

# DIRECT ACTION

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PAPER OF THE DAM/IWA...THE VOICE OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM.

## SOLIDARITY NOW

With Christmas and New Year approaching(as we go to press)many miners will be torn between their support for the strike and their loyalty to the union, with the desire to provide their families and themselves with a 'traditional' festive period.Despite this added pressure the N.C.B.'s attempt to bribe miners back to work with their already-earned holiday pay and tax returns has failed to create a significant return.

Although great emphasis has, is and will be put on the numbers working and returning this is, in reality, just the propaganda war.The N.C.B. needs to create the impression that the strike is crumbling and have used every method of distortion, misinformation and downright lying to achieve this end.Despite the Board and the government stating that 60,000 miners were working as early as July,the Board's more recent figures have only just reached 60,000. In July the NCB was including all members of NACODS and APEX,all the management and those miners doing NUM-approved safety work,as working NUM members.

### PROPAGANDA WAR

Behind the propaganda war of numbers returning or not, is the figures of the real war, and what the strike is all about,the amount of coal being produced.Despite the NCB's jumping for glee at every half-empty minibus entering a pit,in the production war they have nothing to smile about as this is definitely being won by the miners.

Even using the Coal Board's figures,in late November of a pre-strike weekly production of 2,239,000 tons only 581,000 is being produced,this is just over 25%,and despite an increase of those working,this figure is unlikely to change.

In the Nottingham,Leicester,South Derby fields,the pride of the NCB,production figures are down by 30%,due not only to those heroic strikers,but also to the still continuing overtime ban.This is going to remain so until the end of the strike,as even the Board admits that the drift back to work stopped three months ago in these areas and the overtime ban will remain.

In the other coalfields, despite the increasing number of working miners, the Board is going to find it extremely difficult to start serious production, other than the symbolic bringing to the surface of pre-strike dug coal.Along with the problem of getting the right mix of skills and the right numbers,the Board is faced with the militancy of many of the pit deputies. Where there are enough miners working to start some production the Board has been hampered by the refusal of many deputies to cross picket lines.This has led the NCB to send out intimidating letters threatening to stop the deputies' wages if they refuse to cross picket lines at certain pits,such as Ellington in Northumberland.This testing of the water by the NCB has so far gone against them as they have been forced to withdraw their threats on the reminder of the deputies' 83% strike vote over this issue.

### WORKING CLASS

The most important thing for the mining communities at Christmas and New Year is the effect it will have on their overall morale, and whether they enter 1985 rested,revitalised and united,or depressed and divided.This,of course,depends on the amount of support the mining communities get from the rest of the working class to provide the toys,food and

## Miners' appeal to the public



SANTA NICKED! ON NOV. 15, SANTA WAS ARRESTED OUTSIDE HAMLEY'S TOY SHOP IN LONDON, WITH 4 OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WESTMINSTER MINERS SUPPORT GROUP.

booze that makes up Christmas, and although the miners have been let down by the T.U.C., certain unions and the Labour Party during this strike,lets hope that over the holiday period they are given enough support by the rest of the working class to carry out their fight against pit closures.

M.(S. Yorkshire DAM)





# MINERS:

## SOLIDARITY FROM FRANCE

After 7 months of the miners struggle, information in France is poor concerning the evolution of the strike.

On TV the only scenes that are shown are fighting between police miners and so-called uncontrolled people. Every time the speakers comments are: "English people really have got violence in their blood, violence on football ground, violence at the pits."

The other comment is the absence of a national ballot on the strike.

The CNT-IWA condemns this attitude, a national ballot is voting for the sacking of comrades.

Like all sections of the IWA, CNTF is giving out news - by the way of a radio in Paris, and a paper all over the country - about the actual situation of miners, to break the wall of silence.

## SPOT THE HYPOCRITE!

Kinnock the man who condemns violence seems to have changed his position since he became leader. The following extract is a quote from his biography which appeared in the Guardian newspaper.

"The ugliest week of his political career was rounded off on a Friday lunchtime in the lavatory of the Grand Hotel. He was alone, washing his hands, when a young man walked in. Kinnock paid him no attention. Suddenly the youth swung round and lashed out at him with his foot, a high kick which caught Kinnock a painful blow on the elbow. The shadow education spokesman seized his attacker and pulled him in close. "Then I beat the shit out of him".

# CAMMEL LAIRDS

The 37 Cammel Laird shipyard workers from Birkenhead in Merseyside who were jailed for a month for contempt of court after refusing to end their occupation in defence of job losses were freed after serving their sentence. They are continuing their struggle. On October 22nd the scabs at the yard voted against the reinstatement of the 37 class war fighters, no doubt these state arse lickers will lose their jobs in the future after the state has used them, but class traitors deserve all the shit that is thrown at them.

Below is a report about the Cammell Lairds 37 by a member of the Liverpool Direct Action Group.

The support from the city council run by MILITANT has amounted to nothing, apart from giving the 37 prisoners a title or honour of Freedom of the City (sic). What did they do to free the 37?

The 37 are GMBATU members, they got no support but for

At the same time as collecting money, we are organising in our factories, offices and shops for industrial action in solidarity with the British miners.

In the whole of Europe today, the Governments are inventing a crisis and restructuring society, giving preference to nuclear power, freezing all other programs (coal, sun, wind and geothermal).

In CNTF-IWA we think that there has to be a restructuring of society. But machines, robots, and all technology must be applied in the interests of the working class.

Under those conditions, the British miners' struggle is also the struggle of the international working class - an injury to one is an injury to all.

In Solidarity,  
CONFEDERATION NATIONALE  
DU TRAVAIL (FRANCE) IWA  
Long live Direct Action  
Long Live Anarcho-syndicalism.



When Kinnock rejoined his companions in the bar he told them what had happened. One went back in to check, but the youth had gone. "Apparently there was blood and vomit all over the floor," says Kinnock. A few hours later he boarded a train out of Brighton."

a few hundred pickets outside Cammel Lairds roughly once a week, the GMBATU did nothing, the GMBATU locally did nothing, they had a token one day strike on Wed. 17th Oct.; the socialist city and county councils didn't want to know. A demonstration was called by the GMBATU on Friday the 14 October, but they hardly told anyone about it, no posters, no leaflets, they announced it two days before they had their demo with about 1,000 people turning up.

Why wait until they were sent to prison in order to have a one day strike and demo? Strike Action should have been called the moment the whole dispute over redundancies took place, but this is reformist trade unionism for you. There should have been mass pickets outside Walton prison stopping things going in that has nothing to do with the prisoners, instead there was only a few people standing around each day.

SOURCE: RISING FREE.

# THEM AND US

## SMASH THE STATE

Worldwide society is a class society based on divisions. The most obvious division is between the ruling class and the class that's ruled and exploited - the working class.

While the workers produce all the wealth, the ruling class, who own the means of production and distribution use the workers labour in order to sell everything for profit as opposed to need. This keeps us deprived, alienated, and in a state of servitude, forced to sell ourselves in order to survive, in workplaces where we are bossed about and exploited. In return workers get a worthless handful of paper called a wage.

These legal robbers need an organisation to protect their power, which is found in the institutions of the state; that is the state-legislature, police courts, prison, civil service, armed forces, school, religion, and the media. The state is founded on compulsion, fear and violence, to repress the working class from thinking for ourselves, from controlling our own lives and environment, and from threatening private property - that is capitalism. The only way the ruling class can rule and deprive us is to divide us. That is where the state steps in to control our minds through the education system and the family unit. They breed racism and sexism into us, and all other derogatory attitudes to keep us at each others throats. The state destroys our development as human beings, squashing the growth of our individuality, and tries to smash the growth of solidarity. With their values and morals we are forced to compete and dominate each other and to conform to a set uniformed life style. Obedience to those in authority is essential to the state in order for them to exploit us, make profits out of us, and to go to war to murder and be murdered by setting one group of workers against another.

The bosses have other means of repressing us: that is parliament and reformist trade unionism.

Parliament is part of this system of domination and exploitation. Parliament is part of the problem - POWER of this class system of inequality. Instead of working class people organising themselves using the tactics of DIRECT ACTION to bring about our demands it's all left to political parties. Parliament is full of opportunist power mongering careerists who are totally incapable of satisfying our needs. If voting could change the system it would be illegal! They say we have a choice, a choice of who kicks us in the teeth, that's about all. Big business simply wouldn't allow

a bunch of politicians to fundamentally change class society even if they wanted to, (remember Chile!) It is the big capitalist enterprises who run society, along with top civil servants, police chiefs and generals! Cabinets may come and go but society remains the same - a mess.

Reformist trade unionism is also a problem, the loyal servants to the establishment and a reformist wash-out. They attempt to control and divide up the workers, run by leaders and bureaucrats. Workers are divided up by trade, factory by factory, area by area and on grounds of race and sex. The results are obvious, a weakness and isolation when fighting back at the bosses. Reformist trade-unionism never questions the class society and POWER which causes the class struggle between the bosses and the working class. The "unions" ignore all other areas outside the workplace where people are oppressed, deprived and struggling against the system. The "unions have no interest in abolishing the state and capitalism, only to see capitalism runs smoothly acting as pimps dealing only in wages and conditions. The bureaucrats negotiate with the bosses how much the workers sell themselves. Workers like everything else in society are seen as commodities. Reformist Trade-Unionism is all about sectionalism and ignores that economic fights are all political fights. To tackle the bosses over conditions you must tackle the whole system of POWER we exist under, the state and power/submission relations. Is it any surprise when workers struggles are constantly sold out? Revolutionary anarchists are opposed to these reformist "unions", to all political parties, leaders and governments. We recognise that we need to build our own autonomous organisations in the workplace and communities, for one big union without a rank structure.

Working class people need to take direct control over our struggles with delegates subject to instant recall to co-ordinate the struggles. These have no decision making power, decisions rest at the base. When workers are fighting back, mass assemblies at the workplace elect their strike committees to co-ordinate, informing and reporting back on what's going on and federating with other workers. Organisations outside of the workplace also federate for a united class force. These revolutionary unions practice direct action to win demands that unites the whole of the working class throughout the world. The ways in which we fight the system today should reflect our aim of a free society tomorrow.

G.( L.D.A.G.)

We say fight for your class not for your country.



# MAISENI

SUPPORT THE MAISENI WORKERS

Twenty-one Ghanaian seamen are currently occupying a ship - the M.V. Maiseni - which has been berthed in Birkenhead's Bidston docks since September 20th. They have not been paid any wages since being taken on in Holland in January. They were promised payment when they sailed for Germany in May, the ships owner- Ben Schreyer - reneged on this agreement, claiming that what money he had was needed for repairs etc. They were again promised payment when the ship arrived at Istanbul, again Schreyer claimed he was unable to fulfill the promise - this time his excuse was difficulties with currency regulations. On arrival at Birkenhead the workers telegrammed Schreyer to pay them, when nothing was seen to be forthcoming the workers decided they would stay put, refuse to sail and refuse to unload the Maiseni's cargo of tincal concentrate (used to make detergents) until they receive their wages.

The ship company, Transimex B.V. of Rotterdam, is sending money to the captain and the chief engineer, who are both Dutch, for their food, but nothing for the crew. The men are receiving no money whatsoever - they are currently being fed on a weekly basis by the N.U.S.

The crew having placed the ship under arrest, hope to raise enough money to pay the wages owed to them by selling the ship, via their union (the I.T.F.- International Transport Federation), and with N.U.S. help in Liverpool, in the Admiralty Court. The Admiralty Court have said they won't consider selling the ship until its' cargo is unloaded - this the workers have now reluctantly agreed to. They have also been told to return to Ghana before receiving any money, for which they will have to wait six months or more - this they have not agreed to, they are determined to stay until they get what is owed them.

The situation is increasingly desperate - most of the men have family and other dependents in Ghana who rely on their wages. Solidarity, especially financial, is essential if they are to win their fight against a particularly ruthless employer. Publicity is also important - during the longest ever national miners' strike, we shouldn't forget other members of our class who are in struggle.

Donations can be sent either through the N.U.S., 49 Paradise St., Liverpool 1, (in which case specify who it's from, what for - the Maiseni - and demand a receipt), or via L'pool Direct Action Group, c/o Box L.D.A.G., 82 Lark Lane, L'pool 17.

# THE BOLSHEVIK COUNTER-REVOLUTION

"Labour, obligatory for the whole country, compulsory for every worker, is the basis of socialism." TROTSKY.

"A general prohibition of child labour is incompatible with the existence of large scale industry and hence an empty, pious wish." MARX.

"We must replace irresponsible agitators with production - minded trade unionists." TROTSKY.

Common to most Marxists is the deification of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Today, as before the Bolshevik coup, the Marxists stress that theirs is a struggle for workers' control of society, yet once in power the pretensions to workers' self-management, freedom of expression... in short, all that constitutes socialism... are dropped, and we are left with merely another dictatorship. From Lenin to the Sandinistas this inevitable process has been repeated, as it always must be when the philosophy behind them is Marxism... a philosophy of authoritarianism.

The early period of the Russian Revolution was a time of intense constructive work. The workers administered the economy through factory committees, unions and agricultural collectives. This syndicalist practice was opposite to that of the Bolsheviks (a small party, 40% of them from the bourgeois class) who previously stressed centralisation as opposed to federalism, and nationalisation as opposed to workers' self-management. Never the less Lenin realised the mood of the workers and stood on a platform of workers control and "all power to the soviets". These anarchist slogans shocked many Bolsheviks, but they need not have worried.

## NO CONVICTION

Lenin's "anarchist" programme had no conviction behind it, as later events were to show. It was nothing but a ploy.

Throughout the summer of 1917, the spontaneous seizure of industry and land continued from the Ukraine to Siberia. When the Government tried to close factories in Petrograd, the workers prevented the removal of machinery. Workers in Black Sea shipyards took over production, sending delegates to procure raw materials. Moscow leather workers sequestered their own industry.

Then before workers' control could establish itself firmly, the Bolsheviks launched a coup in Petrograd, and seized state power. It ushered in the

counter-revolution almost immediately.

Lenin banned any further seizure of land, and replaced factory committees with nationalisation and single managers (often the old manager returned as "comrade manager") - all this six months before the civil war which is usually blamed for this onslaught.

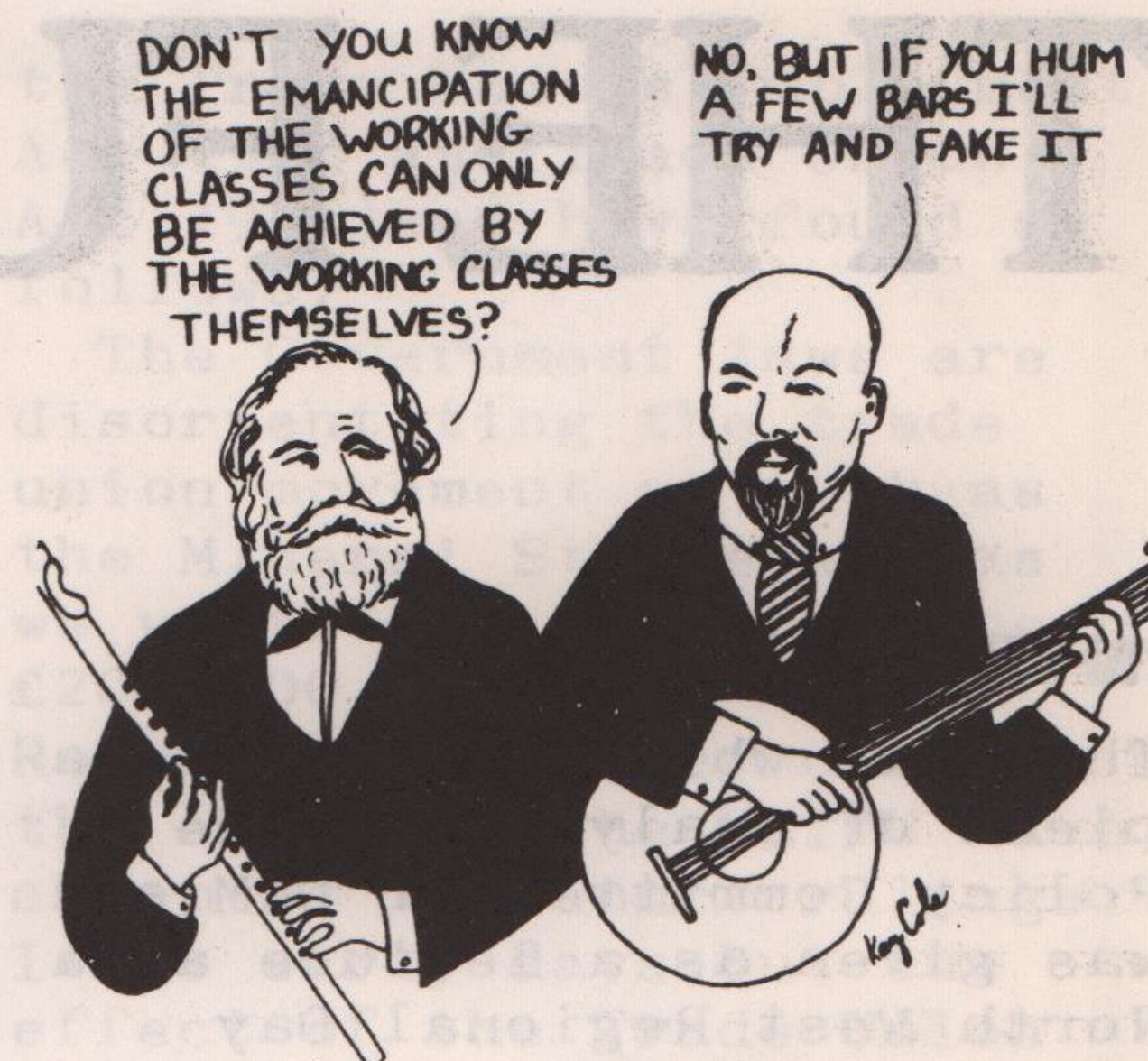
Lenin, who before the revolution attacked scientific management as dehumanising, now argued that "much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system (production streamlining, through divisions of labour and reducing the worker to the most simple machine-like tasks) should be adopted". Trotsky's statements are even more frightening, such as his well-known calls for militarisation of labour, his claim that in its time slave-labour had been a progressive thing, and that "compulsion of labour will reach the highest degree of intensity in the transition from capitalism to socialism". He advocated that labour deserters be organised into punitive battalions or placed in labour camps (see his "Terrorism and Communism").

Trotsky wrote in 1923: "We are the only party in the country and in a period of dictatorship it could not be otherwise". The Cheka (political secret police) were not set up by Stalin, but while Lenin and Trotsky, heroes of today's left, were leading the Bolshevik government. All opposition was crushed, and revolutionaries whose views differed from the Bolsheviks' were called "counter-revolutionary White Guardists" and imprisoned or killed.

## In contrast

In contrast, while militant workers and political dissidents (Social Revolutionaries, Anarchists and others) filled the jails, ex-businessmen and Imperial civil servants joined both the Party and the burgeoning State machine. It was to defend and increase the power of the bureaucracy (which Trotsky absurdly called "an autocratic bureaucracy in a classless society"), that the Bolsheviks, in the period 1917-21 attacked all the various committees, councils, and unions which had sprung up during the revolution.

These developments were only to be expected, given the Bolsheviks' ideas and theory and their arrogant belief in taking power on behalf of workers and peasants, who, they claim, are incapable of controlling their own lives. Under the Bolsheviks, they were not permitted to try.



The roots of the slavish conformism, the Stakhanovism and the purges of the 30's are to be found in the ideas and action of Marxist-Leninists of all kinds, not explained away by blaming Stalin's personality (not a very Marxist way of arguing, anyway). Yet the Marxist left seem unwilling to see a connection between authoritarian and hierarchically structured parties, and the kind of society such parties have always produced.

Thus they claim today to support the struggle of workers in Poland for free trade unions, a claim which reeks of opportunism and hypocrisy in the light of the programme of the Bolsheviks' union movement at the time of Lenin: "Centralisation, compulsory membership, compulsory discipline imposed by disciplinary courts, the tutelage of the Communist Party, militarisation of labour, compulsory labour service, labour armies, attachment of workers to the place of work, nationalisation, individual management (instead of collective administration), graduated wage scales (36 categories), introduction of sweatshops, Taylorism, piece-work, bonuses, etc, etc. Workers' control and workers' management were proscribed and unconditional support of the government demanded".

As Maximov (an anarcho-syndicalist jailed for organising trade unions independent of the state) wrote: "Mussolini had hardly anything to add to this programme. Lenin can justly be viewed as the first theoretician of Fascism".

This subject is impossible to cover completely in a single article, but it is dealt with by a number of books. Below is a list of some of the better ones: The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control 1917-21, by Maurice Brinton.

The Guillotine at Work, by G. Maximoff. Kronstadt 1921, by Ida Mett. Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution, by G. Maximoff. (At least some of these books should be available from the Anarchist Book Service. Write for details to Box ABS, 121 Railton Rd, London SE24. Some comrades in Leeds DAM are hoping to republish Emma Goldman's brilliant essay "Trotsky Protests Too Much", about Trotsky's hypocrisy in condemning other people's atrocities once in exile and unable to carry on his own).



# THE FUTURE IS OURS ?

# MAYBE

## INTRODUCTION -

The text which follows is a piece of analysis by the Policy Committee of DAM, and was given as a lecture at a North West Regional Day School in Bolton in December. It is expected that some proposals will evolve from this analysis at both a Regional and National level. We ask members to acquaint themselves with the arguments so that its implications may be fully discussed. Letters or suggestions from non-members would also be welcome.

## THE FUTURE IS OURS - MAYBE

IS IT going to be a 1985 nightmare for Direct Actionists? Has the shopfloor shit it? If the miners lose, what then? Will their communities collapse with their militancy? Is Thatcher's vision about to triumph in Britain and among the British? Will we come to surpass the Japanese in suicides, and the Yanks in money-grubbing?

Many anarchists and direct actionists think that if the miners lose: the authoritarian State steamroller will crush every decent hope, and every radical passion in the labour movement. As Peter Jenkins, in the Guardian, cheerfully put it: "For the government a victory over Mr Scargill may signify the triumph of the Thatcherite counter-revolution, a symbolic liberation from the past and departure from the road of collectivism".

Orwell argued that we can't make positive predictions - all one can do is predict negative consequences. Thus one couldn't say precisely that the Second World War would be the result of the Treaty of Versailles, but one could say the outcome would be bad for Europe. It's a warning we can't ignore, but some speculation is necessary in an active movement. We must try to visualise how things may turn out, and how we should respond.

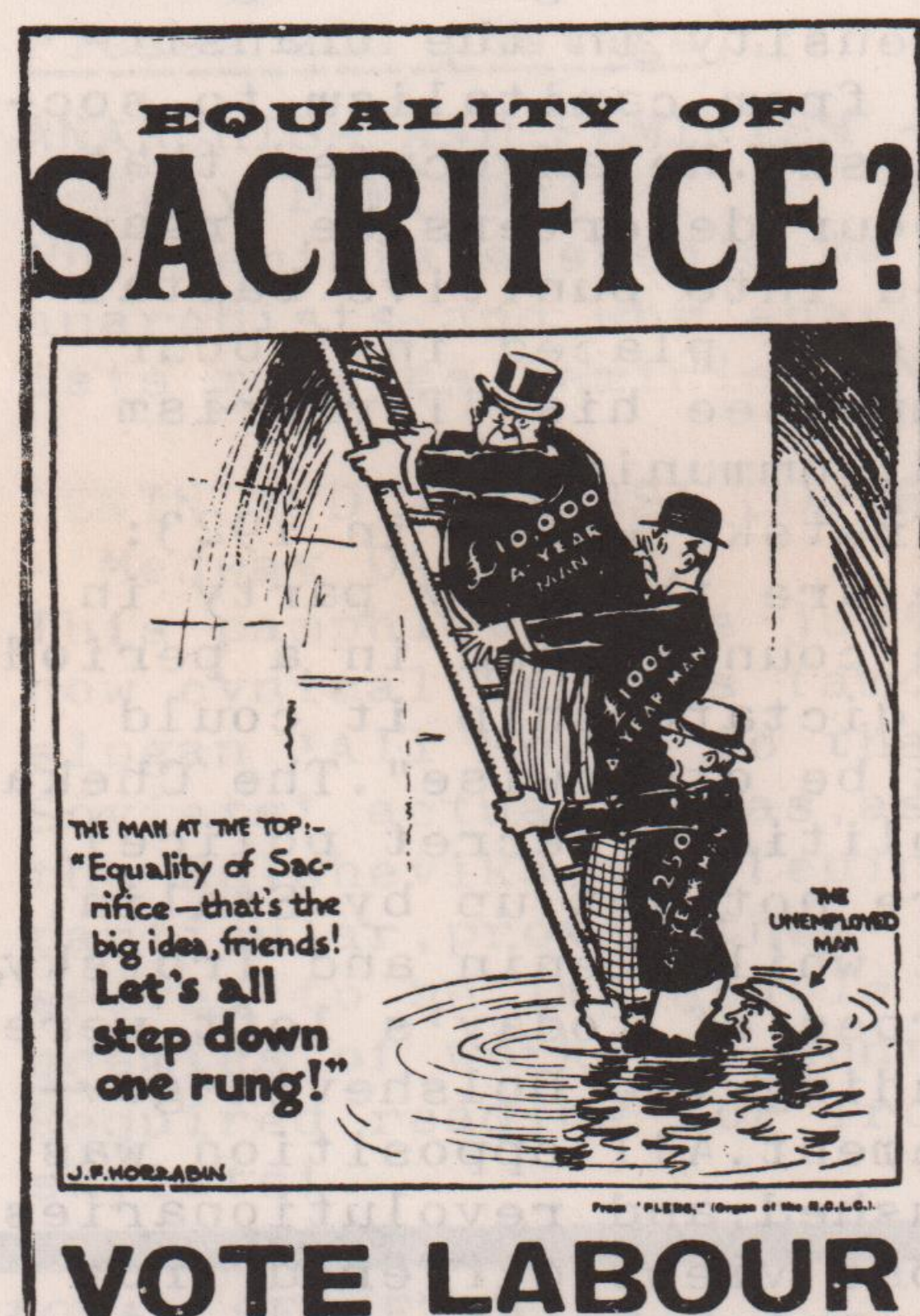
## THE CLASH

Let us outline the basic nature of the clash taking place in politics today. On the surface, crudely presented, the struggle is between the Government's authoritarian Market State (technically termed Monetarism) and the Welfare Statist vision (technically termed Neo-Keynsianism) propounded by the Labour Party and the trade unions. Neither position is remotely Direct Actionist. Our job is to promote liberty and equality through the acts of ordinary people themselves.

Not through institutional laws and red tape.

The main thrust of the Government's trade union laws and strategy seems to be centred on driving a wedge between the union boss and his members. The result has been that the Government has shown-up the union bosses as just so many eunuchs, unable to command their members support in any significant way. Only the miners' leaders seem to have escaped the Government's festival of Eunuchism. "I'm no fieldmarshall" says Norman Willis, and it's as if everyone had just realised: the King has no clothes.

In exposing the union bosses and the Labour Party leaders, in this way, Mrs Thatcher has done us all a good turn. Unwittingly she may also have provided shopfloor militants, direct actionists and industrial anarchists with useful weapons on the shopfloor to use against the union bureaucrats - but more of this later.



## LABOUR BANKRUPTS

Events are showing the Labour Party to be politically bankrupt. It has consistently shown itself to be worse than useless in the lean, mean years of the 1980's. In 1985, the Labour Party holds out no promise to the basic problems that face our people: increasing unemployment; a rich man's society; inequality; uprooting communities; industrial dislocation; attacks on trade union freedoms; the sufferings of society's underdogs - the poor, the disabled, the unorganised, the part-timers and all those at the arse end of the nation's life.

Not only has the Labour Party failed to answer any of the emerging social issues, neither it nor the unions have successfully organised any enterprises themselves, save perhaps the NHS. Oh yes, they're good at taking over things that others have started, or running State monopolies like British Telecom, the Elect-

ricity and Gas industries which have no competition. On the evidence they couldn't run a piss-up in a brewery in direct competition with a private entrepreneur. I mention this not to defend free enterprise, but merely to remind us of the incompetence of State Socialism. The capitalists are simply better managers than the state socialists.

For their part the British trade unions generally have never organised anything very well, not even themselves - which is why the Government has been able to impose a popular law on the unions. How often have we heard militants, even anarchists, say we get a better deal out of the courts than we do from the union disciplinary machinery.

It is because the left politicians and the trade unions have failed to organise alternative enterprises that they have lost the respect of the public. They haven't even, with all their resources, advantages, and members been able to launch a successful labour newspaper - ought about run an industry.

Why are the Labour Party and the unions bankrupt? Because their belief that social justice can be imposed from above is a myth. They wallow in the impotence of their own minority status in Parliament - the logic of state socialism being that it can't do anything out of office. Thus any success from this direction will depend on them controlling a majority of MPs - which may, on present trends, be never.



## INDUSTRIAL EUNUCHS

What about the unions? What of the T.U.C.? Industrial eunuchs if ever I saw them! In the last year they've flopped at every level: the NGA strike; the GCHQ affair; the TUC campaign against the Tory union laws; the Miners strike. You name it and the TUC have cocked it up. The TUC has never looked like offering a serious alternative to the Tories. All they can do is ape the political fixer - which means playing footsie with the Government of the day. Trade union tea and sandwiches approach to negotiations died the death at the same time as Welfare Capitalism began to expire. The Eunuchs got kicked out of the bedchamber the mom-

ent the Candyfloss style of Government (1950's and 60's) with its bread and circuses, had to be abandoned. External factors like the Oil Crisis made it a luxury too expensive for most Western Governments to afford.

Thus the smug face of Welfare Statism was replaced by a more hard-nosed brand of capitalism. State bribery is out of fashion. The Age of the Policeman is with us now.

## PIGS AND POLITICAL PIMPS

How can we best describe the social struggle in Britain today? Let's put it like this: New York took the same time to reach its present condition as did the Gothic cathedrals of yesteryear. The cathedrals were built to the glory of God. New York was built in the glory of Mammon - money, gain and covetousness - the 19th Century God. At a distance it may look like a celestial city. Come closer, and it's not so clever: Squalor in the midst of luxury. Poverty in the midst of plenty. In all the capitals of capitalism the air of the parasite prevails. And the machinery of the Industrial Revolution from the maxim gun to the computer, as Lord Clark has said "...are for the most part means by which a minority can keep free men (sic) in subjection".

Before the wars the 'top people' had charming manners, but were as ignorant as swans. Now it's pigs in the trough time as Thatcher and her Nouveau Riche followers have a final fling at 'Heroic Materialism'. Gain without guilt. Profits without paid. Capitalism without conscience.

Where are the Labour leaders now? In Parliament! Hanging around like so many pimps around a brothel, waiting for power. No wonder the miners are angry. No wonder they're spitting blood on picket. No wonder the poor are disillusioned.

## THE AGE OF ANARCHISM

Some state socialists have sensed a popular shift towards direct action, and a writer in the New Left Review has warned: "Anti-welfare-state, anti-union, and anti-party ideologies have to be vigorously combatted, even when they appear in 'leftist' garb and borrow arguments and phrases from the language of emancipation". Yes, we are against the union boss, the State and the party, in all their shapes and sizes, because experience on the shopfloor, in the dole queue and in our communities has taught us that they are all part of the principle of BOSSISM. And as such are to

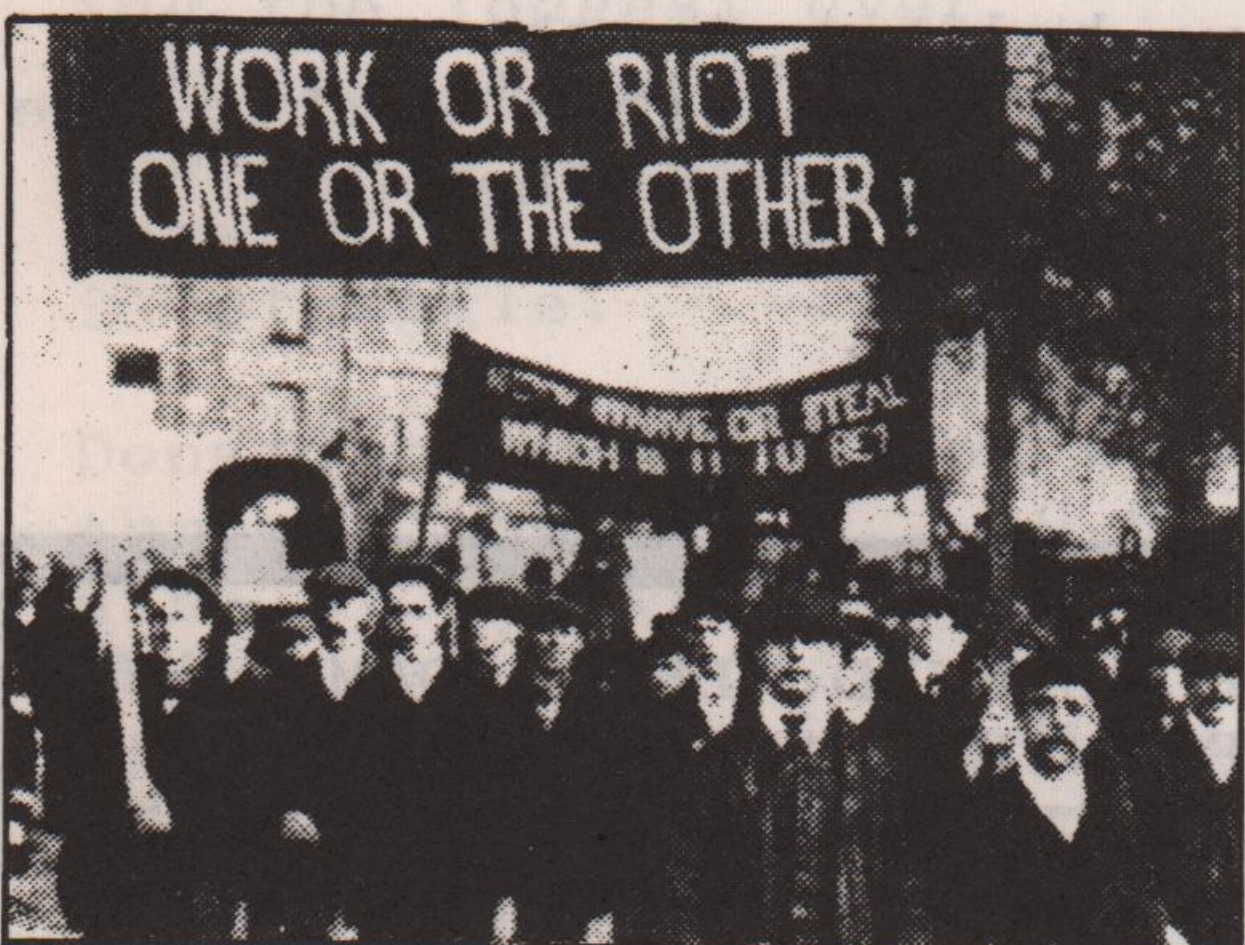


be resisted.

The Miners' strike merely reinforces our own experience. This strike has a moral dimension. It is for the right to work, which direct actionists distinguish from the right to be employed. It is about the Miners' right to manage - to say when a pit is finished, not the Coal Board. It is about saving communities from Government transportation (shades of Stalin's Russia). Marxists like 'Socialist Worker', rightly say that 'Anarchism is... essentially a moral stance' opposed to all power-mongers, and their agents like the police.

As one stands on picket and listen to miners talk about 'TUC wankers', or about there being 'no good policemen' or in terms of them being 'the lowest of the low', one realises something significant may be on the cards. Not the peaceful capitulation of the Class War hoped for by some pundits. But a unification of passionate social forces like the miners, the unemployed, and the young. Later (see appendices 1 and 2) we hope to argue that the Miners strike, unemployment, the Government's employment and trade union legislation, and the failure of Labour and the trade unions to meet the social problems of our age is opening up the field to direct actionism. It is a chance which must not be missed.

Of course it is too early to say if anarchism will fill the gap left by what Lord Clark called "the moral and intellectual failure of Marxism...", still less is it possible to suggest that direct actionism can shoulder the social decline of Labourism. And yet state socialists are aware of the "definite attraction of anarchism for the young and rebellious". This appeal could grow in the near future. As we write the Guardian leader warns that an appalling by-product of the miners losing their strike will be that there will be "areas in which the young and the unemployed find riot the appropriate response to genuine ills...". In 1976, DIRECT ACTION said that a policy of monetarism would lead to street riots. When the 1981 riots came we, like everyone else, had no clear social analysis to back up the rioters and save them from the charge of 'hooligan'. At the same time there was no social movement to articulate the voice of the voiceless people.



A WARNING at the turn of the century

This must not happen again. We must explain the violence of the underdogs - the vital underclass - which the Marxists call 'lumpens', but who are essential in times of anarchist social and moral resurgence. The anarchists must also present a new morality of liberation for our times, to oppose the immorality of power and politics.

The direct actionists must start the job of organising underdogs - the unemployed, the low paid, the young and the unorganised. Remembering that the system corrupts us all - rich and poor alike - they should also prepare to resist power-seeking cliques in these classes.

We call on all the organs of the libertarian movement, Direct Action, Black Flag, Freedom etc, to stop their family quarrels, and prepare for the challenge which will face us in the 1980's, as large numbers of workers, the poor and the unemployed look for a radical alternative to state socialism.

Brian Bamford (Rochdale DAM) and Jim Petty (Burnley DAM) on behalf of the Policy Committee.

#### APPENDICES:

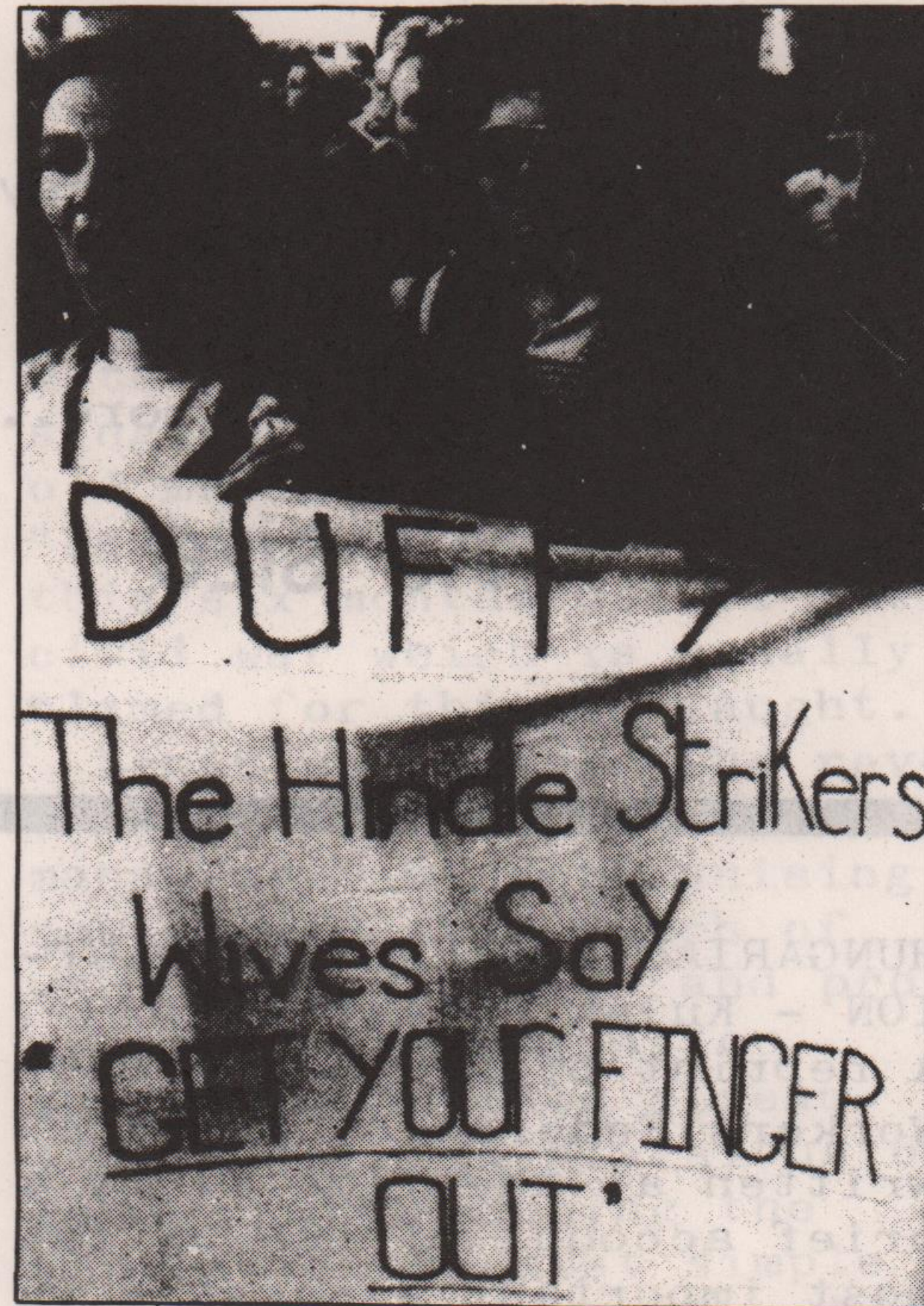
Accepting that the Government is engaged in a scheme to restructure the economy - one consequence being the undermining of the unions - the Policy Committee feel DAM must consider its response to the following possible situations:

APPENDIX ONE. In event of the Miners losing their strike:

- (a) A post-1926 General Strike situation.
- (b) A further drop in union membership.
- (c) Unconditional retreat

by the TUC, and universal compromise with the bosses and government.

- (d) More no-strike 'sweet-heart' deals by some unions.
- (e) Single union agreements with companies as the rivalry between unions for members hots up.



APPENDIX TWO. Whether or not the miners win,

- (a) Possible Nottingham NUM split from NUM to form a new miners federation.
- (b) A TUC split - with right wing company unions forming a new trade union federation.
- (c) A new situation with the British labour movement more fragmented, as in France, Italy and Spain.
- (d) Possibly more violent direct action in the French style following the experiences of the Miners' strike.
- (e) In any event we expect a TUC deeply divided within itself as recriminations build up.

#### APPENDIX THREE.

The Policy Committee have considered the new Government laws on Employment and

the Trade Unions (Employment Act 1982 and Trade Union Act 1984) and have found as follows:

The Government laws are disorientating the trade union movement as much as the Miners' Strike, and as we write the T & G has been £200,000 over the Austin Rover strike. Other unions, the AUEW and the EETPU have accepted the court rulings. It is early days, but the effect of the Trade Union Act at Austin Rover was to strike the union bosses dumb - unable to comment for fear of being fined by the Courts. (See page 8).

One union boss, at Austin Rover, did say: "One effect (of the law) is that the stewards and the militants are running the show, not the officials". The union boss has long been seen as the 'controller of discontent', and such has sometimes sold the members short. As a result of the Government laws it seems that very soon they will lose what little influence they have over local industrial disputes.

- (a) Thus the focus of shop-floor and workplace action can be expected to shift from the trade union bosses to the shop stewards.
- (b) Leading to decentralisation in the unions.
- (c) Because few unions have enough funds to afford more full-time officials - they must continue to rely on unpaid stewards and lay activists.
- (d) In New Society in 1981, William McCarthy concluded a study for the Dept. of Employment: "....that Britain is unlikely to return for any length of time to the lower, pre-sixties levels of industrial conflict".
- (e) There is a strong possibility of more unofficial and unlawful strikes as unions back off from the courts.

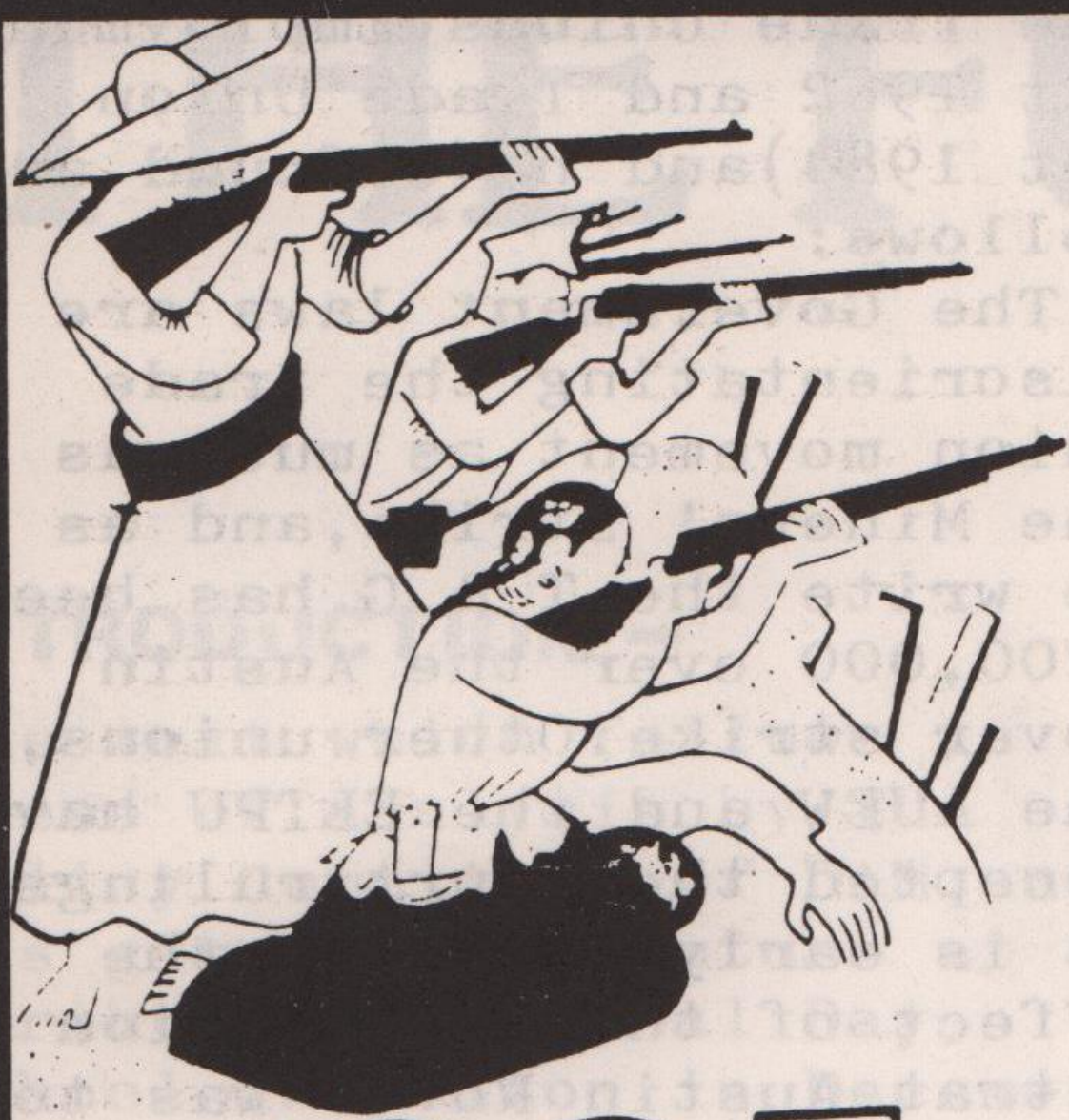
## CONGRESS for Industrial Action

To be held at  
Burnley Labour club  
On Sat. Jan. 19th,  
At 10 am.

Speakers: Peter  
Heathfield, General  
Sec. of N.U.M.  
Tony Crowther, Nat.  
Sec. of DAM (NUR).  
A speaker from  
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AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

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

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

(3) We are fighting to abolish the state, 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 workplace and community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers organisations must be controlled by workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers movement. Any and all delegates of such workers organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.

(6) We are opposed to all States and State institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all States do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.

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

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

AIMS, PRINCIPLES & STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION - Rebel Worker Group, Sydney (35p): The basic ideas of revolutionary syndicalism agreed at the 1922 Berlin Congress of the I.W.A., with revisions up to 1979. ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM, RACISM AND STRUGGLE - South London DAM (15p): The case for working class solidarity and against racism (which only benefits the ruling class by dividing workers), including a brief history of British racism, as well as suggestions for combatting it. NEW. DAM AND THE TRADE UNIONS - DAM (25p): An analysis of the failings of the British reformist unions in recent years, with an outline of the syndicalist alternative to reformist unionism. DIRECT ACTION IN INDUSTRY - DAM (50p): Outlines, with the aid of concrete examples from syndicalist experience, some alternatives to the 'orthodox' strike, like the 'good work' strike, sabotage, the 'open mouth' strike etc.

HUNGARIAN WORKERS' REVOLUTION - Kulak Press (45p): A reprint of a Syndicalist Workers Federation pamphlet written at the time. It is a brief account of one of the most important struggles in recent European working-class history. STRIKE ACTION - South London DAM/Dark Star (20p): Some suggestions on how to run and win a strike. (The above are available from the Publications Commission, c/o S. London DAM, 121 RAILTON RD, LONDON SE24. Please add postage). ANARCHISM AND FEMINISM - Medway DAM (30p): Why feminists should be anarchists and why anarchists must be feminists. NEW. LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL - Medway DAM (30p): This pamphlet shows just how cynical Lenin's famous slogan 'All Power to the Soviets' actually was, as the Bolsheviks, and Lenin in particular, proved themselves to be implacable enemies of workers' control. Required reading for Trotskyists!

WOMEN WORKERS AND THE TRADE UNIONS - Hull DAM (10p): Women's negative experience of the British trade unions and syndicalist strategies for increasing the power of women workers.

(The 3 pamphlets above are available from Medway DAM, c/o 107 King St, Gillingham, KENT. Again, please add postage).

Other recommended publications (Not DAM): 'ANARCHY' (Quarterly, 75p): Box A, 84b Whitechapel High St, LONDON E1. 'BLACK FLAG' (Fortnightly, 25/30p; Q'ly, 75p; subs, £12 or £6.50 for 6 months): BM Hurricane, LONDON. WC1N 3XX. 'WORKERS SOLIDARITY' - paper of the Workers Solidarity Movement (20p; subs, £5 or £2.50 for 6 months): WSM, P.O. Box 1528, Dublin 8, Ireland.



I would like to know more about the DAM/IWA. Please send more information. I enclose a stamped addressed envelope.  
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Write c/o the National Secretary for Glasgow, Hull, Manchester and Rochdale DAM groups, and for contacts in Birmingham, Brighton, Mansfield, Newcastle, Shropshire, Swansea.....

ANY READERS OF 'DIRECT ACTION' IN THE DERBY, NOTTS, LEICESTER AREA INTERESTED IN FORMING AN EAST MIDLANDS CLASS STRUGGLE ANARCHIST GROUP SHOULD CONTACT: 'RISING FREE', 39 DENBIGH ST, CHADDESSEN, DERBY.

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# Direct Action

'Direct Action' is the official organ of the Direct Action Movement (British Section of the International Workers Association - the Anarcho-syndicalist International). Unless specifically stated articles do not necessarily represent the official position of the DAM, or the positions of anyone else apart from the author. This issue is the last one to be produced in Leeds, because we are anarchists we believe in the rotation of all functions within the organisation. The next issue will be produced by HULL DAM.

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# SYNDICALIST UNIONS

Anarcho-syndicalism is a theory of workers organisation which differs from Trade Unionism in several important ways. The first and most important difference is that the final aim of Syndicalism is the consciously revolutionary one of placing the control of industry- all industry-into the hands of the workers in each industry. The Trade Unions have never pretended to be more than defensive organisations, maintained by the support (compulsory support in some cases) of the workers, for the defence of standards of living and working conditions with in capitalist society.

Syndicalism on the other hand, is not content with fighting for better conditions within capitalist society, although it does offer the most effective means of so doing. But syndicalists realise that as long as capitalist society exists, so long will the worker be exploited for the sake of profit. As long as the worker is content to be a wage earner, so long will she or he be robbed of the greater part of the value of her/his products. As long as industry is controlled from above, either by private owners or by the State, so long will the worker be a pawn in a game played by others.

Anarcho-syndicalism, therefore, aims at the abolition of capitalist society, all that supports it and all that it entails. It aims at the abolition of the State. It aims at the creation instead of a society of a decentralised character based only upon the two fields of activity-economic and industrial. Combining with local communes - organisations for the administration of local amenities and affairs - syndicalism lays down the structure for the organisation of production and distribution, not for the

profit of employer or State, but to satisfy freely all the needs of the community.

## INDUSTRIAL UNITY

As opposed to the craft basis of the Trade Union, syndicalism demands INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. The many anomalies of craft organisation, whereby workers in the same factory do not necessarily belong to the same union, and do not necessarily support each other in strikes, for example, are only equalled by the "mixed bag" aspect of the huge general unions like the Transport and General Workers Union.

The principle adhered to by the syndicates would be "organisation at the point of production" which concentrates the workers' strength where it is most effective. After all if the aim of the workers is to be the seizure of the means of production, it is absolutely fruitless to organise according to where one may live! The effective organisation will be one created on the job, finding its expression through shop committees and revolutionary cells which, able to rely upon the support of all the workers in the factory, workshop, or mine, irrespective of their trades, is able to swing into action at any time with every chance of success. Through these committees, work-places can be linked up to form industrial federated syndicates.

## OFFICIALS

There is no need for the full-time paid official in a syndicate. One of the evils of Trade Unionism is its creation of a class of bureaucrats ostensibly working for the benefit of the rank and file but in actual fact, because of inflated salaries, out of touch and out of the class of the rank



STATE REPRESSION. "COMMUNITY POLICING" IN GRIMETHORPE. RIOT POLICE BLOCK OFF THE ENTRANCE TO A ROAD ON A HOUSING ESTATE. NOTE THE LACK OF NUMBERS ON THE UNIFORMS.

and file. Such people have a stake in present-day society. The unions to whom they are attached have their funds invested in Government stock. Their salaries depend on the security of that stock - how can they be expected to desire a change in a society in which they have such securities? And since the unions to-day are recognised as part of the State, the union official is more of a civil servant than a representative of the workers.

For the waging of the class struggle through syndicates, no bureaucracy is needed. When the efficient organisation of action calls for full-time activity, a temporary delegate can be chosen, either to present the workers case, make contact with other workers or any other necessary function, but remuneration for such activity should not exceed pay on the bench.

This unalterable principle would discourage job-seekers or climbers. Election by the workers would almost inevitably ensure the most capable person for any job being chosen, the rate for the job would eliminate the the bait of material advantage and the job would be done for its own sake.

Another proof is that these delegates should have no power to make decisions on behalf of others. They are delegates, not representatives, and must report back any offers or moves so that a decision can be taken by all the workers involved.

## ANTI-MILITARISM

Syndicates recognise the reactionary nature of nationalism. They do not recognise the validity of political and national boundaries. Syndicalism is international in design and aspirations. It is a form of organisation which, not being directed by any political thought, is free to embrace workers of any country, colour or creed and by uniting them under the banner of Freedom, unite them for common action against their common enemy - the international ruling class.

It follows logically that Anti-Militarism is a principle of Anarcho-Syndicalist theory and practice, since it is in the military caste

that nationalism and patriotism find their greatest expression. Not only that, but the armed forces do not exist only for international attack or defence, but are most important counter-revolutionary weapons in the hands of the state. If anti-militarist propaganda can have full effect before the revolution, the task of the revolutionaries is greatly simplified.

Syndicalists oppose war as being the clash of ruling classes, never fought in the interests of the working class, who only fight and die for the preservation of capitalism under one form or another.

## METHODS

What are the methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism? They can be summed up briefly under the words "Direct Action".

Since syndicates do not seek control of the State or any part of the political machine, it would be illogical to take part in political activity. Since the society at which they aim is a society without government it would be futile to struggle for power in government. Political activity can only divert the energies and strength of the producers away from the direct path to freedom, and in the labyrinth of political opportunism and intrigue the final aim is inevitably lost and forgotten.

Direct Action means making the full use of such weapons as the strike with all its variations (lightning, work-to-rule, stay-in etc.), boycott and sabotage, finding their full expression in the Social General Strike wherein the workers lock out the bosses and commence to work the means of production for the benefit of all. The most important action now, however, is the task of education and enlightenment, to make the workers realise their strength and responsibility and to inspire them to prepare now for the final struggle.

PHILIP SANSOM.

N.B. This article was written many years ago when Philip Sansom was still an anarcho-syndicalist. The original contained some sexist use of language which we have taken the liberty of changing.





# DIRECT ACTION

PAPER OF THE DAM/IWA NO. 21 DEC/JAN. 20p.

## COMPANY UNIONS — NO THANKS, ERIC!

At the C.B.I. Conference in November, Mr. Eric Hammond the EEPTU's general secretary suggested that the Union should be allowed to join the Confederation of British Industry; openly stating his position of class collaboration. This is the same union which has been making no-strike deals with the bosses, and who so spinelessly backed down in the face of the court orders against the strikers at Austin-Rover recently, ordering a return to work. The EEPTU seems to be moving towards total surrender to the bosses' and Tory robbers, with an almost open advocacy of business unionism, American Style. No doubt the right-wing leaders of the EEPTU and the Government would like to see such bosses unions as the model for the future. We as Direct Actionists totally reject such moves as it would take away what few freedoms of action we have in the workplace; leading to an intensification of discipline and arbitrary management authority, with the unions purely as conveyor belts to control us from above. Oppose all state shackles, Bosses Unions, the

marks of the slave society.

With the collapse of the Austin Rover strike the management at Cowley assembly plant openly told the Financial Times that they hoped the workers demoralisation would allow them to reimpose discipline on 'their' workers. To help in this process the management wrote to all its Cowley workers threatening that in future wildcat strikers at Austin Rover will be sacked. The letter said, "All employees should be in no doubt that the people responsible for unconstitutional disruption will find their own employment terminated." Already a woman steward at Longbridge has been sacked for allegedly hitting three scabs during the strike.

### MILITANCY

The management is desperate to crush the signs of militancy from some newly involved activists. The Financial Times of November 26th said, "The action to restore order to this troubled plant reflects exasperation at the failure to institute reforms by the 4 man union/management team of inquiry set up in the wake of the damaging washing up strike."



This shows the union is as keen to restore 'order', that is to say its control of the workers as the management; so that the Union leaders will cooperate with the bosses in trying to stop strikes that they the leaders think damaging for the companies profits. But how can the union expect to turn on militancy like a tap when it puts so much effort into suppressing unofficial strikes, and puts so much into collaborating with the bosses?

The spate of sectional unofficial strikes at Cowley, 150 this year is therefore a sign of the weakness of the union at the plant. The Unions bosses have no real concept of building militancy from the rank and file but would rather the workers wait until they as 'experts' think it best to strike.

The result of this is that when the 'big one' came in November, which both the bosses and the union had been planning for months the strike collapsed, with the T&G being fined £200,000, and Austin Rover may yet claim damages of up to £250,000.

The T&G's response appears to be a passive resistance to the anti-union laws, that is it will not pay the fine but probably won't take active steps like the NUM to hide its funds. The T&G will also not mount any serious opposition to the spate of legal attacks on the unions.

"If the orders of courts

of law in this country are not obeyed then the only result is an approach to anarchy." Mr Justice Hodgson on fining the T&G. Sounds like a good thing!

The lack of serious action by the TUC to back its formal opposition to state interference in affairs is likely to lead to right wing union leaders pushing for the dropping of the formal opposition, and to push for making deals with the Tories.

### CLASS STRUGGLE

The response of the Tories to overtures remains to be seen, but Thatcher's attitude has always been one of almost total contempt for even the most 'moderate' of union leaders.

It is clear that Thatcher and the present Government understand the reality of class struggle and are not ashamed of fighting for their class - the ruling class.

We as Direct Actionists say that we, the working class must fight these people in defence of our class through the unions we belong to. We must spread militancy through the rank and file, and must argue that it is through decentralised, libertarian and federal structures that this can be built most effectively; to transform the unions to fight back and defeat the class enemy. Workers self-management is a demand that we apply to unions as well as workplaces and all other aspects of our lives.

## DUNNE IN SOLIDARITY



Since the summer thirteen young workers have been picketing Dunnes Stores in Dublin's Henry Street. They are not looking for more pay or improved conditions even though they could well do with them. They are on a strike in solidarity with workers three thousand miles away in South Africa.

It started when the Irish Distributive Trade Union, passed a motion at it's conference calling for a boycott of South African goods. Too often such motions are all hot air and no action. But the members in Dunnes take their unionism seriously and are totally against the racist

South African regime.

### SCAB LABOUR

Mary Manning was suspended when she refused to sell South African food. Twelve workers walked out with her and started picketing. Dunnes responded by putting non-union part-timers on the check-outs and arranging deliveries from the scab firm MFM in Tallaght. Strikers have been assaulted by these scabs and managers.

The picket is having an effect. On a Saturday the shop is almost empty. Managers have been pretending to be customers. But you soon twig that one when you see the same guy pushing a half empty trolley around for four hours!

### ESCALATE

Dunnes have shops all over Ireland, which will allow Ben Dunne to prolong the

strike. The union officials have not brought strikers to the other shops to explain their case, and they haven't called for a strike through out the Dunnes chain.

This would be the way to win. If the strike is spread Ben Dunne will have to settle quickly. It simply proves yet again that union bureaucrats cannot be relied on to escalate action.

A defeat here will spread demoralisation among shop workers. On the other hand a victory over Dunnes will give workers all over Ireland the confidence to spread the boycott. It will also give them the confidence needed to push for higher pay and an end to the petty harassment suffered by shop workers. A victory here is a victory for both black workers in South Africa and for supermarket workers in Ireland. SOURCE: WORKERS SOLIDARITY (ALAN MACSIMOIN).