master, than to any guts or gumption on the part of the junior management.

Look at his achievements.

A stagemanaged strike in May, to ease the slack caused by a fall off of business; made over a tenth of the workforce redundant with minimum resistance in April; imposed a 39 hour week according to management wishes and against the wishes of the shopfloor in November last year; reduced the Canteen from a virtual prison diet to something approaching a bread and water regime of soup and sandwiches in October last year.

The only blot on Mr Tolley's otherwise clean record was recently when he tried to short-change the shopfloor over a proposed system of payment through the Banks. This scheme was decisively rejected by the shopfloor.

Mock Innocence.

As a business minded politician, Mr Tolley displays all the advantages of his earlier American education.

Pay no attention to those who say he was an English education reject.

Though less classy than our English institutions, the US business schools instill a childlike innocence. Mr Tolley, has marketed this charming innocence of the New World to disguise his own native cunning to great effect.

Look at him next time you get a chance.

Watch his eyes blinking and bewildered behind his glasses.

Ask yourself!

Would butter melt in his mouth?

Few can have followed the advice, of Lady Macbeth more closely than John Tolley:

"...bear welcome in your eye,
Your hand, your tongue:
Look like the innocent flower
But be the serpent under it."

PAY

As the economy slides ever further into decline its nice to know not every one is having a rough time of it. In the so-called public sector most people have heard of the head of B.R., Sir Peter Parker, and his £60,000 pay packet. But he isn't the highest paid, that honour goes to Philip Shelborne head of the British Oil Corporation at £62,000 a year, with fellow board members averaging £42,000 a year. Not bad for an enterprise that only employs 2,000 people nationally. Of course, in the world of business and high finance there are such things as 'part-time' directorships, highest paid of which in the public sector goes to Nigel Foulkes of the Civil Aviation Authority with an annual kick-back of £29,105. Also on the part-time scene is the head of the National Bus Company, Lord Shepperd a Labour peer, who manages to scrape by on £21,828 a year. If you fancy a job in the public sector there is a vacancy at the head of the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority but the pay is a relatively low £45,000 full time.

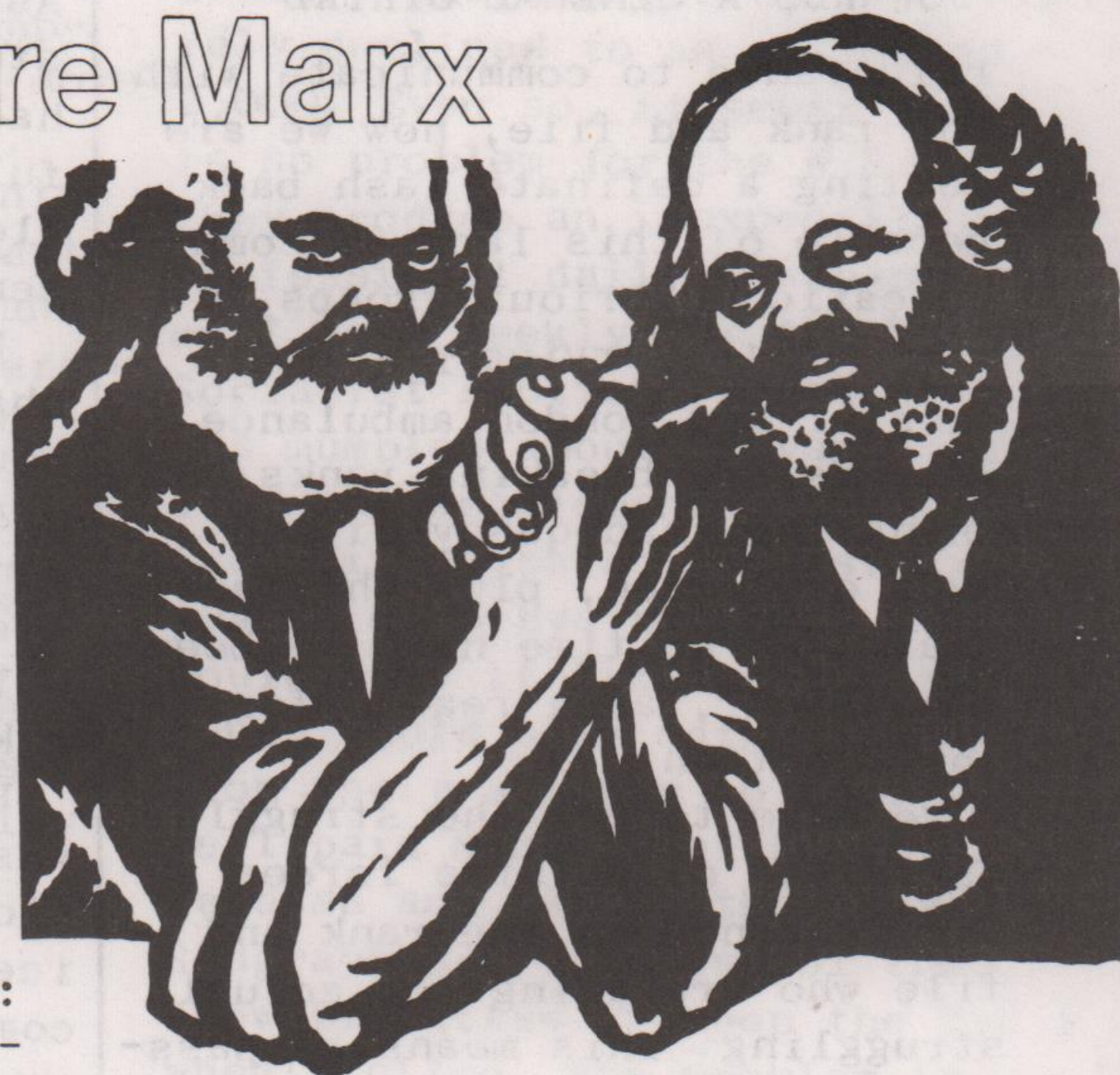
Over in the private sector things can look less rosy but all is not often what it seems. For instance the head of Estates and General Investments, P.B. Prowling, was seen to be paid less than £1,000 for the whole of 1981. Luckily enough for him he also 'made' £262,825 in dividends from the 8 million shares he owns. Talking of such amounts most of us look upon as 'pools winnings'; money not the result of one years work. Needless to say some people have no qualms about straddling the public/private divide. Sir John King of Babcock International was paid £59,000 as a director, received £78,000 in dividends but also received £23,800 as part-time chairman of British Airways. Remember all these sums, and they're really the tip of the iceberg, the next time some fat arsed bastard is telling you to live within your means, tighten your belt, ad nauseum.

Marx and More Marx

You are at a party and someone calls you a workerist - how do you reply? Could it be true? Yet your boyfriend says you are an ultra-left while your sister claims you have Pabloite tendencies so you don't really know what to say. How could one not want to read on after an intro like that.

'Go Fourth and Multiply' by Prunella Kaur is a pamphlet on the Marxist left in Britain: and what a left we have, start with Militant and going all the way through the SWP, IMG, WRP, WSL, Sparts, RCG, RCP, RWP, NCP, CPB (ML), 'Big F', and the SPGB.

We learn that the SWP have 1,500 paid up members plus another 1,900 who seem to be a bit short of cash at the moment. On the other side of the coin (this must be a twenty-pence coin) the WRP have between 500 and 600 members, while the IMG or should I say the Socialist Challenge Supporters Group have 580. The Spartacus League (fancy taking your name from a film!) have 90 members mainly in London, Birmingham and Sheffield which is why I only see them on demos in the Big Smoke.



Though the pamphlet is a bit dated i.e., lots of references to the Anti-Nazi League and punch-ups with the NF, it is worth reading even if only for pieces like the LPYS song: "We joined the British pablo-ites

To set the workers free
But that rascal Pablo sold us out
To the Arab bourgeoisie."

With lines like that how could the workers not drop their tools and follow?
'Go Forth and Multiply' by Prunella Kaur. 30p from Dialogue of the Deaf, Box 99 Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6

IZTOK in

POLAND

SOLIDARNOSC

A member of the Iztok collective recently visited Warsaw, making contact with members of the "anti-totalitarian left", which includes anarchists, trotskyists and revolutionary marxists. They were given about 40 copies of Iztok No 2 in Polish. The anti-authoritarian left is in urgent need of both theoretical materials and publications about the history of anarchism, particularly polish anarchist history. Iztok can arrange transportation, and have issued an appeal for books and pamphlets etc in English, Polish and Russian.

Prior to the coup there was an anarchist group in Warsaw and another in Wroctaw and several small groups of individuals scattered round the country. Maximoff's pamphlet, My Social Credo was published in the university of War-

saw and Nowa Gazeta Mazowiecka, (an anti-authoritarian marxist paper published at the university) has carried several anarchist texts

Since Dec 13 the Warsaw group has been jailed and there has been no further contact with the Wroctaw group or the people in the provinces, although many are still at large. Just after the coup a group in Warsaw (anarchistic rather than anarchist) brought out several leaflets. All activity has been at a standstill for several months now, but due to shortage of material rather than to repression.

Books and money for Polish comrades can be forwarded to Iztok via the DAM International Commission.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

The type of organisation we believe will lead to the overthrow of capitalism - revolutionary syndicalist unions, workers councils and assemblies - cannot exist as permanent organisations of the entire working class, in a non-revolutionary situation they must be transitory.

They will be built a step at a time out of autonomous workers' groupings that exist to some extent even today. To facilitate our participation in this process we must begin by re-grouping ourselves now, creating new means of discussion and communication, autonomous struggle groups and committees of anarchist militants in various workplaces and industries.

The future begins today.

We must seize it or lose it.

THE UNKINDEST CUT!

The Thatcher Govt has successfully sold its economic policies to a sizeable section of the British electorate using arguments which appeal to the thrifty and the 'good manager', but which do not stand up to serious examination. The very term 'cuts' is a misnomer if it implies an end to waste and to make savings. Tory policy is not one of cutting costs but of shifting expenditure from the social sphere to the military area.

There is going to be more reflation for the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands (1700) than for the entire population of these Islands (56 million). The Falkland War has already cost £700m. Secret estimates for the capital cost of a new Falkland airfield, Phantom aircraft from the USA and an anti-aircraft system are now put at between £500m and £1Bn. This will be spent during the financial year 1983/4 which doubles earlier estimates!

Our welfare and health have to be sacrificed for this 19th century adventure in the South Atlantic. Randolph Bourne wrote that "War is the health of the State", and this is true. The States' cheek shows a healthy bloom due to its recent transfusion of young blood while our welfare system bleeds to death.

JCB

REPLY

Recently you may have noticed that 'Direct Action' has started to have more letters published in its columns. More people are writing to us and we like to print their letters.

A short time ago we received our shortest communication to date, it consisted of the first two items of our aims and principles, i.e. 1, and 2, with certain words underlined like working class and free and classless society with a question mark. The implicit question was, reading between the lines, is that there appears to be a contradiction between the two statements. While no doubt our Aims and Principles could perhaps be sharpened up a bit, we believe there is no basic contradiction between being a working class organisation and wanting to create a free and classless society.

Workers, the majority of the population in every country, are in fact the only economic class which would benefit from a classless society. All others, whether they be the capitalist bosses of the 'West' or the techno-bureaucrats of the 'East', are perfectly satisfied with their respective systems. They are not going to stick their collective necks out to change a set-up which is to their advantage.

Wage slaavery like other forms of slavery will be brought to an end by rebellion, when the underclass refuses to take orders from the bosses and task-masters. To this end it is necessary to organise as a class in order to escape from the confines of class society.

Arbeiter Stalag Escape Committee

SUBSCRIBE

UK & Ireland.....£2.00

OVERSEAS £2.50

I wish to subscribe to DIRECT ACTION.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS

.....

.....

POSTCODE

I enclose_____ subscription

Send to:- DAM 164/166 Corn
Exchange Bldgs, Manchester.
M4 3BN.

HEATHFIELDS

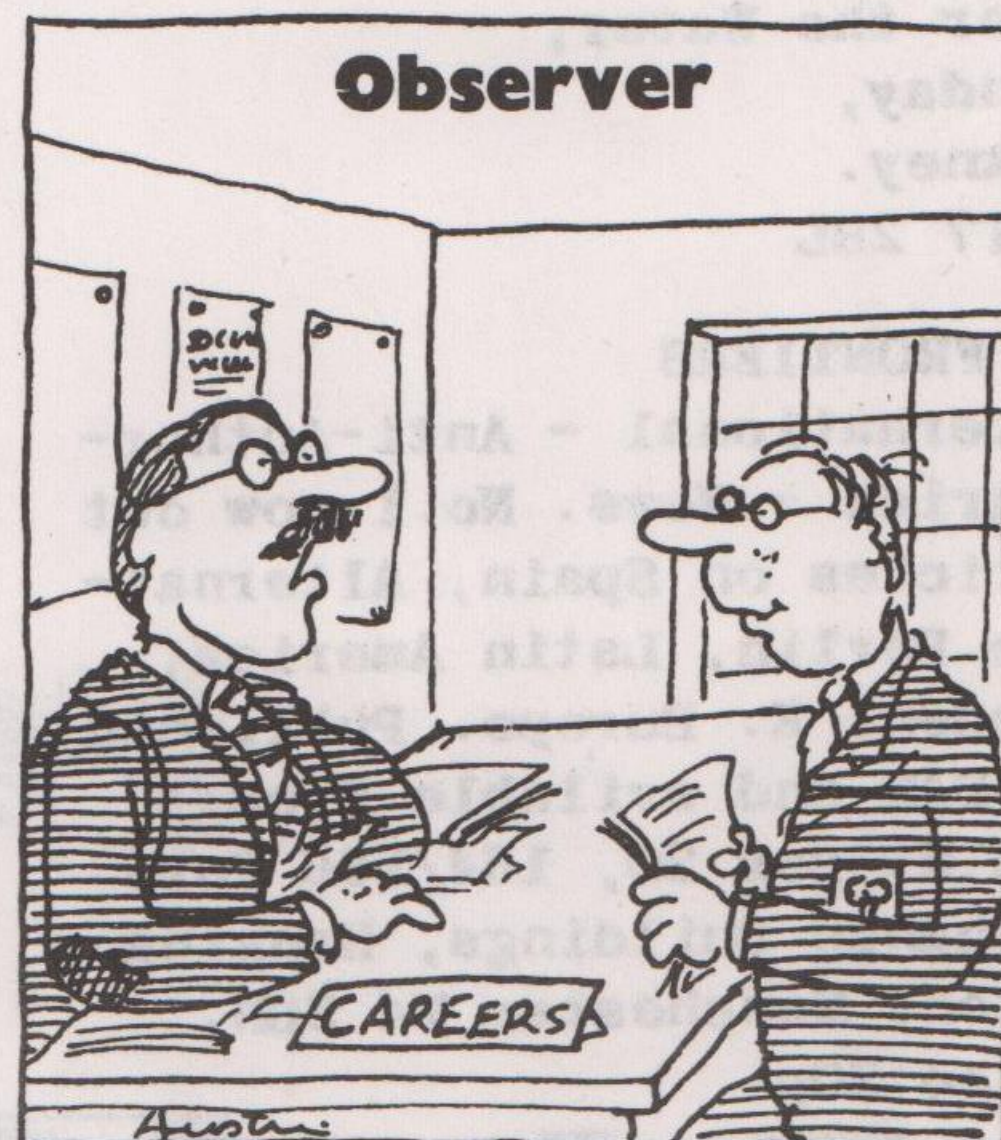
Last July, following disagreements over a pay claim, 21 workers at Heathfields, an electric cable drum manufacturers in Slough, were fired. This resulted in a three month dispute which currently looks like developing into another 'Grunwick'.

Several arrests have so far been made for picketing conventions. The dispute began because those fired - all black - were being paid approximately 30p an hour less than their white counterparts. After an overtime ban a further 17 workers were dismissed for showing solidarity.

Since then Heathfields have employed several strong-arm tactics against the pickets including a direct alarm link with the police to warn them when a delivery is due, and the use of cameras, strategically placed opposite the main entrance, to monitor the pickets.

The dispute is officially backed by the GMWU, the trade union of which all those sacked are members, and SOGAT, the union representing most of the white workers employed at the firm. But so far there has been little support from the TGWU or from its lorry driving members who daily cross the picket lines when making deliveries.

Latest news is that WAR (Workers Against Racism-a trot front) is organising support for the pickets. South London DAM



"You could try for the scientific civil service, but you'll need KGB clearance."

LOCAL ANARCHIST PAPERS

ANGRY (Hull)
Box HAG, LAP
59 Cookridge St,
Leeds.

SEDITIONOUS WHISPERS
Box A,
Project 35,
49a Market Place,
Doncaster,
South Yorkshire.

BLACK STAR
8 Thomas St
Ryhope
Sunderland.

COMMON CAUSE
25 Liverton Crescent,
Thornaby,
Cleveland.

SOUTH LONDON STRESS
121 Railton Rd,
Brixton,
London.

OUTTA CONTROL
7 Winetavern St,
Belfast.

PRACTICAL ANARCHY
Box 3,
488 Gt. Western St,
Glasgow G.12

POISON PEN
14 Silchester Rd,
St Leonards on Sea,
Sussex.

NO CHOICE
Cambridge @
Box 4
186 East Rd,
Cambridge.

FREE WINGED EAGLE
Over the Water,
Sanday,
Orkney.
KW17 2BL

NO FRONTIERS
International - Anti-Authoritarian - News. No.1 now out
Articles on Spain, Alternative Berlin, Latin America, Sweden, E. Europe. Published by DAM and available from D.A.M. Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN.
Price 30p

BLACK FLAG
Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross.
Over the Water,
Sanday,
Orkney KW17 2BL.



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 for 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 and representatives of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.
- (6) We are opposed to all States and State institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.
- (7) We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and their environment.

I would like to know more about
the Direct Action Movement:-

NAME

ADDRESS.....

POSTCODE.....

OCCUPATION.....

TRADE UNION.....

Cut out and send to DAM:-

164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings
Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN

PRINTED BY RAP PUBLISHED BY
MANCHESTER DAM.



VOLYA

Bulletin of the Campaign for
Solidarity with the Soviet
Working Class.
83 Gregory Crescent,
Eltham,
London SE9 5RZ

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

IN A TIME OF UNIVERSAL DECEIT,
TELLING THE TRUTH IS A
REVOLUTIONARY ACT.

George Orwell.

LOCAL CONTACTS