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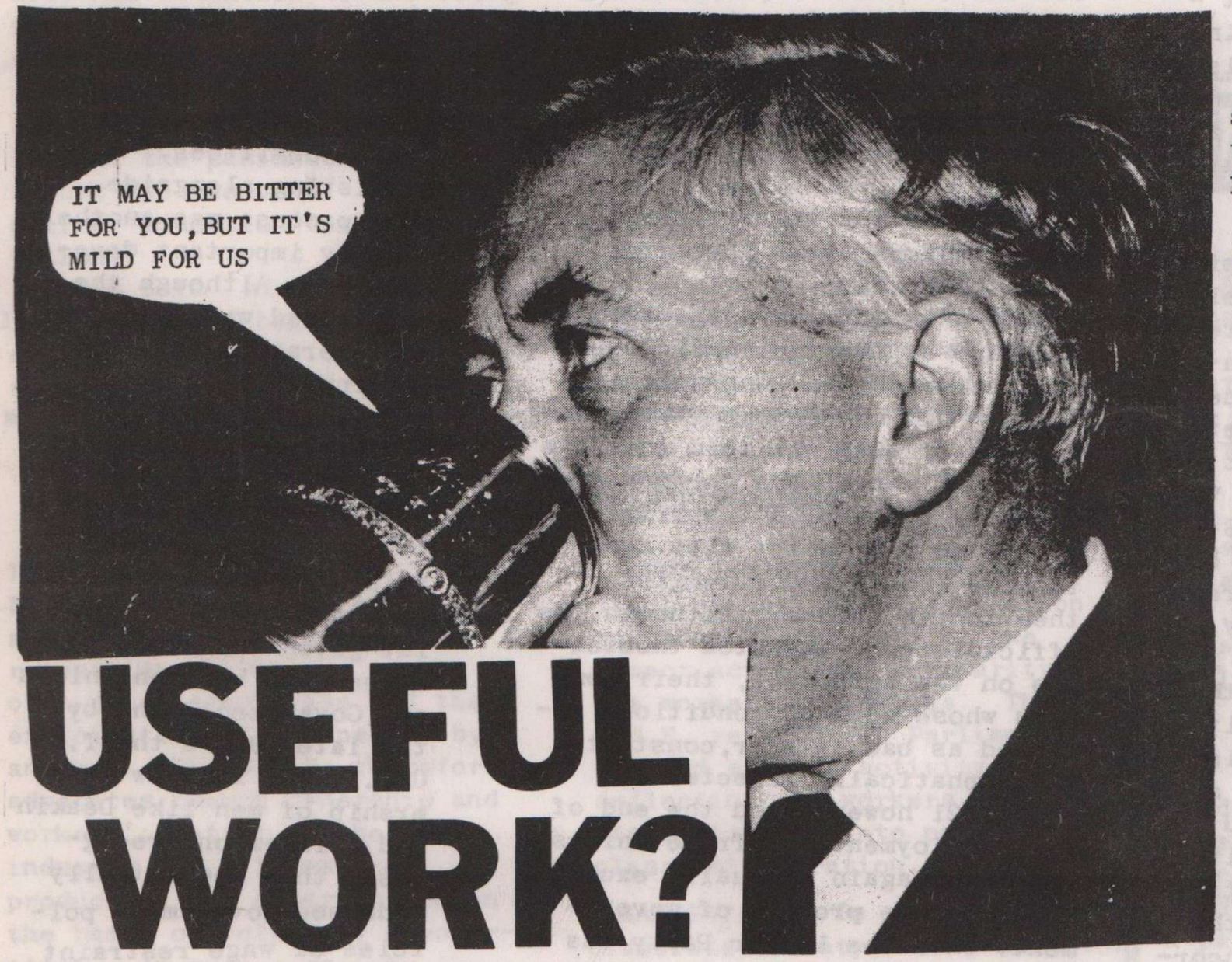
DIRECT ACTION

SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION no. 11 5p

British Section of the International Workers Association



USEFUL WORK?

The Government and the bosses are trying to blame the working class for the present unemployment. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister, endeavoured to make us swallow this propaganda when he said in the goverment leaflet "One man's pay rise is not only another man's price rise, it might also cost him his own job or his own or his neighbour's job'.

This isn't true! The reason that unemployment is so high isn't because workers are demanding a rise in wages to offset the continually rising prices, but rather because the employers are trying to maintheir profit levels in a time of slump.

The Labour Government is using the whole propaganda machine to tryto convince us that we, the workers, are the ones at the root of the trouble. The Government is not neutral, Nor on the side of the workers. The Government is definately on the side of the industrialists and the moneyed classes.

The economic system in this country is geared to profit-making. Production is not organised for the satisfation of people's needs.

To get fat profits they always want the maximum amount of work from the minimum number of workers. Workers may in some cases earn £100 a week, but they will be producing profits. Fords for example, make over £1,000 per year, on each employee! This profit is produced by us, by the working class.

When there is a depression, the bosses find it difficult to keep up their rate of profit, due to the rising cost of raw materials 'overproduction' and competition from abroad. Therefore, they attempt to maintain them by cutting down on their overheads. This can only be the wages of the workers, because this is the only one that they have any sort of control over.

Once again, it is the workers who are told to sacrifice themselves for the good of the country'. Or to put it another 'ay, we must take a cut in our standard of living, so that the the rich can continue to make a profit.

Why should we come to the rescue of an insane system which throws people on the scape heap like worn-out boots? An economic system which lets thousands of old folk die of cold during the winter. A set up where thousands of building workers are on the dole, while thousands of others are without a decent house. Do you really think that this kind of society deserves our support?

THE RIGHT TO WORK?

In times of high unemployment, the slogan the right to work is raised by sections of the left What do these socialists mean by this demand? While we fully support all struggles to resist sackings and redundancy, we must make our position clear. We as Anarchosyndicalists have to make our stand, we don't want 'the right to work' if is shorthand for a life of drudgery and useless toil. Who wants to be part of a campaign to pressurise the Government into creating jobs that are soulless and boring, and harmful to the worker, society, and the environment? We don't need more armaments factories, obsolescent rubbish or trendy trash. Much so called work is harmful or useless and would not exist in a truely free society. However, there are many things which require to be done, but to expect the Government to finance these kinds of jobs is utopian. They use unemployment to discipline the workers, and to staff the armed forces and the police.

Unemployment is used as a wedge to divide us as a class. Those are still in work are actively encouraged to see the unemployed as threat to their jobs, and as layabouts who don't want work.

Nationalisation is put forward

Continued on page 6.

SYNDICALISTS MARXISM & UNIONS

One of the main weaknesses of Anarchosyndicalism,its Marxist critics often assert,lies in the emphasis it places on Trade Unionism. As Gramsci puts it - "Trade Unionism is.....nothing but a reflection of capitalist society ,not a potential means of transcending (it)".(note 1) Left to themselves,workers are capable of developing only a 'Trade union consciousness' which finds its true expression in'economism',that is a purely instrumental attitute oriented only to the pursuit of finan-- cial improvements within the existing structure of society. Hence the need for a revolut - ionary theory (marxism) and the revolutionary party(C.P.I.S. W.R.P.--etc).Only these can enable the working class to transcend its bourgeois ideology.

Also ,the fact that Trade Unions are able to achieve the their economic objectives within the framework of capitalist society means they display a 'natural'or'inevitable' tend - ency to become integrated within the existing system. Trotsky, (2) who put forward one of the strongest versions of the incorporation thesis,saw this process of integration as the common feature of the developement, or "degeneration", of modern Trade Unions under the conditions of advanced capitalism. This process,he wrote,was equally characteristic,"....of the neutral, the Social Democratic, the Communist and 'anarchist' Trade unions". It arose not from the various ideologies embraced by these organisation," but from social conditions common for all unions".

Now it is quite obvious that such athesis has strong implications for Anarcho-syndicalism, both in its theory and its practice. But what I wish to contend is that,although strong elements of economism and incorporationism are clearly discerible within our own Trade Union Movement, an examination of the British situation,past and present,will show that their existence in no way invalidates our position.I propose to do this by attempting to distinguish between the two levels of Trade union organisation,official and shopfloor and what amounts to two complet-ly different definitions of,and orientations to;Trade union action.

FROM WIGAN PIER TO WHITEHALL

Historically,we can begin to date the process of integration from the start of the First World War. The necessities of a Wartime economy with its conseq-uences of full employment ,high wages,the need for a flexible, and mobile labour force etc,forced the Government to bring the unions into the decision making process. The result of this was the Treasury agreement of The 195; and the signing away by the Trade Unions of restrictive practices.

In return for these sacrifices the Government gave the Trade union officials,

"... a unique and unprecedented place as the diplomatic representatives of the wage earning class'' And the Labour Party conference of 1916 was told that the unions, "..have come forward and occupied a place in the affairs of the country which will do much to consolidate and strengthen them in the future," Although the officials congratulated themselves on the agreement, their members whose working conditions remained as bad as ever,constantly and emphatically rejected it.

By 1921 however,and the end of full employment,the Trade unions were once again virtually excluded from the process of government. When the Labour Party was in office in 1924 for instance, the General Secretary of the TUC complained that he had had less five minutes conversation with Ramsey Macdonald,the then Prime Minister. And throughout the 1920's and 1930's the unions were to remain out in the cold In 1931-32 the unions were represented on exactly one Government committee,1939 the number had crept to only twelve.

But by 1940,with the advent of war once more, the unions were again brought into the State machinery. This time the scale of consultation was greater than ever before and covered every level of Government from the Cabinet down.The opportunity was warmly welcomed by the T.U.C., particularly its General Secretary, Sir Walter Citrine. It had always been Citrine's ambition to make the T.U.C. an "indispensable estate of the realm", one which governments would have to consult as a matter of course. By the late 1940's, from a seat on the National Coal Board, Citrine was able to see his desire become a reality. Under the post-war Labour Government consultationwith the unions increased, until by 1948 the trade unions were represented on no less than 60 Government committees.But this was not just a reflection of the ties between the Labour Party and the unions. The 19 51 Tory Government extended Trade Union representation to as many as 80 committees.

Existing alongside this process was another equally important developement. Although the T.U.C. had welcomed the collaboration with the Government in1940 They rejected ideas of wage regulation and reserved the right to negotiate wages independently. After the war however this attitude of detachment could not persist given the close connection between unions and Government. And by the late 1940's the T. U.C.,under The new leadership of men like Deakin and Williamson, recognised this and actually endorsed government policies of wage restraint and stabilisation. The process of incorporation was proceeding apace.

In the decades since there have been a number of setbacks of course due to conflicts with various Governments, but, I would argue, the net result has been a strengthening of the process.In 1962 for example Macmillan's government established the National Economic Developement Council (the'Big Neddy' as the press lovingly

Continued on page 9.

A BATALHA

Our comrades of the Portugese Anarcho-Syndicalist movement and their fortnightly paper A Batalha need our support so that they are able to present a revolutionary alternative to the Portugese workers. Please send MONEY books and support to:

A Batalha
Rua Angelina Vidal,17-2 Esq
Lisbon . Portugal

THEY SHALL NOT PASS

Solidarity's latest pamphlet by Liz Willis - Women in the Spanish Revolution. not only gives us insights into the struggle of women but also supplies a very readable account of the events in general under the republic and during the fighting.

Women seemed to come into their own when the republic was threatened by the military insurrection of 1936. Although they played a full active part in all aspects of the struggle, forming the backbone of the resistance it was noted that repressive life-styles were hard to change. The revolution came suddenly, events seem to overtake ideas: for instance Spanish Militia women armed and wearing trousered uniforms were still being chaperoned! (It doesn't say by whom. I have this image of soldiers marching through the streets followed by armies of black-clad little old grannies!)

The Anarchist movement is mentioned as the one group which had the most awareness of the need for changed relationships between people The abolition of legal marriage for example was one of their practices. But even in the collectives where the Libertarians had the greatest control womens economic positions were often still inferior to mens. Most of the agricultural collectives agreed to a "family wage" based on individual needs. Some critics, H. E. Kaninski, is quoted for instance, said that the "family wage" put women who were already the most oppressed beings under the control of men. He critized the anarchist commune of Ancora of having "taken its nature from the actual state of things". This may be a valid criticism but we must remember that looking back and judging a static point in history often gives a wrong impression. Everything was changing in these communes. The womens awareness of themselves was just being born, or at least organised. Given time equality would have come. No person posessing libertarian ideas could want otherwise. No women in particular would allow it!

Liz Willis points out that although the Spanish Revolution had its limitations, it did open up new possibilities for women. One group with a libertarian perspective was Mujeres Libres (Free Women) A federation of labour was formed. They worked to emancipate women from traditional values. They were organising to involve women in all aspects of practical work needed for the struggle. Looking at the groups politics, Liz Willis seems to think that the slogans of Mujeres Libres described the political situation simply as a struggle between two classes and two ideologies, labour against privilege, liberty against dictatorship. She adds that it was to prove more complicated than that. I think it is a dangerous practice to judge the philosophy of any group solely by the slogans it uses Slogans by definition are simplistic a shorthand not always to be taken merely on face value but as rallying points behind which is often a complex web of ideas.

As the struggle continued Liz Willis tells us that womens contributions "did not diminish but became more supportive in character" Some reforms came, legalised abortions under controlled conditions for instance, but as a wartime situation set in, the emphasis went away from social revolution to first and foremost an anti-fascist struggle, "anything" being better than fascisim. We must remember that when the fascists did sieze power there was such phenomena as fascist women! The left wing women still struggled on opposing fascism whether its face was male or female.

However unsatisfactory womens position was during the republic of course they had no chance under the fascists. Liz Willis quotes the recent case of a woman jailed for two years for possessing feminist literature. Her husband who was apolitical was jailed also because he was held responsible for his wife's actions.

Read the pamphlet it is available from Freedom Bookshop and Solidarity.

Now that Franco is no more... can we hope.... I wonder?

THE BERIA RESERVE

Report from the Beria Reserve. The protest writings of Valentyn Moroz, edited and translated by John Kolasky. (Cataract Press)

The USSR is "but a step from the promised land-five minutes paradise." In 12 years it will ''reach the shores of Communism (see the programme of the CPSU); where all blessings will flow freely;where there will be no force or coercion.'' Valentyn Moroz(who wrote these words ironically) was encountered in prison in 1973 by an old friend(also a prisoner; now emigrated to Israel after serving his time).

The friend wrote:"Chance encounters are strictly forbidben. But this time Valery Ronkin and I found ourselves face to face with a person in the striped uniform of a repeater. There was momentary confusion, unbearably painful mutual recognition, and the sudden leap of friends towards each other: "Valery!" -"Valentyn!" There were short quick embraces.The guards pulled the two old friends apart.

"This was Valentyn Moroz. No doubt every Ukrainian abroad has seen his portrait. Do not believe those portraits now.Russian police have seen to it that this person with thin face and intelligent eyes will never again resemble his portrait.The gaunt figure in the striped uniform,sickly and ghastly, reminds one of the frightful photographs of the survivors of Auschwitz.

"The prison uniform hung on the body of this tall man as if on a wire skeleton. The thin bristly hair on the dry pallid scalp,and the greenish parchment-like skin as terrifying as that of a mummy, covered the high forehead and the prominent cheekbones. And the eyes....no, I am not able to express in words what I saw in those eyes..."

"We often heard screams and the sound of scuffling from his cell. The guards of the special pacification squad often burst into it with great commotion. Someone was dragged away and some one else complained bitterly.

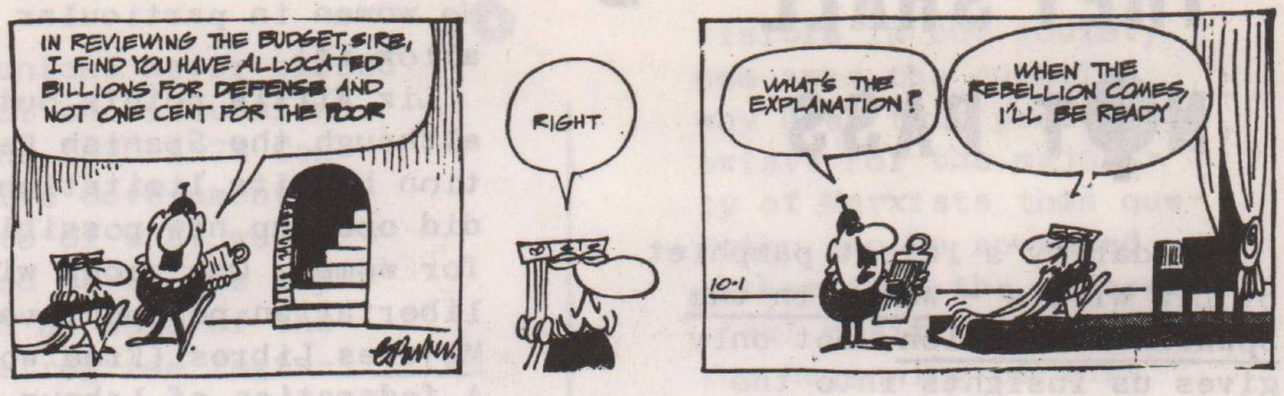
Why should this happen on the way to "the most just and the most humane society on earth?"

Moroz has commited no crime, has broken no Soviet law. But if contempt for law and the will to break it is good thing,then the most admirable

continued on page 7.

For the anarchist, freedom is not an abstract philosophical concept, but the vital concrete possibility for every human being to bring to full developement all the powers, capacities, and talents with which nature has endowed him, (her) and turn them to social account.

R. Rocker, Anarchosyndicalism.



STATE AND SOCIETY

We Anarchists are always being told that it is impossible to abolish the State, as every society needs a certain order and organisation , and the form of organisation of human society is always necessarily the State. This arguement starts from the the premise that the concepts "social order" and "state" are used synonymously.

What reasons could the bourgeois and "socialist" theoreticians give for interchanging two overtly different concepts at will. Let's first examine where the real differences between state' and 'society' lie .The "State" implies a politically centralised form of social organisation, based on power and oppression. At the head of the state is the government, which tries to legitimise itself in various ways, as (Service to God", "democratic election" " the national interest", "dictatorship of the proletariat") All decisions, important to a society, are made by the government (i.e. parliament or ruling party) in the form of laws, decrees etc, without any direct influence from the people affected by these decisions. These laws, decrees are forcibly executed with the help of the centralised state apparatus (civil service, police, army, prisons, special branch).

The state needs a passive population, completely excluded from decision making. They can't determine their own lives: it's done for them by the state. The state organisation of society is hierarchical, and based on force.

"Society" is the totality of all relationships, both formal and informal between people. The formal relationships include the family, commune Church, Trade-union, Capitalist enterprise, and workers' collectives etc.

The concept "society" is much more wide ranging than state, even if the modern state tries to extend itself to all institutions in soci iety. Thus the state has only been responsible for chidrens' education since the introduction of compulsory education. Social services, heal th insurance schemes, unemployment benefits etc don't have to be necessarily administered by the state.

Last century, services like these were run by unions, or by other proletarian mutual aid organisations in many countries. Thus we see that socially necessary services can be run by certain social institutions, and not just by the state. The state society is only one form of social organisation, but not the only possible or necessary form.

A free state-less society, also needs a certain order, but such an order has nothing to do with the state.

STATE OR REVOLUTION?
REVOLUTION OR STATE?

"...in facing the problem of social transformation, the Revolution cannot consider the state as a medium, but must depend on the organisation of the producers.

We have followed this norm and we find no need for the hypothesis of a superior power to organise d labor, in order to establish a new order of things. We would thank anyone to point out to us what function, if any, the State can have in an economic organisation, where private property has been abolished and in which parasitism and special privilege have no place. The suppression of the State cannot be a languid affair; it must be the task of the Revolution to finish with the State."

' After the Revolution' Diego Abad de Santillan.

This order would rest not on force, but on the free co-operation of the members of society

All decisions would be made and carried out by those concerned. The workers would take over the means of production through economic organisations, whichwould be controlled and democratically organised by the rank and file. The consumers, organised in co-operatives, would determine what should be produced, and how it should be distributed. In this way the administration of the society is carried out through the peoples own organisations, and not through an uncontrolled civil service. Even local administration must be carried out by representatives of smaller units, which will be answerable to these units.

A free society would be democratically organised from the base upwards: characterised by a free federation and direct control from the base. There is no room for a government with political power in a free society.

Let's return to the first question. Why is it maintained that human society can only organise itself as a state? The answer is obvious. The necessity of a certain social order is indisputable. If the oppressed masses can be con vinced that the authoritarian organisation of society of the political state is not the only form of social order, i.e that state and society are basically synonymous, then any resistance against the state will perish in its early stages. The theory of the state reveals itself as an ideology of the ruling classes to justify their rule. Slavery has to appear as the only possible system to the slaves.

If we are succesful in destroying this ideology, it will be possible to abolish the dominance of man over man.

Translated from "Befreiung" German Syndicalist paper. Johann.

SYNDICALIST EDUCATION MEETINGS
The Manchester SWF Group has been holding a series of meetings, so far, the topics have included "Luddites and alternative technology" "Current trends in Sociology and their implications for Libertarians". Future meetings will include topics "Is Syndicalism the only option for us? and "Manchester Free School and Libertarian Education" If you are interested in these meetings write to the Manchester group for details

M/cr SWF, C/O Grassroots, 109 Oxford rd , M/CR 1.

criminal trespass law

There is a very real danger that in the near future, tactics such as the occupation of one's workplace, or even in certain circumstances picketting will become illegal. With up to two years imprisonment for anyone who uses these tactics. Under the same law, squatting-which is the only way many people can get somewhere to live-is to become more insecure than it is at the moment. As well as, losing the roof over their heads, many squatters will face imprisonment as well. That's one way of solving the housing prblem , I suppose!

What changes in the law are being considered? Basically the Law Commision's report to the Government proposes that two new offences be created- These are:-

(a) Without lawful authority entering property by force adversely to any person in physical occupation of it, or entitled to occupy it.

and (b) Being unlawfully on property and failing to leave as soon as reasonably practicable after being ordered to leave by a person entitled to occupation.

(page 39, The Law Commission Working Paper No54-HMSO)
These are to have a maximum sentence of two years and six monthe respectively.

Why is it that the Government is considering changing the law? Well, squatting as a tactic used by the homeless, has increased tremendously in the past few years. It also attacks one of the main props of Capitalist Society -- private property.

Therefore its not surprising is it that the Government, which like any other government exists to protect the interests of a privileged few, intends to put a stop to squatting. Of course, the Government is not interested in the fate of the growing number of homeless people (33,225 families in 1973) despite the fact that the number of empty houses is increasing (approximatly 675,000 in England and Wales alone). But as I say the government exists to protect the privilaged few so I won't go into a diatribe on the need for a reform in the law except to say that the only way to obtain equality and social justice (i.e. socialism) is to destroy all forms of government <u>as well as</u> Capitalism.

What the government is interested in though is protecting the 'right' of property developers and other parasites to make a huge profit by buying up houses and leaving them empty for years or to build useless office blocks and prestige shopping centres while many people are homeless or live in inadequate housing. As I have said before it's not only squatting that's coming under attack. In the past few years many workers have successfully used the occupation of their workplaces against their bosses i.e. Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Fisher-Bendix, N.V.T - Meridian and Briants. With the present slump this tactic is likely to be used all the more so its not surprising that the government wants to put a stop to it, especially as some day that works might decide, if they've got any sense, not to hand their workplaces back to their bosses.

If the government does make these proposals law, that doesn't have to be the end of the story. The law could be defeated in the same way that the Pentonville 5 were released from prison - by determined working action. D.T.

"Syndicalism transfers to the masses of non-Party workers, who are divided according to industry, the management of branches of Industry, thus destroying the need for the Party."
LENIN 1921

international

NEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWS

According to the French Anarchist paper "Le Monde Libertaire" there has been a strong movement of Anarchist ideas, in Greece for more than three years. Since, the dictatorship of the colonels, under which the Anarchist commenced to get organised, libertarian activity has not slackened. After the re-establishment of Karamanlis, the formation of new groups continues, groups which fight in the workplaces, fields and factories, also the poorer quarters of the towns (such as Kaissariani for example.

In the unions, Anarchosyndicalist practices are in evidence, and some success has been registered at the Athenes Polytechnic.

Our Greek comrades have made progress in difficult circumstances. We salute their efforts.

Martin Sostre has been released on parole. He had been sentenced to a 30/41 year prison sentence in drug frame-up in 1968. Martin Sostre, was framed because he was an active revolutionary.
Martin Sostre's release by the US Government was a direct result of the International solidarity campaign throughout the world. Let us redouble our efforts on beh alf of all our comrades in prison.

PAMPHLETS

The following literature is available from the S.W.F. :

Workers Control 15p
Social General Strike 5p
British General Strike 10p
Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution 10p
The Hungarian Workers Revolution 10p

Please send 8p for postage and packing with every 20p worth.

From I. Smith, Flat2,
Bray House, Chunal,
Glossop, Derbyshire.

CONT'D FROM PAGE 1

by numerous socialist group as panacea for unemployment, with or without the demand 'under-workers' control'. All we can say to this is that Nationalisation is no safeguard against unemployment. Steel and the Coal mines being examples of this. Nationalisation is no solution, something more radical is called for. What we need is a society, in which everyone will have the necessities of life whether they working or not. A society where work is not meaningless and boring, where waste, pollution and built in obsolescence are thing of the past. We want a society where we own and control the production of goods and services where we all decide what will be made, collectively. In a word the Syndicalist society!

Continued from page 2.

refere to it). This is a tripertite body of unions, employers, and government whose job it is to examine economic priorities and create a plan for future economic growthand development. The unions were now to be involved in planning and, though its fortunes have fluctuated with the policies of successive governments, it is a significant example of the part the unions play in Government.

And if we consider the conflict between the Unions and the Labour Government over Barbara Castle's document 'In place of strife' we see that, ALthougha rift developed over this, the T.U.C. ended up giving a "Solemn and binding undertaking" that the unions themselves would deal with industrial disputes. Who needs legal sanctions with trade unions as compliant as this? In any case the breach between Labour and the unions was healed by the Heath government of 1970-74. The policies of this government provoked so much opposition that it actually seemed as though there might be a complete split between the unions and the State. However as one union leader (4) has said of this period- "The trade unions never closed the door on discussions with the 1970-1974 Conservative Government, in spite of what we considered to be the imposition of some of the most retrograde legislation against trade unionism ever imposed". To do so "would have been an abdication of a fundamental trade union responsibility". And our trade union leadership is nothing if not 'responsible'. We can be sure also that the Conservatives wil try to avoid making the same mistakes again, bearing in mind the lessons of the 1974 election.

Perhaps the clearest expression of the present-day role of the trade unions can be found in the current period of wage restrictions, the so called 'Social Contract'. Here we have the unions not merely acquiescing in a policy of wage restraint but as the architects of it! The Labour Government at least, has learned its lessons. As for the trade union leadership the G.M.W.U. official(5) I quoted earlier, claims that "Harold Macmillan recognised the illogicality of discussing the future of our economy in isolation from the bodies which represent organised labour; and so have successive administrations. The role of the unions is no longer limited to a discourse on wages and conditions- it extends to all aspects of the economic-industrial society" (My emphasis).

We're all part of the establishment now, or so it seems.

MARXIST EXPLANATIONS

In part II of this article I shall attempt to analyse this process from an anarcho-syndicalist view of the trade unions. For the moment however I should like, briefly, to return to the Marxist approach and an aspect of it I omitted before.

Having seen, from the preceding historical sketch, that the process of incorporation is quite visible in our society one asks the question, why does this process exist? For the majority of Marxists this question can be answered either from the theoretical position outlined at the beginning of this article, or by a much cruder and more opportunistic approach. The first position we usuaally find in theoretical journals, whilst the second appears almost exclusively in propaganda directed at the 'masses'.

This second approach talks of 'betrayals' by union leaders, of certain officials as being 'class traitors' and generally finished by calling for an 'alternative' or 'left' leadership. The cynicism of those who parrot such slogans becomes evident when one compares the the two positions. Either trade unions and their officials are inevitably incorporated into the state or they are not. If the process is inevtable, that is determined by social and economic forces, then it is nonsense to assert that trade union officials are 'class traitors' since this implies they have a choice as to whether they collaborate or not. Furthmore, it becomes pointless to call for the election of 'alternative' or 'left' leaders since they will also succumb automatically to the state's embrace. And, finally, if it is not inevitable, why claim that it is? I leave it to the reader to make his or her own conclusions. PART II NEXT ISSUE.

NOTES

(1) Gramisci, quoted in Richard Hyman-"Marxism and the Sociology of Trade Unionism."
(2) Trotsky-"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay", in "Marxism and the Trade Unions"
(3) S. & B. Webb- "History of Trade Unionism".
(4) & (5) D. Warburton- Trade Unions: a role in Society". National Westminster Bank Review, Feb. 1976

Continued from page 3.

imstitution on this planet is the Soviet secret police, the K.G.B.

All that the Report from the Beria Reserve does is to point out that the K.G.B. repeatedly break the law, and the lawyers help them:-

"In a conversation with the assistant prosecutor of the Dubravno camp administration I drew his attention to the fact that people seriously ill with stomach ulcers are kept on a starvation diet contrary to the law. "He calmly replied:'That is what the punishment is for- to hit the stomach." This is called "education through starvation."

Moroz told his wife that on 1/6/74 he would begin a hunger strike, since when there appears to have been no news. Officially he was charged in 1970 with anti Soviet agitation and propaganda for writing and disseminating the essays contained in this book. His trial was a violation of the Constitution of the USSR and the code of Criminal Procedre. He was sentenced to nine years of deprivation of freedom, the first six to be spent in prison. He was also sentenced to an additional five years of deportation to a fixed area (exile). This is a total of 14 years, which are followed in Soviet law by eight years of having the status of "former convict" which implies that, if the authorities so desire, Moroz can be prohibited from living in major cities; if the police so desire, administrative supervision can be applied to him for six months at a time until his status expires.

Such "adminstrative supervision" (in Moroz's case eight years) may include a prohibition on leaving his district of residence without informing the miltia, on visiting public places., e.g. restaurants, on leaving his home after a certain hour, and the of the militia to visit his home at time of day or night. Moroz has therefore been sentenced to deprivation of his civil rights for 22 years. J.P.

Our Aims and Principles

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

THE STATE: The State in all its forms, embodying authority and privilege, is the enemy of the workers and can not exist in a free, classless society. The S.W.F. does not therefore hope to use the state to achieve a free society, it does not seek to obtain seats in the Cabinet or in Parliament. It aims at the abolition of the state. It actively opposes all war and militarism.

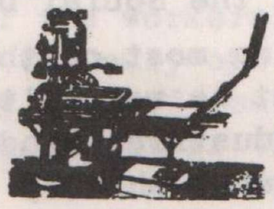
CLASS STRUGGLE: The interests of the working class and those of the ruling class are directly opposed. The S.W.F. is based on the inevitable day to day struggle of the workers against those who own and control the means of production and distribution, and will continue that struggle until common ownership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

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

ORGANISATION: To achieve a free classless society the workers must organise. They must replace the hundreds of craft and general trade unions by syndicalist industrial unions. As an immediate step to that end the S.W.F. aids the formation of workers' committees in all factories, mines, offices, ship yards, mills, and other places of work and their development into syndicates, federated nationally. Such syndicates will be under direct rank and file control, with all delegates subject to immediate recall.

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

DON'T FORGET THE PRESS FUND.



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HOME FRONT

CAN TENANTS TAKE OVER?

A new experimental plan where tenants will run their own estates is nearing reality in Manchester, where three purpose-built estates are planned. Under this co-operative scheme tenants would appoint the management committee to run the estate, maintain and repair. These co-operatives would own the estates and to be non-profit making.

These estates contain about 100 dwellings for which the Corporation would have nomination rights. The scheme would be financed by the local authority initially. Readers of 'Direct Action" will remember the review of the book "Tenants Take Over" by Colin Ward in issue No 8, that we made a parallel between the demand for workers' control, and of tenants' control of the estates. This demand in itself is not very radical, it could be conceded under capitalism without threatening the system! However, anything which extends our control over our own lives, and the environment, is a good thing. If you get used to the idea of running your own estate, why not take over and run industry? The confidence and experience we gain in one area, can be applied in other areas of working class self-activity.

At the moment we don't have full details of this new scheme, neither do we know how the scheme will work out in practice. But we do know what 'participation' means when used in the context of industry, and we must be wary of any 'workers' control' that is initiated from the top. However reforms can be useful to us, and can be used as stepping stones to real control. We shall see how far the Corporation retains control, already they have the power to choose tenants for the estates. We must stand four-square for full tenants control of the estates, and the living environment.

Direct Action

SUBSCRIBE TO 'DIRECT ACTION'
Paper of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation,
109 Oxford Rd, Manchester 1.
Britain £1 for 10 issues.
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FREEDOM Anarchist fortnightly
Published by Freedom Press
84b, Whitechapel High Street,
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BLACK FLAG Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross. 15p plus postage for a sample copy from 10 MELTHAM ROAD, LOCKWOOD, HUDDERSFIELD.

THE ANARCHIST SOCIETY- an ecological and practical economic perspective.
A conference to be held on 12th, 13th, and 14th March at the Students Union, Keele University, Staffs. Details etc. from the Anachist Society at the above address.

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE monthly paper of the Anarchist Workers Federation. Available from the A.W.A. 13, COLTMAN STREET, HULL(1op & postage).

Canadian adolescent wishes to correspond with British syndicalist. Write MARTIN DECK, 3069 ALEXANDER, WINDSOR, ONT., CANADA.

THE MOVEMENT

National Secretariat
Box 101,
c/o 84b, Whitechapel High Street, London E.1.

D.Pattison,
83 Thorncliffe Ave,
Dukinfield, Cheshire.

Manchester SWF.
c/o Grassroots
109 Oxford Rd,
Manchester 1
Tel, (evenings)
Westhoughton 812911

The Manchester SWF Group holds regular weekly meetings. If you are interested write to the Manchester Group.

We have members and contacts in other areas, besides the addresses given above

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INDUSTRIAL

A conference is being arranged in Manchester for the Libertarian Industrial Network. It will most probably be held on the weekend of the 10 & 11 April.
If you think that you will be attending send for details.(enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.)

Manchester S.W.F.,
109 Oxford Road,
MANCHESTER M1

Details will be sent in good time for the conference. Any documents for circulation should also be sent to the above address.

NETWORK

LIBERTARIAN INDUSTRIAL NETWORK.

The Direct Action Collective has recently received the latest bulletin of the Libertarian Industrial Network.

The Network seeks to provide a point of contact where libertarians whoare active in industry will be able to exchange info on their experiences , and the struggles that thev are involed in.

At the last meeting of the N.C of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation it was reccomended that members of the SWF should affilate themselves to the Network.

Also, we would strongly urge all Syndicalists and libertarians who are active in their own unions to support the Network.

Write to: M. Everett,
11,Gibson Gardens,
Saffron Walden,
ESSEX.

the industrial syndicalist

This book is the complete text of the 'Industrial Syndicalist' which was the monthly paper that Tom Mann edited from 1910 to 1911 Eleven issues in all. It is a very interesting addition to the limited amount of material available in English on the Syndicalist movement. Spokesman Books are to congratulated for making this reprint obtainable. The ordinary reader interested in the British Labour movement,could be excused if it were thought that syndicalism had been of no significance in British Labour history.

Geoff Brown's preface helps to explain the context in which the 'Industrial Syndicalist' appeared. Perhaps a little too much is seen in terms of the personality of Tom Mann,who of course was the editor and also the main propagandist for Syndicalism.

While Tom Mann was strongly influenced by the French C.G.T.and the I.W.W. in the States, he was a member of the Social Democratic Party during most of the period that he was editor of the 'Industrial Syndicalis'. However shortly after their conference he resigned.

The Industrial Syndicalist, with an Introduction by Geoff Brown. Documents in Social History: No 3, Published by Spokesman Books Price £ 1.75

He wrote in his letter to the secretary"After the most careful reflexion I am driven to the belief that the real reason why the Trade Unionist movement of this country is in such a deplorable state of inefficiency is to be found in the fictitious importance which the workers have been encouraged to attach to Parliamentary action. ....I am driven to the belief....that economic liberty will never be realised by such means. So I declare in favour of Direct Industrial Organisation, not as a means but the means whereby the workers can ultimately overthrow the capitalist system and become the actual controllers of their industrial and social destiny."

I don't think that the sentiment could be expressed better, even if Tom Mann did join the C.P. later.
I hope that the book will be widely read, as it throws a well needed shaft of light on an important period of British Labour History. The ideas of Syndicalism as valid today as they were then. But it is essential that they are expressed in a manner relevant to today's struggles. RM