struggle. Spread the message yourselves, in factories, pubs, in the streets. Also use the left press and papers to get the message across.

Direct Action/Solidarity

In many places, the most common form of direct action in strikes is picketing. However it's not the only action and not even the most effective. For example strikers are often shocked at the violence of the cops. However if other workers show support by cutting off the power, stopping supplies, cutting off the post and phones etc. how long would the strike, and attacks, go on? That is the key to ultimate success. Spread the strike as much as possible. Each attack on one group of workers is an attack on us all. The bosses are never acting alone, they have the full support of the capitalist press and the capitalist class who are learning from the experience.

To stop scabs it is useful to wreck (or remove) vital machinery or information to make continued work impossible. Scabs can also be followed home and have their homes picketed, or worse.

Whilst the laws on picketing are fairly strict we all know they must, and will be broken. Mass pickets will provoke police attacks so we must learn how to look after ourselves, how to defend ourselves, anti-snatch squads will be needed to stop arrests. Also it's a good idea to picket not only the workplace but suppliers, the bosses home etc.

However only by spreading and generalising the strike into a widespread social struggle would we have a better chance to succeed.

Direct action while on strike is useful, and is good for morale. Sabotage and occupations are especially useful.

The Last Bit

Does the struggle end with the end of the strike and a return to work? Definitely NOT! Maybe we have merely repeated the obvious in this text, but we feel that too often not enough attention is focussed on the basics. Not everyone who reads this text is an anarchist (we hope), but the experience and ideas expressed here are of use to all working class militants. But we as anarchists are struggling for more than just better pay and conditions (though that as well). Our ultimate aim is the destruction of class society and the wages system, we are working for a free society based on production for need not profit. To achieve this free communist society we believe that the working class must take over society and the means of production. The social general strike is the weapon with which the working class will start the social revolution. Until that time we feel we must encourage our co-workers to take independent class action to gain confidence in their power and with experience and knowledge, begin the social revolution.

We are not politicians, neither Marxists nor Liberals; we do not wish to take over on behalf of the workers. We simply believe that the liberation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves.



What is Anarchism?

Anarchists believe in a society organised without authority, meaning by authority the power to impose one's own will. We believe that authority not only is not necessary for social organisation but, far from benefiting it, lives on it parasitically, hampers its development, and uses its advantages for the special benefit of a particular class which exploits and oppresses the others. We also believe that so long as the State (government, police, courts, prison system etc.) exists, exploitation, wage-slavery, war and oppression will continue. Anarchists believe that the workers should take control of society and re-organise it on the basis of the workers organisations.

We believe that the social general strike is the way in which the working class will overthrow the State and begin to create an anarchist system of self-management, equality, peace and freedom.

Anarchists are involved in all sections of the social struggle, in the unions, anti-war, unemployed groups, squat-ting, the women's movement etc.

If you wish to know more about Anarchism, or have any comments or criticisms of this leaflet please get in touch.

Local Contact:

Strike Action ★ Strike Action ★ Strike Action ★ Strike Action

NOW IT'S YOUR TURN!



This is not a manifesto; it is not a recruiting leaflet.

It is a contribution by anarchists to the spread of ideas in our class.

We hope it is useful to you. Communication is two way. Now it's your turn.

This text is intended to set out basic tactics and ways of organising; it is concerned to provoke discussion and communication between anarchists and militants in and out of the unions. At a time when the working class is in constant retreat it is vital that we swap information and experiences, to learn from each other, so that we can fight back better and harder. The level of political culture among workers is generally abysmal; lied to by the press and TV, pushed about by union bureaucrats, now more than ever it is time for each conscientious worker to prepare to hit back. With the spread of such ideas, the spread of years of experience, we must learn how to organise, how to hit back.

Why Strike?

At first glance this seems a pretty stupid question. However it's very important to know why you are striking, what are the aims, the reasons, the root causes? Very often the reasons for striking seem fairly petty, the so-called tea-break strikes are an example. On taking a closer look the petty reason can turn out to be a very good reason. A period of harassment by management, or a process of cutting away at conditions, can explode into a strike. The straw that broke the camel's back can be something fairly small, so it's important to bring out the under-lying reasons, draw out the roots

of the action.

Sometimes the strike isn't an ideal weapon, it's costly, and if used indiscriminately it can lead to loss of faith or confidence. So it's worth taking a look at alternative forms of direct action. Work to rules, go slows, sit-ins, sabotage, all have their place in day-to-day struggle. Most are less costly, both financially and in energy. Each situation has its own solution, but it's good for people to expand their experience of fighting back, there is more to class struggle than the out and out strike. The Zabalaza Books pamphlet A Rebel Worker's Organising Handbook, available for download from the Zabalaza Books website, goes into greater detail

about other forms of direct action and is highly recommended.

When to strike. For a strike to be successful, certain conditions must be fulfilled. Firstly it must be an issue that the workers are united on and fully understand. This is a fairly obvious statement, but often the unions push people to go on strike for purely party political reasons where workers really aren't united or care about the reasons. This doesn't mean that strikes should be limited to wages only, but for a strike to succeed it must be something which is of concern to the workers.

Secondly the strike should be decided directly by the

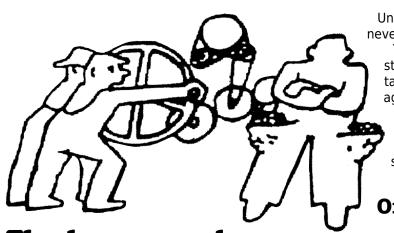
workers. That doesn't mean waiting till every single worker agrees, that's impossible. Action should be agreed by a majority at mass meetings, not on ballots, which can be manipulated, or by orders from the bureaucrats at central office. And lastly a strike must directly involve those taking part. Walking out and going home has never succeeded. Passive strikes should be avoided as much as possible.



Wage slavery or starvation? -

The One-Day Strike

The token one-day strike is the beloved tactic of the reformist bureaucrat and politician. It achieves nothing but a day's loss of pay. From experi-



The bosses need us...

ence, one-day strikes are usually put forward by lazy shop stewards as a way of heading off later trouble. It's a way to let off steam without causing any major damage.

Again the one-day strike is often linked to party political moves. Here the workers are used as fodder for politicians using labour to score points off the opposition. They do nothing for us except lose us a day's wages.

If we wish to make symbolic protests, express solidarity etc. other tactics are available. For example a one-day sitin could be effective. Or we could all take a day off sick or a one-day work to rule to mess up the workplace. The possibilities are endless.

Should we be forced to go on one-day strike, by the majority vote of our co-workers, then we should use the day constructively. It's a chance to communicate directly with co-workers and revolutionaries. Make contact with other workers. Set up alternative platforms against bureaucrats and politicians. Expose who is profiting by the token walkout, i.e. union bosses, politicians or even the bosses themselves.

Official/Unofficial

Does it really matter whether a strike is official or unofficial? It really does not matter to us that a strike is unofficial. We do not need 'official' permission to take action to win our demands.

In fact when a union boss tells us to go back to work they're doing us a favour... they are showing us the true nature of union bureaucracy. The state needs the bureaucrats to keep us under control. By going on 'unofficial' or 'wildcat' strike we are affirming our rights to make our own decisions, we regain our own autonomy. In cases where the union bosses go against us we must fight the bureaucrats as much and as hard as the bosses.

In all cases union bureaucrats, full-timers and lazy (or corrupt) convenors or shop stewards have no place in running our disputes. It is up to the workers ourselves (and not a conscious minority either) to make all the decisions as to how a dispute is run.

Union-employer agreements are not commandments never to be broken.

The struggle between workers and bosses never stops; it's going on all the time, agreements try to contain the struggle, try to gain advantage over us. If agreements need to be broken then they must be bro-

ken. Agreements, pacts etc. should not get in our way. In a strike we must know what we want and how to get it. The bosses are only ethical when it suits them, the working class must be the same.

Organisation

We workers need organisation all the time. If the boss doesn't attack today he'll get us tomorrow. In strike after strike, struggle after struggle, we find the workers unprepared, disorganised, engaged in sectional squabbles. Yet the bosses are always well organised, united, efficient and confident. No wonder the working class is in retreat. The bosses learn from each other, we never do.

In most workplaces, there are usually a number of unions, (but always one management). Workers have different stewards, different structures, different levels of experience, this always breeds distrust and sectional squabbles. The first, most important, step is for the creation of Workers' Councils which contain delegates from all the unions, from all sections of the workplace. These committees must unite every group of workers, whether they are blue collar or white, no matter what union etc. They must meet regularly, get to know each other, swap information, pool their experiences. There will be a tendency to get bogged down by personalities etc. All delegates to the Workers' Councils must be elected at general assemblies by the workers involved, they must report back and, this is vital, be subject to instant recall and replacement should they not do what the workers want them to do.

With a sufficient and healthy organisation, made up only of workers and not full-time officials, communication and confidence can be at a peak. With permanent Workers' Councils such as these, the workers should be able to face up to the bosses at all times. In the event of strikes the Workers' Councils can either become the strike committee or be a pool of shared experience to help in the direct election of a strike committee.

In many places joint Shop Stewards Committees are similar to the Workers' Councils we have in mind. But the direct election and instant recall we believe are vital are not always carried out. Many shop stewards can become lazy, a brake on our autonomy, they must be opposed. From experience, many Joint Shop Stewards Committees are just talking shops with no input from the work force. This is a direct consequence of apathy and self-seeking stewards. Apathy is often a response to a total lack of communication and information from the union. It is the task of militants to try and dispel the apathy, a bit of humour doesn't go amiss. It's a fact that at the present union activity is often boring and divorced from day to day shop-floor reality when it shouldn't be so.

The strike committee in most cases at present is usually the shop stewards committee. If Workers' Councils were active and well organised that wouldn't be so bad. Another tradition is the election of a strike committee at a mass meeting of all workers. Both ways are useful, but a strike committee is only as good as the individuals and groups it represents. Full-timers and head office should not be allowed to run the strike. All decisions must have the support and understanding of the strikers. In negotiating with the bosses, as many delegates as possible should take part to avoid sellouts and back door agreements. Negotiating with only one or two delegates and the rest made up of bureaucrats and bosses should be avoided as much as possible.

It's stupid to make strict rules and regulations about how things should be done. Each workplace is different, each strike different.

These notes are only intended to provoke ideas and discussions on tactics and organisation.

Cash

If a strike is to last for a certain amount of time then finance should be sorted out as quickly as possible. Unions often set up fighting funds but these seldom last very long. In 'official' disputes strike pay can usually be arranged, but it's not very much. In many places, strike pay from head office is not available for 'unofficial' disputes. A section of the strike committee (or Workers' Council if one exists) should be given the responsibility of raising funds.

Workplace collections are the usual source of money. Appeals should also be made to all unions, at all levels. Letters are one way, but actual visits by strikers are usually better. As well as collections at branch meetings, it is possible to raise cash at work places in the morning or clocking off time.

Benefit concerts and discos are another source of funds, but unions often steer clear of this area. Concerts aren't difficult to organise and can yield results not only financially but by making new contacts with people outside the unions.

It's important to spread support and knowledge of the strike outside the confines of union' struggle. Each strike is a battle that involves the whole community. Social clubs, tenants associations, youth clubs etc. should be informed of the strike and asked for support, financial as well as physical. No avenue should be avoided when it comes to collecting funds.

Needless to say every bit of money should be accounted for. Any distribution of the fund should be made in a way agreed at the mass meeting. This will often cause problems but it must be done and be seen to be done.

Propaganda

Information is important at all times, in times of strikes even more so. The mass media will lie and distort everything, the strikers will never receive a fair reporting from the media. They will be accused of everything, from holding the country to ransom, even to being anarchist scum.

Where Workers' Councils are in existence, regular bulletins and newspapers should already be in existence. Often each union publishes its own bulletin (if at all seen by the members). Where there are a number of different bulletins in a single workplace these should be amalgamated to represent the entire workplace. Where no bulletins exist one should be started. A workplace bulletin, with regular mass meetings should keep everyone informed of what's going on.

For the general public, leaflets and papers should be prepared and distributed as widely as possible. Regular press releases should go to the media and to political groups and revolutionaries. Other leaflets should go to trade unionists, local residents, etc. You will always have to fight the smears and lies.

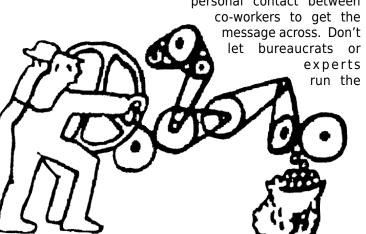
Delegates elected could attend branch meetings of other local workplaces or the branches of the unions involved. Local street and public meetings could also be used to get support or contributions.

Where immigrant groups are involved, use of minority languages must be made. Racism must not divide us. Explain what's going on to the communities involved; use their press. Too often minority workers are poorly represented. It's up to us to change all that.

International solidarity might also help, especially if a company is multi-national or has overseas links.

Anarchist groups are also normally willing to help, either on picket lines or with distribution (or production) of propaganda. Political parties may offer support, but beware of those that try to take control. At all times the rank and file worker must remain in control.

And finally let it be stressed that there is nothing like personal contact between



...we don't need them

Strike Action 2 Strike Action 3