TOWARDS ANARCHISM

by MALATESTA
anarcho-syndicalism in north america

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C.L.

The LWG can be contacted at LWG. PO Box 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10013 USA.

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

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

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

Needless to say, as everywhere else, our activities as anarchist workers are motivated by our principles, and we do not go into the unions to seize seized leadership for our selves or 'capture' them for anarchism. We recognise, again, that the trade unions cannot be transformed into revolutionary organisations, and in participating in them we seek for new forms of organisation and struggle that will help transform them.
Very few people could doubt
the ferocity of Capitals attac-
ck on the working class liv-
ing standards, we have 5 mill-
ion unemployed by the T.U.C.s
calculations and at least one
in seven out of work by the
governments own estimates. Cuts
in education, housing and heal-
th are going far to reduce the
working classes to the level of
the 1930s. Of course we are
living in a time of crisis for
Capital, in Europe alone there
are estimated 20 million out
of work, and the troubles in
Poland and Rumania as well as
the unrest in Russia can all
be laid at the door of the re-
cession. But in the U.K. we
have grounds for thinking that
what is happening here is not
just the result of the govern-
ment's incapacity, but is a
direct outcome of the govern-
ment's intention to teach the
working class a lesson.
Lack of Capital.
For instance we hear so much
of the lack of Capital (the
commodity), yet the truth is,
there is no real shortage of
Capital, the lack is man made.
Capital made here in the U.K.
is exported abroad for re-in-
vestment in the Common Market,
in the Third World, and surpris-
ingly in the U.S.A. Britain
is the worlds largest overseas
investor, and is the U.S.s
largest foreign investor. At
the same time the U.K. is only
third from the bottom of the
league of wage tables being
14th, with only Spain, Ireland
and Greece in that order below
us. Whatever the industrialists
say it is not wages that cause
the poor showing of British In-
dustry today, rather do the
facts lend themselves to the
planned flight of Capital.

UnGovernable.
One theory is that the British
Working Class is becoming un-
governable. The 1972/4 Heath
government fell as a result of
working class action. Pickets
and wildcat strikes, not the
ballot box brought down Heath,
direct action made the ballot
box and the election redundant.
Five years later it was the
mass action of the lower paid
workers who brought down the vicious
Government of Callaghan.

Labour Defence.
One theory stands out in all of
this, and that is the willing-
ness of the Labour Party to
play Capitals game. At no time
have the Labour Party/T.U.C.
coalition done anything posi-
tive to stem the tide of Tory
attacks, indeed observation
shows us that the result of 17
years of Labour Government
since the last war has been to
reduce working class living
standards even further. The
record of the last Labour Govern-
ment speaks for itself.

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

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

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

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

JOBS:- Under Labour unemploy-
ment hit two million, jobs dis-
appeared at the rate of a thou-
sand a day.

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

Living standards were lower
under Labour than under the
Tory Government.

When we realise that the T.U.C.
is Labours Paymaster, at local
as well as national level, we
begin to realise the defence-
lessness of the working class
under the Tory onslaught. In
the years of the Tory Gover-
ment under Thatcher the reluct-
ance of the T.U.C. to mount an
attack against unemployment,
rising prices or the run down
of the National Health service
has been marked. As the Guard-
ian commentator put it, "what
motivates the T.U.C. is not
opposition to the Tories, but
plume, the fact that the Govern-
ment is ignoring the T.U.C."

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

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

The first priority is simply
to get the idea discussed, we
can do that by bringing the sub-
ject up at every possible chance,
in the pub, at work during br-
 eaks, at our union branches.
The main thing is to get fixed
in peoples mind an alternative
to the usual farce of, "wait
until election time", or "vote
Labour at the next election".
(This latter advice is actually
on a car sticker brought out
by a North East Labour Party.)
It doesn't matter if people
do not agree it is enough that
it enters their consious think-
ing. If they reject it at first
the total inability of the Lab-
our/T.U.C. power group to fight
capital is our best friend. We
should plug the ideas of:-
1. A series of mass demonstr-
ations in every town and city.
2. Mass meetings in every work-
shop before further action.
3. Literature, Posters and
leaflets fully aimed at the
unemployed as well as employed
workers.
4. Call for preparation for
a Mass General Strike.
One of the reasons for the
failure of the T.U.C.s Day of
Action efforts has been their

Contd p9
Whenever the right-wing of the Labour Party wish to make a telling jibe at the Militant Trotskyites in their midst, they point the finger of scorn and say, 'Why don't you join with the other 57 varieties of 'revolutionary' Parties on the outside of the Labour Party and see how far you get?' The implication is that these organisations get derisory votes at General Elections and are, therefore, irrelevant to the political scene. How true is this observation? At present there are several Parties in this country wishing to lead the masses to their version of the promised land. Here we look at the three largest and see what they have to offer.

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

The last couple of decades has seen the emergence of Trotskyist groups as rivals to the C.P. in the Party stakes. Appealing to younger people as more 'revolutionary' than the C.P. and decrying Parliamentarianism as bourgeois reformism, except when they stand for 'propaganda' reasons, they grew to a moderate size in the late sixties and early seventies. Largest is the Socialist Workers Party, with 4,000 members, mainly white collar ex-students from the days of campus unrest. Believes Russia to be State Capitalist since Stalin nudged the beloved Trotsky out of being the top potato in the socialist fatherland in the 1920's. Was viewed by some as more libertarian than most Leninist outfits but has always maintained its adherence to 'democratic centralism' in its running. Its 'libertarian' label was probably attached due to its willingness to support movements such as gays and women's rights, so long as they see the need for the role of a leadership Party, rather than due to its internal policies. Although it calls itself a 'workers' party its governing body, the Central Committee, is mainly made up of ex-public schoolboys. Recently it has dropped its front organisations such as the Right to Work and seems to be in a bit of a quandary as to what to do next. It looks like the S.W.P. will have to face the problem of what to do when the vanguard of the working class is ignored by the workers they're hoping to lead.

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

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

The workers of this country, or any other for that matter, should not put their hopes for 'salvation' in the hands of various parties but rely on their own self-organisation. Whether reformist or revolutionary the parties have proved they have nothing to offer the working class except their own brand of coercion and control. The only true form of workers control will be achieved by the workers themselves. GH
In the summer of 1982 Micheal Hesaltine made one of his well publicised visits to Liverpool. This self styled Minister for 'comeupence, its always nice to erpool, etc. etc. occasion we are sure Hesaltine had kept from their front pages Fleet St and the BBC/ITV mob start the day with a story like Merseyside is no different than publicised visits to Liverpool. Hesaltine made one of his well out him with rotten eggs and putrid fruit. The next day the Fleet Street rags were full of the usual crap, "Vicious attack on Minister", "Ungrateful Citizens Pelt Saviour of Liverpool", etc. etc.

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

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

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

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

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

But then the Press is not what it would like us to think it is, when the editor of the Daily Star was asked by a BBC reporter for Radio 4s "Liverpool Week" why his paper had put the Hesaltine story on the front page and did not mention the Tommy Whites riots he said, and I do not lie, "because Micheal Hesaltines life was in danger", unfortunately the BBC man was trained and therefore did not collapse into convulsions of laughter, but true to form pressed on with the next question, again about the riots this time our man from the Daily Slur just said, "Don't be a bore, riots are not important".

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

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

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

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

C.L.
It is a general opinion that we, because we call ourselves revolutionaries, must come to power all at once; the immediate result of an insurrection will no longer be traces of violence and imposition. Anarchism is not the consequence of the conscience, determination and the capacity of people continuously developing and modifications of expression in the gradual modification of the new environment and in the realization of the desire to be formed and becoming imperious, so it is with Anarchism; Anarchism cannot be not little by little — slowly, but surely, growing in intensity and extension. Therefore, the subject is whether we accomplish Anarchism today, tomorrow, or within ten centuries, but that we walk towards Anarchism today, tomorrow and always.

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

The problem lies in knowing how to choose the road that really approaches the realization of the ideal and in not confusing the real progress with hypocritical reforms. For with the pretext of obtaining immediate ameliorations these false reforms tend to distract the masses from the struggle against authority and capitalism; they serve to paralyse the realization of the ideal and in not confusing the real progress with hypocritical reforms. For with the pretext of obtaining immediate ameliorations these false reforms tend to distract the masses from the struggle against authority and capitalism; they serve to paralyse the realization of the ideal and in not confusing the real progress with hypocritical reforms. For with the pretext of obtaining immediate ameliorations these false reforms tend to distract the masses from the struggle against authority and capitalism; they serve to paralyse the realization of the ideal and in not confusing the real progress with hypocritical reforms. 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anchors of production, place themselves in a position that will insure the proper functioning of their social life - without the aid or need of capitalists or governments.

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

ERRICO MALATESTA

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

PLASTIC PEOPLE OF THE UNIVERSE

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

TORY GAIN?!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have to get the struggle taken out of outside forces and returned to the rank and file who are doing the actual struggling. This means by-passing the Union Officials and building our own working class structures, after all there are the people in employment, those who are out of work and those who work at home. Some Directors at Tolley's have their own working class major customer Renolds, Milnrow, and the slackness in trade generally.

Reed's remark worked like a charm - anything more explosive would have been hard to imagine. A paid armchair agitator Reed, runs the Engineering Employers' Association - a local body of political string-pullers with a keen eye to their bank balances.

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

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

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

Look at his achievements.

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

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

Mock Innocence.

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

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

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

Look at him next time you get a chance.

Watch his eyes blinking and bewildered behind his glasses.

Ask yourself!

Would butter melt in his mouth?

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

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

THE TALE

OF TOLLEYS' TONGUE

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

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

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

Troublemaking is an indispensable part of the craft of management. So by getting a junior manager to tell a shop steward, "This lot (the Holcroft workers) haven't got the guts to strike", and having Clive Reed of the Employers' Association, inform the shop stewards committee that "you've had your rise, your back on full time", he moved the shopfloor faster than a dose of senna pods.

The Political Pox.

In the same way that syphilis is a pox of the penis, so politics is a pox of the tongue. John Tolley has got a bad dose.

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

If he's not careful he'll ruin his health. He can rarely address his workers now without coughing and spluttering to clear his throat of blood.

Meetings with the stewards he seldom speaks and restricts himself to nods and gestures, and nervous twitches such as one sees more commonly among tic-tacs at race meetings.

Stagemanaged Strike.

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

Looking after his own, and the good of the company and combine.
Pay

As the economy slides ever further into decline its nice to know not every one is having a rough time of it. In the so-called public sector most people have heard of the head of B.R., Sir Peter Parker, and his £60,000 pay packet. But he isn’t the highest paid, that honour goes to Philip Shelborne head of the British Oil Corporation at £62,000 a year, with fellow board members averaging £42,000 a year. Not bad for an enterprise that only employs 2,000 people nationally. Of course, in the world of business and high finance there are such things as ‘part-time’ directorships, highest paid of which in the public sector goes to Nigel Foulkes of the Civil Aviation Authority with an annual kick-back of £29,105. Also on the part-time scene is the head of the National Bus Company, Lord Shepperd a Labour peer, who manages to scrape by on £21,828 a year. If you fancy a job in the public/private divide. Sir John King of Babcock International, director, received £78,000 in dividends but also received £23,800 as part-time chairman of British Airways. Remember all these sums, and they’re really the tip of the iceberg, the next time some fat arsed bastard is telling you to live within your means, tighten your belt, ad nauseum.

IZTOK in POLAND

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

Prior to the coup there was an anarchist group in Warsaw and another in Wroctaw and several small groups of individuals scattered round the country. Maximoff’s pamphlet, My Social Credo was published in the university of Warsaw and Nowa Gazeta Mazowiecka, (an anti-authoritarian marxist paper published at the university) has carried several anarchist texts since Dec 13 the Warsaw group has been jailed and there has been no further contact with the Wroctaw group or the people in the provinces, although many are still at large. Just after the coup a group in Warsaw (anarchistic rather than anarchist) brought out several leaflets. All activity has been at a standstill for several months now, but due to shortage of material rather than to repression.

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

Marx and More Marx

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

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

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

Though the pamphlet is a bit dated i.e., lots of references to the Anti-Nazi League and punch-ups with the NF, it is worth reading even if only for pieces like the LPYS song: “We joined the british pabloites To set the workers free But that rascal Pablo sold us out To the Arab bourgeoisie.”

With lines like that how could the workers not drop their tools and follow?

‘Go Fourth and Multiply’ by Prunella Kaur. 30p from Dialogue of the Deaf, Box 99 Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6
ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

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

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

The future begins today.

We must seize it or lose it.

THE UNKINDEST CUT!

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

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

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

REPLY

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

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

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

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

Arbeiter Stalag Escape Committee

SUBSCRIBE

UK & Ireland .. £2.00
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I wish to subscribe to DIRECT ACTION
NAME 
ADDRESS
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I enclose _____ subscription
Send to: DAM 164/166 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Manchester M4 2BN.

HEATHFIELDS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLACK STAR
8 Thomas St
Ryhope
Sunderland.

COMON CAUSE
25 Liverton Crescent,
Thornaby,
Cleveland.

SOUTH LONDON STRESS
121 Railton Rd,
Brixton,
London.

OUTTA CONTROL
7 Wine tavern St,
Belfast.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT:
1) The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.
2) Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.
3) We are fighting to abolish the state, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need not profit.
4) In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over 'on behalf of' the workers.
5) We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is for independent organisation in the workplace and community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracy. All such workers' organisations must be controlled by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all delegates and representatives of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.
6) We are opposed to all States and State institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those States, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.
7) We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and environment.

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

NAME
ADDRESS

POSTCODE

OCCUPATION

TRADE UNION

Cut out and send to DAM:-
164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings
Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN

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

QUOTE OF THE MONTH
IN A TIME OF UNIVERSAL DECEIT,
TELLING THE TRUTH IS A REVOLUTIONARY ACT.
George Orwell.

LOCAL CONTACTS