

This bulletin is, in its temporary form, for a group of comrades sharing similar positions and in close contact with one another, a means of exchanging news on struggles, discussions and criticisms and of publications based essentially on the New Movement, i.e. on all the struggles of all kinds carried out by those directly concerned for their own emancipation. It is, therefore, important that each recipient make his own contribution to this end, in exchange for what he expects from others. He will, of course, determine the nature, the importance and the regularity of such contributions himself.

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## CHRONOLOGY OF CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE U.S.S.R.

*In a country where the production is based on wage labour, workers' resistance is an ordinary phenomenon. In Russia this wasn't a secret in the twenties. But since the beginning of the thirties, silence reigns on this subject. Does this mean that the resistance disappeared? On the contrary. But information about this is rare. The following chronology is a list of events, put together by German comrades. Their address is: SUBREALITER, c/o Edition Nautilus, Hassestrasse 22, 2050 Hamburg, BRD. Everybody is invited to write what can be known about these events with a view to a more detailed study on this subject.*

1948: mutinies of imprisoned soldiers in the camp of Vorkouta. They seize the arms and take over the power in the camp. In other camps similar attempts take place.

1951: Strike of forced labour camp workers in Ekibastus near Kazakstan.

1952: Uprising of prisoners in the camps of Noulsk (North Siberia), Pestschanij, Wotchruszewo, Oterlag and Gorlag in South Siberia and in Kazakstan in the North Ural.

1-8-1953: Revolt of coal miners in the camp of Vorkouta, 64 killed.

16-5-1954: Camp guards of the camp Kingir near Doscheskasgan in the province of Kazakstan kill 31 prisoners who try to escape. After that 11.000 prisoners go on strike. They defend themselves with knives and axes. The revolt is suppressed with tanks. There are 700 dead of whom about 500 women.

beginning of 1959: strike at the factories Thälmann in Voronej.

1960: young workers, members of the Komsomol, who work in a leather foundry in Temistan near Karaganda in the province of Kazakstan protest against their bad working conditions and the bad supply of goods. They also protest against the fact, that Bulgarian auxiliaries enjoy privileges. They destroy the installations and occupy the city. They attack the barracks but encounter no resistance at all from the soldiers who hand over their weapons. The uprising is suppressed by the special troops of the KGB.

April 1961: the dockers of Odessa refuse to load butter on ships with destination Cuba, because there is no butter for sale in their own town.

summer 1961: The inhabitants of Kemerowo in South Siberia demonstrate against the high prices for food products.

june 1962: general strike at Krasnodar (oil industry) in the North Caucasus. A youngster is killed by the militia.

1-6-1962: the government raises the price of meat and dairy products. At the same <sup>time</sup> a revision of tariffs is carried through that leads to salary cuts. In the factory Boudienny in Novotcherkask near Rostov, there is a general strike. The workers force a train to stop and they discuss their case with the passengers. The militia intervenes but is put to rout. People write graffiti on the trains, saying "Death to Crutschev". Troops with tanks occupy parts of the factory grounds while 5,000 workers continue their occupation of the factory during the night. On June 2, the workers demonstrate in the city, completely covered with light metal plates. The office of the local Soviet is protected by non-russian troops of the KGB. They begin to shoot in the crowd without any warning. The local soldiers refuse to shoot and will be shot or send to the camps. Members of their families are exiled. In the city, the people try to liberate those that have been jailed: they launch an attack against the barracks of the militia to get arms. The city is occupied by tanks. On June 3, the administration makes known, that the whole population of the city will be deported if people don't start to work again. The town is under martial law for two weeks. During fights two people are killed.

1963: strikes in Riazan, Omsk in the Ural and in Leningrad.

October 1965: strike in a chemical complex in Leningrad and in a factory for ball bearings, named GPS 1, in Moscow against the reduction of productivity bonuses. The new tariffs are cancelled.

May 1964: strike of 300 taxi drivers in Leningrad against working conditions that become worse and worse. They block up an important crossroads in the town.

Mid-1967: strike in the factory for ball bearings GPS 2 in Moscow against a reduction of salary, which will also be cancelled.

1967: strike in the Donetsk basin. In november a strike in a tractor factory in Karkov.

1968: strike in many factories in Sverdlosk against reductions of salary which attain 40% after the introduction of a five days working week. The salaries are raised on their old level. (2)

winter 1969: two bus stations in Kichinev (Moldavia) strike for two days. The snow prevents the drivers from driving and they have to pay for the extra petrol used. Half of the drivers do receive no salary at all, the other half lack money. The drivers win, but after one year everybody is fired.

May 1969: demonstration of workers of hydro-electric plant in Kiev. Demonstrations at Tachkent where street battles occur.

October 1971: strike of miners in Donetsk basin against the shortage of meat and for better working conditions.

18-19 May 1972: uprising in Kaunas (Lithuania) after the funeral of a worker who sacrificed himself by burning himself to death, crying "Long live a free Lithuania". Street battles go on for 48 hours, barricades, one police-man gets killed. The town is occupied by paratroopers.

June 1972: demonstrations in Dnepropetrovsk; shops are looted and destroyed. There are ten dead of whom two police-men.

February 1973: strike in a big factory in Vitebsk.

1-5-1973: Uprising in Tiflis (Georgia)

March 1974: conflict in Tallinn (Esthonia)

12 May - 16 June 1974: hunger strike in the labour camp in Perm.

1974-1976: the underground movement for the liberation of Georgia organises bomb attacks against government buildings, party headquarters, arms factories, industrial installations, army and airfield depots.

8-11-1975: mutiny on board the destroyer Storchevoï in the Baltic Sea. The marines try to get to Sweden, but the boat sinks after an attack by helicopters and submarines.

24-2-1976: at the dawn of the 25th congress of the party, pupils of a Leningrad school distribute handwritten pamphlets in big warehouses in which they call for revolution.

January 1977: a wave of strikes in numerous Latvian towns and also in factories in Kaunas against the low salaries, the food rationing and the rationalisation measures.

1976-1977: boycott by dockers in Leningrad, Riga, Tallinn, Klajpeda (Memel), Vyborg, against the imports of luxurious articles from western countries that are meant for expensive hotels and the officials of the party and the government.

1977: in two big factories in Toula, people refuse for some weeks already to receive their salaries: why should they get money if they cannot buy anything with it?

10-10-1977: mass demonstration in Vilna after a football match between Russians and Lithuanians. The stadion is set on fire, policemen are attacked, arrested demonstrators liberated. The authorities use martial law.

15-12-1977: strike in a rubber company, Inkaras in Kaunas. The workers succeed in cancelling wage reductions.

September 1978: uprising in Douchanbé (Tadjikistan), 13,000 demonstrators. Tanks smash the revolt.

Beginning of October 1978: strike in Abkhasia, a republic in Georgia, in the capital Souchoumi en also in many mines in the region.

6-5-1980: strike of the busdrivers of Togliattigrad, so complete that the 170.000 workers of the Lada factory cannot go to work.

8-9 May 1980: the 200,000 workers of the Gorki factories strike against the meat and milk shortage. 2,000 handwritten pamphlets are spread.

1-10-1980: 1,000 workers of the factory for the production and reparation of agricultural machines in Tartu (Esthonia) strike for two days to obtain that their productivity bonuses are paid. They also protest against the fixation of production quotas by the plan. The management gives in.

NEW BROCHURE FROM ECHANGES: Face aux ouvriers polonais, by Henri Simon (in French)

*This brochure on Poland (covering the period from July 1980 till July 1981) is not included in the subscription price of Echanges. It will be sent to you after payment of 4 French francs (or equivalent). Studying the struggle of the Polish workers, the text tries to analyze the class movement in the eastern branch of capitalism and the answers the capitalists put forward to prevent the development of class struggle. Like other brochures, this text is a contribution to the discussion about capitalism in the East, a discussion in which everybody is invited to take part. Other texts will be published, first of all a brochure reporting on the discussions during the Echanges-meeting in Osnabrück this year.*

*The list of received publications will be published next time.*

ON THE EASTERN BRANCH OF CAPITALISM,  
by Theo Sander (letter from 17.3.1981)

"...The problem of the disappearance of the State fascinates me more and more. In fact, it is the question about what really is the difference between the western and eastern branch of capitalism. If one looks at the answers given by Lutte de Classe (January and February '76, January and February '77) this would be

- o one single social capital
- o a State ("a direct product of the social capital") which fixes production goals for the companies that have to be fulfilled
- o a central planning which guarantees the immediate organisation of the production and the functioning of the total economy
- o plans which apply the law of value
- o the absence of a market ("the means of production are part of a direct allocation as it would be in one single company")
- o the absence of objective constraints for all companies to conform to the level of the most efficient industries
- o a different function of prices and profit rates
- o the dilution of the capitalist responsibility by the fact that the capitalists are bureaucrats who are not personally part of a capitalist faction which would engage them as capitalists ("in the absence of autonomous capitals, the problem of realising the production on a market does not exist, the competition does not intervene and the various factions of the social capital are not pushed sufficiently in the direction of rationalisation")
- o the absence of periodical crises, of sudden falls in the production and of accumulation freezes
- o the impossibility of introducing a production system comparable to the one that is today characteristic for advanced capitalism
- o lacking possibilities to begin with a real domination which would be able solely to intensify the labour sufficiently
- o the absence of an immediate relation between enlarged production and revenues
- o the non-existence inside companies of an autonomous tendency of confronting the workers because of deformations that would occur due to the law of value
- o a tight control of salaries by the planners
- o the power to go against any tendency of decreasing profits by administrative means
- o the continuous development of capital which as a consequence weakens the controlling instances which the eastern branch of capitalism has to have the workers intensi-

- fy their labour
- o the practice of raising salaries everywhere as these increases are not the result of local struggles
- o a lesser capability of the capital to dominate the work force because of the absence of autonomous capitals and of an organisation that permit to negociate directly about productivity increases and rises in salary
- o and, as a consequence a compensation for this in the form of a social pressure of precapitalist character
- o the incapacity to impose even the freedom to sell one's labour.

I cannot but agree with only one point of all this: the existence of a social capital. For me the rest is science fiction. I studied capitalism in the German Federal Republic and so I am very well in the position to defend this view. To say it briefly: the GFR and all the other countries of the eastern branch of capitalism are subjected to the same laws of development as the western branch. There is a difference, in the structure of the system, not in the way it functions, and this is the absence of the State.

What does this mean? Well

- o that the particular functions of the State (in the field of education, health, social welfare etc. and as a political system with separated functions of the legislature, judiciary and executive, as well as in the field of spreading the dominant ideology by radio and television) are transformed and become direct functions of capital;
- o that political parties and unions lose their traditional mediating function and become direct instruments of capitalist policy ;
- o that the expenses for investments and salaries in the sectors of education, health, judiciary etc. become advances of capital which make an adequate valorization necessary;
- o that the budget becomes a central fund no longer filled by individual taxes but by impositions on the profits of factions of the social capital
- o that workers' struggles in the health, education and other institutes become struggles against the capitalist class (direct
- o that the ideology of the State, i.e. of social harmony, the well-being of the people, general consensus etc. is dissolved completely.

Many approaches are possible to explain such a point of view.

First approach: the origins of the state are the same ones as of private property. Primitive societies hadn't a state because they only knew collective property. That is why one could figure that the State in the GFR



disappeared as private property was abolished.

Second approach: if one speaks about nationalisation, the same language is used as is spoken by politicians in the western or capitalists in the eastern branch of capitalism. It shows that they see this process as a way in which capital takes over functions of the state. Of course these politicians and capitalists will suggest that the reverse is the case. Even if one talks about state capitalism, the same thing is true. The reality is different: these politicians (mostly social-democrat) and capitalists are forced to help come true a historical tendency of which they don't know the mechanisms. If one wants a proof for this, one has only to look at the differences between what had been planned and what has been really achieved in production, salaries etc.

Third approach: the State in its pure form can be characterised as an ideal collective capitalism. Why? Because it is not really capitalist, but it behaves in a way to guarantee the further existence and stability of the capitalist system on a national level. After the "nationalisation" of individual capitals the State becomes a real capitaliste among other capitals and as a real capitalist it also behaves like a real one. It has become then the real collective capitalist whose highest interest does not exist in mediation but in confrontation. In such a situation, it is unthinkable to maintain the division of work between individual capitals and the State, between capitalists and politicians. Nobody can be politician and nothing else.

Fourth approach: What happens to the budget in the process of "nationalisation"? In the initial phase of nationalisation the contribution of profits in financing the budget is very low. But as the "nationalisation" progresses, one can observe that the budget loses its instrumental function of repartition of revenues and it begins to assume more and more the function of centralisation and control of the profits of all factions of the social capital. To say the truth, the taxes on salaries still exist in the GFR like in all other countries of the eastern branch) (there are also indirect taxes), but in the GFR like in the USSR the taxes on salaries represent no more than 7% of the total budget - which isn't a budget any longer, but a way to post the net profits of the social capital, of the collective capital. ..."

(on this spot could have been interesting news from YOU!)

(sorry this time for the not so eloquent english. our expert was not available. next time it will be better)