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Echanges - Osnabrück meeting

This meeting happened as foreseen. Some indications will be given in the next bulletin and a detailed report will be sent to the subscribers during the year. Another meeting is foreseen next year, probably in Belgium.

Belgian workers against austerity

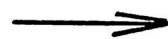
At the beginning of 1981 the Martens government in Belgium was replaced by a new one under prime-minister Eyskens who, like Martens, belonged to the Christian Democrat Party (CD). The fall of Martens was caused by conflicts inside the ruling class. Martens wanted to reduce purchasing power by 5% and even more. He hoped to do this by stopping wage rises based on the price index of food and by devaluing the belgian franc. But the christian union movement didn't want to support him and so Martens was isolated in his party, Martens' government was a coalition of the CD and social democrats (as the belgian king preferred such a coalition).

The social-democrats didn't oppose Martens' idea of stopping the wage rises but they dismissed the brutal ways that Martens suggested. They wanted to realize it gradually, because brutal measures would rob them of the vote of the workers. They presented their opposition against Martens as a defence of the interests of the workers and the poorest sections of the people.

But there are times when even social-democrats are forced to show their real character and objectives. For example Claes, finance minister under Eyskens, had to talk about wage cuts for workers in state-owned enterprises. Workers at the steelworks Cokerill-Sambre should accept a 15% cut, according to Claes. His government also refused by the end of 1981 to pay the usual annual bonus for the Cokerill dock workers at Hoboken near Antwerp. The Eyskens government also let the management of the state-owned Sidmar at Zelzate propose a wage rise of 10%.

To get there, the government asked for support from the unions and their local reps. It failed because the workers opposed it vehemently. Because the belgian bourgeoisie insisted on the wage cuts, the weakness of Martens became acute. The political crisis came about at the moment that the christian-democrats in the government refused to provide the investment funds that Cokerill-Sambre needed absolutely. The funds weren't refused directly. The decision about them was simply delayed again and again, a policy supported by the VIPs of the European Community and the belgian banks. The responsible man for steel policy in the EC is Mr. Etienne Davignon, himself a nobleman with family ties to steel baron Boël, to the Arbed works in Luxemburg and consequently with the Soci t  G n rale Belge, the financial number one power in Belgium. For months Davignon kept the papers on the rescue of the belgian steel industry in his drawer. These papers came to light again at the time the new government got in the saddle.

Then the banks still refused to set the credits free which were absolutely necessary "to save the iron and steel industry of Belgium", despite the fact that they were making huge profits because of very high interest loans provided earlier to the industry. While the banks demanded more and more, the state, although owner of Cokerill-Sambre, let the situation worsen having no solution at hand. For the workers who earned their living at Cokerill, this meant continuing uncertainty. A spontaneous revolt was the result, which couldn't be controlled completely by the union leaders (like Mr. Gillon, leader of the metallurgical union in the city of Li ge). The government leaders from the Socialist Party were afraid to loose their influence among the Walloon (=southern,



french-speaking) workers and felt obliged to something.

The result of all this were conflicts inside the Eyskens government and finally its fall, six months after Eyskens had been welcomed by the employers' press as a social economic magician. The social-democrats got in the opposition. The liberals went over to the extreme right wing of the government. The crisis had visible effects on the Christian Democrat Party, which is based on the principle of cooperation between all social classes. The party is the refuge of workers, employers, middle-class people and farmers. It became impossible for these groups to keep sharing the same view on Gods Belgium. E.g. Mr.Tindemans, the farmers' rep, attacked Martens (the he man of the christian unions) and vice versa. The party's crisis became worse because both the Flamish and the Walloon CD party organisations got rid of their intellectual base. There were for example many boring catholic intellectuals who were angry about the party's attitude in matters like nuclear energy, environment, Salvador.

It became probable that the CD would split after the elections as the party lost 12% of its voters. The social democrats became almost as strong as the CD. The lower CD ranks argued openly about leaving the government and going into opposition. For a long time the CD wrecked all attempts to form a government. In the end a liberal-CD government was installed that stood before the task of realizing the measures demanded by the bourgeoisie. Given its weak parliamentary base and the difficulties inside the CD, the cabinet asked for blank powers of attorney for a period of one year.

This government is certainly the most reactionary Belgium has known since World War II. Before it was formed, it concealed its intentions. Once installed with parliament excluded from the decision-making, the cabinet was congratulated by the extreme right-wing Mr. Wijnen and the racist Nobs. The minister of social affairs declared to fight abuse of social security among the workers and unemployed, but left untouched the enormous tax and social security frauds by the rich (\$ 3 billion and \$ 500 million respectively...).

The government didn't aim directly at rebuilding the economy, but at a frontal attack on the working class and vulnerable groups like the aged and handicapped. Such a policy is building up tensions in the southern, walloon part of Belgium, the old industrial heart of the nation, which has been hit hardest by the crisis. The necessary investments to restructure the walloon region aren't given or only given drop-by-drop. The unions feel obliged to do something. Perhaps a union leader like Mr.Gillon is so clever to remember that, 20 years ago, his predecessor André Renard (renard = fox! hum) launched strikes and campaigns that eventually brought a social-democratic government into being that did exactly the things the strikers had fought against.

The social-democrat union FGTB doesn't oppose wage cuts seriously. Its leader G. de Beunne may rail at them, but only because the government governs without giving the unions a say. The unions want control of the use of state subsidies and of the profits made as a result of the wage cuts, which are not criticised at all. The social-democrat party and union try to keep the workers busy with innocent actions. They have organised a 24-hour strike against the blank powers of the government and a march for walloon steelworkers in Brussels. That march got completely out of hand. The furious workers didn't listen to their leaders, attacked the police and tried to get at the EC buildings. Against their will the unions organised more strikes after that march.

The belgian government has to cope with the highest unemployment rate of whole Europe. To find money and to counter the fact that less workers also mean less taxes, it tries to reduce the blessings of the welfare state. The government, first indirectly, later on more openly used the tax system to bring wages down.

Of course the gap between workers and 'their' union leaders is widening. The workers see very well the masks their leaders are wearing. When the dock workers of Cokerill were blackmailed to accept that their annual bonus wouldn't be paid, they attacked the offices and began to demolish those of the management. This happened by the end of 1981 under Eyskens' regime as prime-minister. The new reactionary cabinet, with Eyskens as its minister for economic affairs, tried again to blackmail the workers. Eyskens simply said: "Your wages or your jobs." What the bourgeoisie really wanted was a wage cut of 10%. The workers rejected this categorically. In the pamphlets distributed by the unions and their local reps, one found almost identical "choices". Government, management and unions agreed on holding referendums, organised by the unions who declared during the last one (that was hold in parts) that everybody who stayed away would be considered to prefer a wage cut instead of closure. The unions were convinced that they could manipulate the votes in this way. At the same time the situation at the docks became unbearable . Government and uni0ns were anxious to promote Cokerill to a hard lesson for the whole belgian working class. The workers became so mad that unions reps didn't dare to show up any longer at the docks.

But against all hopes from Eyskens, Gillon and the others, the workers sticked together. The government had no other choice than to provide the investment funds or let Cokerill go broke. It choose the last option. How high tensions grew after that was showed by events in southern Belgium, especially in other parts of the giant Cokerill-Sambre. In one week there were three days with strikes at Liège and Charleroi and two of them went far beyond the intentions of the unions. A demonstration in Brussels ended with riots throughout the city, in which 10% of the police force was

disabled by weapons fabricated by the workers in their factories.

This led to a discussion between Mathot, a social-democrat party boss and a representative from the union FGTB, who declared that he couldn't go on discussing endlessly and that the situation was so critical that he might no longer be able to restrain the workers. The frequency of wildcat strikes and other not so orderly actions showed clearly what was going on. Mathot answered that the situation was indeed becoming dangerous and that the working class shouldn't be provoked completely. He said this at the time that the government hadn't yet published its plans to dismantle the social security system. At the same time the Belgian workers will have to face a 20% wage cut in two years.

It is doubtful whether the workers' resistance can be canalized in the future. There are people hoping that history will repeat itself and that the social-democrats will again come to power so that the unions can play a better role in repressing the 'irresponsible' demands of the workers. It is not likely to happen, because the riots in Brussels have shown that the workers can hardly be stopped, neither by the police nor by anyone else. This is also the case in other cities where riots broke out, not only in the south but also in the north of Belgium: on March 15, a wildcat strike broke out in a coal mine in the province of Limburg. That same, the port of Antwerp came to standstill and many other spontaneous revolts were seen throughout Flanders. Walloon workers occupied the office of the liberal party in Liège. The police intervened, but before leaving the workers tore the place completely down. Striking workers use flying pickets, a method used till then only by the British. A minister was asked even to intervene in a factory on strike at Nivelles to calm down the workers. Which didn't prevent them of beginning a wildcat strike when he was there.

The liberal newspaper "Het Laatste Nieuws" (the latest news) that one was very satisfied with the modest attitude of the Belgian labour movement. But just because of this modesty Belgium came to a boiling point. The workers have succeeded in slowing down the rhythm of wage cuts and attacks on social securities. The unions could prevent temporarily that strikes broke out everywhere mainly by exploiting local differences. But it is clear that no solution has been found. By the end of May this year, Cokerill-Sambre came with new plans: the sacking of 4,000 workers of the 25,000 it employs now, a wage cut and reduction of the production capacity from 8,5 million tons to 6 million. This attempt will undoubtedly, like other ones, only provoke new revolts of which one cannot foresee its development.

Willy van Damme, May 1982.

## DISCUSSION ON ANTI-WORK

- Crisis of capital  
or its success?

In Echanges no.29 we reproduced an article from John Zerzan about "Anti-work and the struggle for control" The text below followed this article and appeared in Fifth Estate, vol.17, no.2 (309) of June 19, 1982 (available from 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit, Mich 48201, USA). In this issue also: letters on technology-discussions, articles on Dismantling the nuclear society, Recruitments: military pushes poverty draft, Murder on Seal Island (on the Falklands war) and The collapse in Poland.

### ANTI-WORK?

In "Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control," John Zerzan argues that America's over-exploited working classes once again are verging on total revolt. Although many points in his arguments are difficult to firmly pin down, Zerzan apparently holds that the recent increases in a whole range of work avoidance activities are the preliminary signs of a general crisis looming just over the horizon as the Reagan revolution slowly unfolds its program for the American economy. The broad-gauged systematic challenge of "work refusal," in its many subtle forms across the spectrum from absenteeism to on-the-job drug abuse, now poses such a basic threat to corporate capital that big business and top management have retreated to the last bastions of co-determination, co-optation and, ultimately, corporatism in order to merely survive the coming crisis. Thus, Zerzan issues a warning to this resurgent proletarian force.

While these new industrial programs for "job enrichment" and "worker involvement" might be construed as some positive sign of capital's final capitulation to labor in preparation for building an equal partnership in the corporative administration of the means of production, in fact these new psychosocial schemes merely are the latest subterfuge for elaborating scientific management and complete administrative control in the workplace.

#### Successes of Capitalist Integration

Yet, the growing trend toward work refusal by the working classes in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries cannot be reduced so simply into the latest phase of the classic struggle over control in the factories. Admittedly, the workers are in danger of losing more dignity and freedom on the job. Still, the "quality of work life" movement, and its guiding force of "Japanophilia," has been inspired by more than the bourgeoisie's eternal need to repress the proletariat. As Zerzan notes, these steadily increasing levels of absenteeism, alcohol abuse, disability scams, drug abuse, job-related accidents and worker sabotage do present a systemic threat to management as it seeks to maintain a stable, trained and dedicated workforce in its offices and factories. The aversion to work, however, does not stem so much from the failures of capitalism and the discontent of the workers so much as it flows from the successes of capitalist integration and the priyatistic withdrawal of the workers to take fullest advantage of their integration.

Nearly three generations ago, the more progressive fraction of top management made a series of basic marketing and administrative decisions about workers and consumers. More control, greater profit and more stable returns, it was decided, could accrue from de-



skilling the workers and technologically intensifying the material means of production instead of protecting proletarian skills and insulating the technical process of production from scientific advancements. Industrial tasks purposely were devalued and degraded to realize new economies of efficient scale. Rather than continuing their status as technical polymaths, the workers were reduced systematically to "trained gorillas," as Gramsci maintained, whose time as semi-skilled machine tenders was rented out to big business.

At the same juncture, to partially compensate for these lost skills and the intrinsic satisfaction that derived from their exercise, another series of marketing decisions funneled a major part of this tremendously increased industrial capacity into the production and circulation of new consumer goods and services, or an unprecedented array of standardized things and experiences, that the worker as consumer might acquire with the fatter pay packet he earned from renting out his productive time and energy to the producers of things and the providers of experiences. As such a consumeristic rentier, the objective position of the proletarian within the means of production, shifted from the primacy of production to the primacy of consumption. Instead of being most productive through undaunting hard work on company time in the workplace, the technologically intensified means of production now basically transformed the worker as a productive force into the consumer as productive force, who becomes most productive through unending intense leisure

on off-time in the living place. In many respects, the aversion to work and the trend toward "anti-work" represent the obverse of corporate capitalism's real dynamic of inculcating a passion for play and a movement towards "pro-leisure."

The systemic development of "anti-work" attitudes and activities, then, closely parallels the systematic emergence of "pro-leisure" values and practices throughout the economy, at least since the end of World War II, if not before. Corporate capital has invested leisure with immense importance in order to integrate the workers into the affluent society by training them to "work" hard "at play." Private time, personal pursuits, leisure time are culturally redefined constantly as self-actualizing moments to be aggressively sought after and wantonly spent upon. The personal car, the private home, the individual electronics system, the single-family accessories of backyard fun are all "worked for" and "worked on" as new forms of play. Zerzan mistakes the latest outbreaks of anti-work activities as the rebellion of a militant and skilled working class chafing to expropriate the capitalists. In fact, since corporate capital has so comfortably transformed "play" into "work," it now can seek final closure by artfully transfiguring even those final hours of work-time in the factory and office into activity forms that more closely resemble playtime and leisure. The new waves of industrial sociologists and managerial psychologists that are now pitching out plans for "job excitement," "job enhancement," and "job enrichment" see this underlying need to transform work into something more like play. Hence, the advent of exercise programs on company time, the elimination of routine tasks, the introduction of variety, diversity and mystery in job assignments, the formation of structured bull sessions and gossip circles to improve "productivity," or the creation of innumerable new little submanagerial niches on the line or in the office so that everyone can pretend he is boss or play assistant vice-president.

The civic privatism that Zerzan now concludes will bring the system into its final crisis is instead the proper, correct form of psychosocial behavior required by advanced corporate capital to maintain its control over the worker, who now is only a producer as a consumer. The worker as producer can be replaced by a robotic-cybernetic servomechanism. Thus, only a

consumer, who is properly socialized to spend his rentier income on the unending flow of technologically generated things and experiences, does the worker have a function and importance in corporate capital's designs.

The larger culture of withdrawal, as Zerzan complains, is simply the social form of "pro-leisure" that remains once everyone has been mobilized by prime-time TV ads to rush out to the closest shopping mall to hunt for and gather the correct things that they can then fully experience and enjoy in the privacy of their homes, unbothered by political issues, unions meetings, religious obligations, neighborhood community, family ties, or the hassles at work. Workers are absent from work to stay at home to play "Space Invaders" or are tardy because they have to watch all of "Hour Magazine" to start the day, or are doped up on the job because working is not as much fun as lying around the pool at home, or are disabled on the job because they are daydreaming about cruising around on their dirt bikes—not because they are gathering their energies for the final confrontation with capital.

Indeed, as the pollsters and evening news broadcasters continually report, many if not most workers believe that the only way they will improve their lives is through the government granting fee license, tax breaks and new capital to the corporations that rent their time in factories and offices. Of course, the workers loathe their corporate tenants who rent their hours and the corporations themselves moan about the utility of the units they rent. Nonetheless, what might, at first glance, appear to be indicators of social unrest are in fact, solid signs of social integration and civic passivity. The next time that Zerzan climbs behind the wheel of social theory to take it on a spin through contemporary social trends, let us hope that he drives along looking through the windshield at events of the 1980s that are going on ahead of him, rather than staring into the rearview mirror of working class politics in the 1880's.

—Tim Luke

## NEGATIVITY & REALITY

*The following is a response to the foregoing by John Zerzan, author of "Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control."*

In Tim Luke's effort to demonstrate his fealty to Telos editor Paul Piccone's "artificial negativity" thesis (more on this below), he has produced really no reply at all to my essay.

Inexplicably, he uses almost a third of his response to point out two developments, which, if barely relevant, are completely and tediously well-known: namely, that a systematic de-skilling of work has been going on a long time (over twice as long as he seems to be aware of) and that the work ethic has been replaced by a culture of consumption (miraculously discovered by bourgeois sociologists about 30 years ago).

Having thus maligned our intelligence, he proceeds to raise questions about his own. He claims I see in work refusal a "working class chafing to expropriate the capitalists." Of course, there is no proletarian self-consciousness of any kind hinted at in my article, which simply depicts the progressive evacuation of the work role and the counter-measures this is now engendering.

It gets worse as we arrive at the main point Luke makes. Here he reveals that whether workers continue to work is quite unimportant, so long as they uninterruptedly consume, which constitutes "the proper, correct form of psychosocial behavior required by advanced corporate capital to maintain its control over the worker." If they don't work, they can be replaced by robots; what matters is an absorption with spending.



Leaving aside such questions as who and at what cost will provide and refine the required raw materials, assemble, service the robots, etc., let us take a look at this insight which has it that work refusal is actually proof that the central activity, consuming, is dominating society so well.

Actually, this view is the quintessence of leftists' unhappiness with an advancing depoliticalization (e.g. Luke's denunciation of those who have no interest in his "political issues, union meetings, religious obligations. . ."). Leftists like him, grandly exhibiting that "will to a system" pointed out by Nietzsche, do not comprehend the movement which is eroding the dominant values of the capital relationship. Threatened by the real negative, in fact, they shrilly attack the general withdrawal from the system.

Christopher Lasch is another exemplar of this reaction, whose sour and conservative *Culture of Narcissism* equates, in Freudo-marxian terms, "narcissism" with consumerism, with passivity. He does, however, sometimes unwittingly reveal something of what is going on with people today: "Outwardly bland, submissive and sociable, they seethe with an inner anger for which a dense, overpopulated, bureaucratic society can devise few legitimate outlets," for example.

Even granting the irrelevance of the status of wage-labor, do we really witness such a pervasively efficient consumerism? In fact, the corrosion besetting the one is clearly also engaging the other, in such forms as the hugely mounting levels of arson, vandalism, and participation in looting situations, not to mention booming rates of shoplifting, employee theft, and tax avoidance. Violation of the commodity, as much as the refusal of the rules of wage-labor, is manifestly the trend.

Finally, I would add that Luke serves the concept of "artificial negativity" faithfully, but very uncritically. Piccone—albeit because of a withdrawal he devalues—sees the need of the system to provide opposition to itself in order that it may advance in a regulated, intelligent manner. This becomes a necessity in the absence of organized negativity from below. The blind spot here of course is that there does abundantly exist a negation, precisely in the form of a withdrawal from the reform of domination. So, it is true that the order may indeed be in need of artificial negativity and also the case that a seemingly unrecuperable negativity of no use-value to the wage-labor and commodity world is the predominant social fact.

## ANTI-LUKE

Tim Luke tries very hard to sustain his pessimism in the face of massive evidence to the contrary, and considering the ability of words to obfuscate and distort reality, succeeds quite well. His response to Zerzan does not, however, tell us much about the questions raised by Zerzan's article.

What it does tell us about is Luke's misconceptions and prejudices, which are legion. Let's begin with the most concrete of these, then proceed toward a consideration of his theoretical premises.

First, Luke imagines that Zerzan has reduced the work refusal syndrome to "the latest phase of the classic struggle over control in the factories." How he comes up with this notion is anybody's guess, since Zerzan never speaks of or alludes to current workplace struggles as directed toward classical labor goals. He refers only to the growing instances of work refusal, to the perceived threat to capitalist control and productivity posed by these acts, and to the beginnings of an organized response by capitalist management to the problem.

Second, Luke erringly focuses entirely on questions of integration and ideology, and this in a com-

pletely one-sided way. Presuming that workers are completely integrated into the system as consumers, he banishes as pseudo-problems any consideration of worker unrest. He thinks it crucial that workers hate work not out of loyalty to socialist ideals (or "the political issues, union meetings, religious obligations, neighborhood community, family ties, and hassles at work" that presumably occupy the labor militant's time), but because work interferes with the pleasures of consumption. Never mind if management appears disturbed at the widespread unrest in its workplaces; the battle has already been won, the ideology of consumption has triumphed, and, in any case, at the wave of a magic wand workers can be replaced by "robotic, cybernetic servomechanisms," which, as we all know, never take coffee breaks, go on strike, or talk back to their supervisors. Luke even imagines that management is flirting with workplace innovation because of its theoretical acuity, recognizing the desirability of effecting a "closure" of the system which, having transformed play into work, is now transforming work into something resembling play.

Such prosaic management concerns as productivity, regular attendance, company loyalty, work quality, etc. are missing in Luke's account, despite Zerzan's evidence indicating that precisely these concerns currently obsess corporate capital. Luke writes as if capitalist integration was an accomplished fact rather than a continuous battle, and as if that integration was unconnected to capital's efforts to extort more productivity from and secure the loyalty of its subjects. Managerial complaints about labor costs and reliability must seem an annoying intrusion into Luke's perfected capitalist universe, where the sun never sets on the smoothly functioning capitalist empire. This is not to deny the prescience of Luke's descriptions, which loom as possibilities at the horizon of the system. However, these theoretical anticipations only obfuscate the crucial struggles of which work refusal is a part, and which could eventuate either in a complete collapse of capitalist legitimacy or in a perfected domination.

Third, Luke, not Zerzan, evinces a nostalgia for the working class politics of the nineteenth century. His extreme pessimism is fueled by a time-worn fidelity to the concept of proletarian revolution. While his revolutionary agent has long since expired, at least in the classical sense mourned by the left, Luke seems as if he just returned from the wake. Perhaps he was caught in a time warp, because he seems to think it's the 1950s. In the heat of his conceptual rage, he sees only self-indulgent sows feeding at the trough of consumption. Thus does he miss the insight of the situationists that at the very center of this engorgement in commodities rests the bitter pill of nihilism, which having been swallowed by countless people has led them to search for a life really worth living. Absent from Luke's gloomy scenario are the student, youth and women's movements of the 1960s and '70s, except their most retrograde aspects, May '68 in France, and more recent acts of anti-capitalist rebellion by disaffected youth and others.

Finally, Luke's vaporous account is directly traceable to his theoretical position, a variant of Paul Piccone's theory of "artificial negativity," which holds that having suppressed the "organic negativity" of the old workers' movement, capital has been forced to construct an artificial negativity comprised of leftists and pseudo-radicals, who provide the requisite criticism needed to drive the system forward. A bloated modification of Marcuse's theory of "one-dimensionality," neatly tailored to the cynicism of the 1970s and 1980s, it tries to reduce every recent instance of rebellion to an absurd totalistic conceptual schema. Thus, Luke writes elsewhere, "The radical student movement was manufactured and manipulated in or-

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Great Britain -

Class struggle and  
capitalist restructuring

When the conservatives came back to government in May 1979, it meant more than the usual turnover between the two big parties, Labour and Tories, as it was the case just after the second world war. It meant more, considering that both classes voted for them in a very ill England and that parts of the capitalist class supported them to promote their interests. The comeback meant more, because something has changed inside the conservative party since 1974, the year of the great failure of the liberal tendency in the party of which Heath was the leader then.

These liberals were orientated towards Europe and a development of British industry through a moderate intervention of the State. These politics failed because its cornerstone - control upon the working class movement by laws - was swept away by the class struggle. Wildcat strikes in the years 1972-74 led to a political disaster and Heath's political death. He was replaced by Margaret Thatcher. Not only did she speak another language, she also was the voice of an other tendency in British capitalism. The taming of the British working class to serve the interests of this tendency, had proved to be wishful thinking. So, only one option was left: trying to expand at world scale using the old positions of British imperialism. In other words: they went looking for workers outside the United Kingdom. The period 1974-79 (Labour government) only reinforced this tendency. Labour pursued the same politics as Heath had done before them, but by other means. Already before the Heath government came to power, Labour had experienced the impossibility to get control over the working class by legal prohibitions. Between 1974-79 they tried to perform the task by using the so-called union power in social agreements. So the trade unions became more than ever the executives of capitalist interests, but only if they could convince their members to follow them. The unions failed and "the winter of discontent in 1978-79 saw the rout of the liaison between Labour and trade unions bashed by the autonomous workers movement, the same unhappy end as that of Heath in 1974. The logical conclusion of the British capitalists was to try and put their money abroad. The British workers were not cooperative enough...

Some political consequences sprang up from this situation:

- It wasn't a new thing for English capital to try and find better profits abroad. The high rate of unemployment witnesses this long living tendency, as well as the obligation for the state to subsidize the unemployed and the lame ducks of the industry (nationalised branches). Public spending (and borrowing) had to grow more and more although the share of real investments was declining. All that called for an iron policy. Thatcher embodied it.

- The middle classes and parts of the working class influenced by their ideology were threatened in their living by the slow economical degradation. Their solution was: a strong policy to bring the workers to work again for the sake of Britain.

- An important part of the workers didn't see any difference between the political parties and what is more, having had recently a fight with 'their' organisations - Labour and trade unions - did prefer not to vote.

The success of the conservative party led by the most conservative tendency was the result of all that. It wasn't a tidal wave, but it was enough, considering the English electoral system, to give this tendency the possibility to govern without any problem of majority. To understand who was behind this new political force, we have only to look at the first measure of the Thatcher government, which was not to cut the expenses or to fight openly the working class, but to open the doors to a free circulation of capital without any kind of restriction. This "freedom" for capital to go abroad had some immediate consequences:

- a sudden stop of industrial development in the UK because of lack of capital; this situation was exasperated by the high rate of the pound (pushed a good trade balance due to the North Sea oil), by the high rate of interests (part of the monetary policy and part of a try to brake the export of capital). It meant the bankruptcy or the merging of a lot of small and medium-large firms. It was all profit for the multinationals that pushed these politics of freedom for capital and that can get it so in both ways.

- The combination of factory closures and of the high unemployment rate set hopes to control indirectly the workers' movement and at the same time to follow more or less its political programme. The government could come back to the very traditional way of British capitalism during the highest imperialist period. To maintain low costs of production with a large opening to the low prices of food and raw materials of the world market. High rate of the pound and low world prices because of the world crisis could explain a slackening of inflation. On the other side unemployment and low prices of raw materials allowed to speak of "improving productivity."

These policies of opening on the world market - first capital, then food and raw materials - stopped the integration in the Eur. Community and needed a display of British power all over the world (under the US umbrella) and the maintenance of what remained of the rags of the empire. All the ex-imperialist tendency (and important part of it are the military and navy men) could support this new orientation with the weight of its ideology and the following among the middle classes. This ideology was reinforced by the economical, political, social and police repression on the fringe people of the present society (coloured, unemployed, strikers).

But, quickly, inside England, these policies were stopped by the same obstacle that the previous government had had to deal with and that can be summed up by one word: class struggle. Miners, dockers, train drivers and even car workers managed to break the attempts



to go ahead with the rationalization and the restructuring of english capitalism in using mainly the crisis. The riots, of the summer of 1981 stopped all attempts to cut in the social benefits which was the aim of the government. Financially because of the rise of all the social benefits and the coming down of all its incomes, the government had to look for money everywhere. For instance selling to the private sector the most profitable of the public sector.

The failure of these new policies - practically from the beginning - the bad consequences of the export of capital, the quite out-of-date measures inadapted to a modern capitalism can explain the quick rising of a new party, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), supported by that part of capitalism wanting industrial development and modernisation inside the UK. This new party was formed by people from the Labour Party, who thought that the structures of this old politico-unionist were out-of-date and did not meet the needs of a modern capitalism. In fact they thought these structures did not allow a control on the working class and more, because of that, could be manipulated by the autonomous government in its own interest. The new party formed an alliance with the small liberal party and wanted to work for an real integration in the EC (one of the leaders of the SDP is a former high official of the EC). Quickly, the SDP and the alliance got a big support and some by elections saw their overwhelming success. An extrapolation of the figures showed that, in general elections, the conservative party would loose practically all its seats and would be eliminated from the political scene. To sum up, the conflict between two parts of capital was performing act III: the most national part thought to have found a dangerous answer to the transformation of the conservative party for the sake of the multinational tendency. The new political instrument could speak the modern technocratic language and not at all the jingoist and traditional language of the financial domination.

But the SDP and its supporters had to count with the traditional political machiavelism, last resort to keep the power for the sake of so powerful interests, mainly in crisis time. The Falkland was a providential (if not provoked) opportunity to get out of a political cul de sac. It is difficult not to think, considering a lot of ununderstandable facts, that, on the english side, the government left "the Falkland crisis" building up to come to this military intervention, so providential for the sake of the capitalist clan and the conservative party and for the help they can get from it to keep the political power in their hands. At a world scale, such a display of English power is a guarantee for the protection of expanding capital (we can think it is ridiculous, but it is according to the size and nature of the said capitalism). At home, the political advantage of this war is more evident

though more limited. It is evident, because the traditional conservative classes, in such periods of military and nationalist involvement like better to support the most established and traditional parties rather than to gamble on the unknown, even if it was considered formerly with a sympathetic eye. It is limited because Thatcher hasn't succeeded a real political mobilisation in support of this tragic farce: a by-election during the Falkland war saw the reverse of the tendency towards the SDP, but didn't show a special support for the government either. Only 53% of the voters turned up. It is limited, because, on the one hand, the tendency for the modernisation of Britain will go ahead under one form or another and on the other hand, the government will have to meet some very serious economic and social consequences. Already some hard oppositions are rising in some sectors with threat of strikes. The destabilizing of the Argentinian regime allows these hard conservatives to put on the clothes of democrats struggling against dictatorship. Not to mention it is the UK who sold a lot of arms to that regime, we can think that the same financial interests which pushed to assert the UK power could have as well speculated on a war which could at the end change the present economical orientations of the Argentinians. For a long time now, two tendencies are struggling there around the political power: the industrial bourgeoisie and the land owners. The land owners are behind the generals, selling their farm products on the world market against the free entrance of industrial goods on the argentinian market. The result was a quick bankrupt of the economy, most of it built with european and english capital. We can understand the EC-solidarity with the UK even if on the other hand the UK is going alone with its world politics. But the interests in Argentina for European capital are not less important than those of Poland. The Argentinian debt to the West is higher than the Polish debt. So the Falkland affair could appear as another episode of the struggle between western and US capitalisms for the control of Latin America.

HS

Some recent figures about Britain

industrial production (1975 = 100)  
(excl. north sea oil and gas)

1979 - 108 / 1980 - 106 / 1981 - 100

example UK car industry (cars in thousands)

1966 - 1,604	1975 - 1,268
1968 - 1,846	1979 - 750
1970 - 1,641	1980 - 655

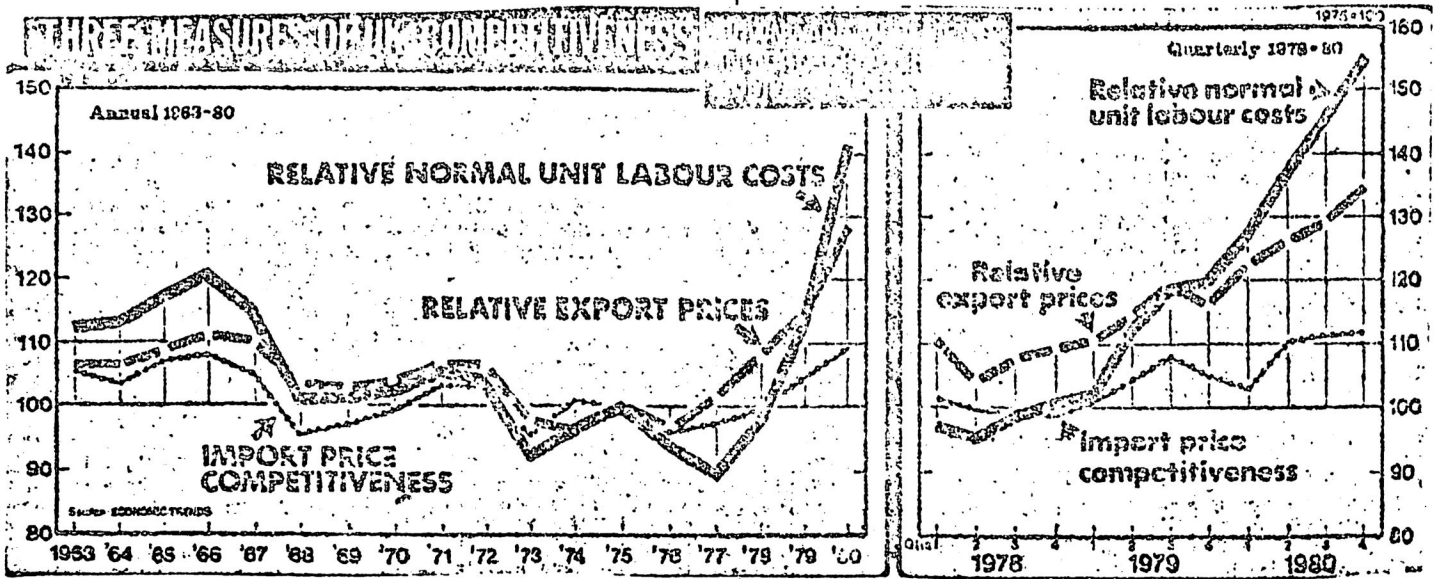
employment in the UK (people in millions)

1965 - 25,5	1979 - 25,2
1974 - 25	1982 - 24,2

We can see that this same production was performed by a number of workers cut down of more than 1 million (which we find back in the spectacular jump in the unemployment from 2 to 3 million people in 1980-81).

We can draw the conclusion that productivity improved. But what is important for capital

is not that improvement itself. It is the relative improvement compared with other capitalist countries. The following figure can give an idea of the present tendency:



In 1981 the relative normal unit labour cost (1975 = 100) has jumped to 160. We can consider this figure comparing it with three distinct figures.

The first one concerns directly class struggle. We will show with three points A, B and C.

A. Days lost in strikes (in thousands)

1970 - 10.980	1977 - 10.150
1971 - 13.551	1978 - 9.440
1972 - 23.900	1979 - 29.474
1973 - 7.197	1980 - 11.960
1974 - 14.750	1981 - 4.200
1975 - 6.012	
1976 - 3.384	

We can see that the iron lady, Margaret Thatcher, although strongly helped by the world crisis, was less successful to lower the level of strikes than the social agreement policy under Labour in the years 1975-76.

B. Serious Offences and police strength (England and Wales/official crime rate)

1950 - 1,000 offences (per 100,000 inhabitants) and 60,000 police
1960 - 1,700 offences (per ...etc.)
1970 - 3,000 offences (per ...etc.)
1980 - 5,000 offences (per ...etc.) and 120,000 police.

According to a commentary in the Financial Times (1-6-1982) the number of serious offences is far below the rate in the USA. A comparison with New York City gives the following figures for 1981:

	homicides	robberies
England and Wales	610	20,000
New York City	1,832	107,000

(and New York is not among the top five for crime)

For England and Wales a national crime survey will be published next year. One certainty is that the victim survey will show that there is much more crime in Britain than the police figures suggest. Smaller

British surveys have put this so-called "dark figure" of crime at ten times the size of the official crime rate. Many crimes like stealing bicycles or electricity or making false statements under Health and Safety at Work Act are not "serious" in the sense that most people understand that term. It is a casual statement that violence is rising unchecked in British society.

C. The struggle against "working practices"

apparently met some success, mainly in the industrial sectors crippled by the crisis. However, in 1981 the main Ford factory at Halewood cannot get the quota's of production though they are fixed far below the quota's of comparable factories in Germany. Ford GB produced in 1981 342,000 cars for a capacity of 500,000 and must import 45% of its sale in the UK. Other car builders are in the same situation. Attempts to break the "working practices" beyond certain limits failed because of the fight of rank and file in wild cat strikes burdting up from very limited situations but quickly spread all over the factory or the firm.

The second facotr concerning the low comparative productivity is related indirectly to the class struggle. Capitalism has to maintain a high rate of public expense, a very limited and decreasing part of it going to public investments or military expenses.

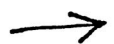
(see statistics next page)

Public expenses

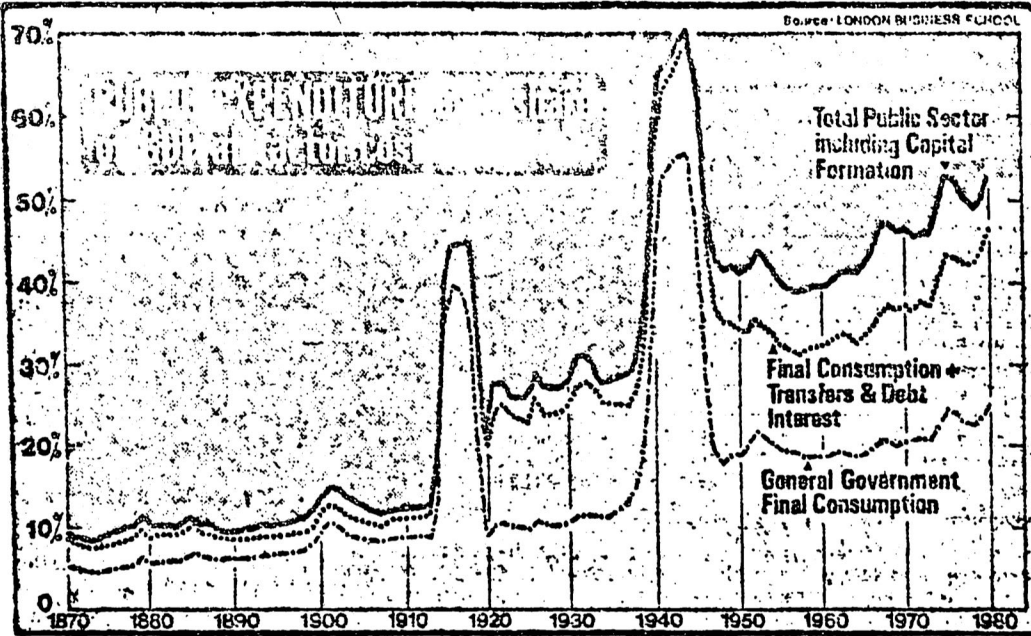
In the growing percentage of public expenditure, the share going to the social expenses rose constantly.

Defence expenditure (in % of the GDP at market prices)

1952 - 9%	1972 - 4,7%
1957 - 7%	1978 - 4,5%
1962 - 6,2%	1980 - 4,5%
1967 - 5,5%	







UK portfolio investment overseas  
(in mill. of pounds)

1978 - 1,000	1980 - 3,500
1979 - 750	1981 - 5,000

These figures include oil companies. They were published in British Business and emphasized a trend which has emerged markedly since 1978. UK investments overseas has risen five fold in value over a decade. 3/4 of these investments went to the USA (which can explain the declining value of the pound against the dollar). Profits overseas are six times their amount ten years ago. They are mainly financial profits.

**ANTI-LUKE**

Continued from Page 5

der to pressure the state out of a pointless, destructive war." Manipulated, it undoubtedly was. But manufactured? We apparently have here a kind of magical thinking in which the state assumes a god-like omniscience, undertaking the seemingly counterproductive task of engineering the political and cultural explosions of the 1960s (never mind the fact, embarrassing for Luke's thesis, that the 1960s youth phenomenon was world-wide) because it knew in advance that the result would be a sort of self-criticism posing no threat to the social order. But why should the state criticize itself in so circuitous and inefficient a manner? Or perhaps he means the opponents of the war themselves manufactured a movement which, initially autonomous and pregnant with radical potential, came to assume an essentially system-supporting role because it failed to overcome its initial limitations and separations and become a revolutionary movement. But this would be to describe the recuperation of acts and events, rather than their generation by a deterministic system, a completely different matter. Luke's formulation is, in fact, a logical and conceptual morass.

Like the black sheep who shows up at the family reunion to the discomfort of all, the discontinuity of rebellion plagues Luke's theoretical construct with embarrassing insistence. Unable to account for rebellion by the logic of his system model, he banishes it from the world or grossly distorts its features and meaning. At bottom, he simply cannot see or imagine revolt against modern conditions.

The real question raised by Zerzan's article concerns whether the negativity he describes will unfold into a total challenge to capital's rule, or remain at its present state of incoherence, which would signal probable defeat. Whatever the answer to that question, the importance of the work refusal phenomenon is unquestionable.

-Bob Brubaker

**PUBLICATIONS** (books, magazines, texts, cartoons, letters etcetera)

"FIAT - Arbeiterkämpfe in Turin" (in german, available from the author Theo Sander, Ziegelstrasse 13, Osnabrück, W-Germany). Most chapters are translations from Italian articles. Contents:

- Workers' struggle in Turin 1974-1978, on the restructuring at Fiat (from: Collegamenti 5+11-78)
- Characteristics of recent struggles (from: Collegamenti January 1980)
- Chronology of the struggles at Fiat fall 1980 (from: Contre information no.3)
- What has become of the workers' subjectivity - analysis of the struggles at Fiat in the fall of 1980 (from: Collegamenti 2/1980)
- Crisis of the system and of the capitalist parties (from: Primo Maggio 15/1981)
- The status of the capitalist party (from: Unita Proletaria 2/1981)
- A dangerous manoeuvre - on the subversive character of manipulations from the management of Fiat in the last years.

"Processed World" (in english, available from: 55 Sutter Street, apt.829, San Francisco, Ca 94104) Contents: Fantasies of a girl at work; Letters ; Sabotage: the last video-game...

"Grève du printemps à la Société Générale"  
(Strike in spring at the S.G. - a pamphlet  
in french, available from PO Box 243, 75564  
Paris Cedex 12, France, price 5 ff)

Some bank workers who participated in a long strike at the 'Société Générale' (one of the biggest nationalised french banks and also one of the biggest banks in the world) wrote this pamphlet. It was a very good idea that they did not only write about what happened during the strike, but that they also try to understand and explain what they

- as workers for other workers - in pamphlets published during the strike.

Any struggle needs this kind of 'intervention'. It is something people are doing first for themselves as well as for other workers interested in the struggle or in class struggle in general. If people try to look beyond the peculiarities of day-to-day events of a strike for what the tendencies at stake are, their ways of action and intervention, then they overtake such peculiarities and get to the real problems of class struggle. Then people are very far from the usual reports coming from the unions or political clubs which all too often only congratulate themselves for their role. What such reports say is generally partial and often inaccurate.

The brochure contains a detailed chronology of the strike, which lasted from the 22nd March till 28th May 1982. It also contains a minute analysis of the autonomous tendencies and of their limits, because of ideological and material domination of management and unions and because of constant manipulation of workers' organisations. One can read how a struggle can develop from strictly material claims (a new grid for wages) to a fight against management and unions, in this case because "the conscious aims of the struggle needed its spreading to other banks". The socialist government under president Mitterand could rely on the three big unions to keep the conflict local. The text underlines well, that the workers had in fact to fight both the state apparatus and the socialist government. The workers discovered (or rediscovered) that they are capable of reactions which are normally suppressed or which have to be restrained. Inconsciously, they sometimes succeeded to be themselves - if we may say so - but not enough to get very far.

The last pages of the pamphlet are devoted to a good analysis of the function of unions in capitalist society. The most important thing about the brochure remains nevertheless that it gives insight in the present level of struggles in France.

#### "Prolos - Robots"

(by Michel Kamps, publ. in April '82, avail. from Mr. Besson, B.P. 3, 44230 Saint Sebastien sur Loire, France. Price 5 f.f.)

This is a well-printed brochure and it is written in a language simple enough to be understood by everybody. The subject is not tackled in the tech-jargon that blossoms in similar publications. Taking metal work as

a model because he knows that work very well, the author describes all kinds of modern automatic machines. He then jumps shortly in the use of computers for management. A short digression on electronics brings the study to its most important features: the causes and consequences of such technological developments. Beginning with the need of capital to raise the productivity, and ending with the various forms of struggle in automated factories, the author clearly explains the transformations of work structures (less workers, more production, new work organisation), followed by changes in the political and union controls at all levels of society (mainly the function of the now one year old socialist government in France and its reinforcing of legal union power).

This pamphlet is presented as "a partial debate which needs to be widened". Indeed we would have liked more on the automation in offices and in other industries, where automation is even more important. That would make clear that mechanization and automation are not at all something new in capital's repertoire: the machine has always been pushed to eliminate human work. We could start thinking about the penetration of electronics in everyday life not only as the result of the creation of a new market to sell that stuff, but also as a means to get people used to it and to get a labour force educated to work with these new techniques. We could also start thinking about the limits of automation (the text gives some examples of factories where most modern and most backward technologies are used together) and about the impossible automation of man. Both things require a more theoretical approach. Class struggle will not rise "because the structures, aimed at controlling the workers...present faults" (although they make it a lot easier). The struggle will rise from contradictions in the capitalist system itself. The conflicts having their origin in opposition against the spreading automation, are not most important. For a lot of workers, automation doesn't mean the defence of former working conditions, but working and struggling in completely different situations. Modern technology - for them - is not something new but an already normal feature of their work and life.

We hope that Michel Kamps is on his way to elaborate these points.

"Against domestication" is a brochure written by Jacques Camatte. These 24 pages against domestication of man and nature are a - late - translation of the article written by Camatte entitled "Contre la domestication" which was published in the French journal 'Invariance' (Année VI, Série II, no.3, 1973). The brochure (with a beautiful cover graphic) was printed by the famous Black Thumb Press and is available from: Falling Sky Books, 97 Victoria Street North, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada N2H5C1. Price unknown, probably + \$2.

We also received some "Questionable Cartoons" made by society critic Tuli Kupferberg who doesn't need much drawing (minimal drawing - so to say) to comment on daily life things.



E.g. woman says to man: "Women can have multiple orgasms." Man answers: "Men can have multiple investments." Or another cartoon: woman asks social services officer "Can I get welfare?" Answer "No". "Why" asks the woman. Answer "Too poor." What you really have to read are Kupferberg's "Less Newspoems" - lyric reactions of an angry media watcher. His cartoons and poems are publ. by Vanity Press, 160 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10013, USA. You can subscribe to all Vanity Press publications for US \$5 or more.

"Civil Disobedience", a 'new journal of the peace movement' published by the Canadian "Groupe Thoreau", address: c/o Librairie Alternative, 2033 rue St. Laurent, Montréal, Quebec, Canada. The journal has an english and a french edition and contains sometimes obscure (=very local) and more 'internationally minded' articles on peace and war. It also summarises articles from other pacifist or scientific magazines. Price for 6 issues, in Canada 5 Can. dollars, for subscribers in other countries US \$5.

"Labour Focus on Eastern Europe" (avail. from Box 23, 136 Kingsland High Street, London, E8, Great Britain).

Vol. 5, no. 3/4 of summer 1982 contains among other articles on Eastern Europe, two special interest ones for people of Echanges: "What sort of strikes take place in Hungary" and "The experience of Solidarity - Solidarity and Self-Management". The first one is short but gives some clues on how strikes can happen in Hungary in some factory sections. The other one deals with the self-management in Poland during the 18 months of open struggles. Though incomplete, it contains clearer explanations on the different ways 'self-management' was understood and in some places practised.

"Root and Branch" (avail. from Box 236, Somerville, MA 02143) - no. 10-1982.

The main part of this issue is devoted to Paul Mattick (who died on Feb. 7, 1981 - see Echanges no. 25). It contains a biography, 'The Marxism of Paul Mattick', and one of the last pieces Mattick wrote, called 'Capitalism and Socialism' (a chapter from his last unfinished book to be published under the title 'Marxism, last refuge of the bourgeoisie?')

Two other texts on recent events: 'France, the politicians and the crisis' and 'The class struggles in Poland'.

Simultaneously with this issue, R&B publishes a complete bibliography of Paul Mattick, Price US \$ 2,50 (postage included).

"Paul Mattick - Anti-bolshevik Communism" publ. by the Merlin Press, London. From a long review of this book in Root and Branch we quote: "This collection of twelve essays written between 1935 and 1967 covers a wide variety of subjects. It includes a critical review of Baran's and Sweezy's 'Monopoly Capital', a discussion of the East-West ideological struggle in the natural sciences and a critique of Karl Kautsky, tracing his political development ~~xxxx~~ from his member-

ship in the German Socialist Party in 1880 through his erroneous analysis of German Fascism in the 1930s. Throughout the collection however, Mattick presents a consistent political argument which challenges positions long accepted as axiomatic by significant elements of the left during the last half century. In these essays one finds an analysis and rejection of the 'old labour movement' on the one hand and a critique of the theory and practice of Leninism on the other. Both of these elements of the left conceived as 'acting on behalf of the masses' but for Mattick politics is based upon and in the masses themselves."

"Le temps déborde" catalogue publ. by Joël Guigné, B.P. 205, 16007 Angoulême Cedex, France.

"Council Communism" - Theses on Council Communism today (March 1980, in english). Publ. by Anders Crüger, Frederiksgade 18-2, 5000 Odense Odense-C, Denmark.

"TIE Bulletin" - "You shut one more US plant and we will shut the rest" (on the crisis in the car industry in the USA). Articles from Workers Vanguard on the same subject. Copies - in english - from Echanges.

"TRANET" - Transnational network for appropriate/alternative technology (in english). No. 22, spring '82, PO Box 567, Rangeley, Maine 04970, USA.

"Like a summer with a thousand July's" (in english, available from BM BLOB, LONDON WC1N3XX). A series of articles on Great Britain, not only on the riots you've seen on tv, but also on all other aspects of social repression.

"Collective Inventions" (available from PO Box 24411, San José, Ca. 95154, USA). Has a good text on Poland in the form of a poster.

Anarchist classics catalogue has been publ. by Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261, Edmonton Alberta, Canada.

"London Workers Bulletin" (in english of course, available from c/o II Leyden Street, London E1, Great Britain).

No. 12 contains articles on alternative economic strategies (are they a reform or a counterrevolution). Is workers' self-management just self-abuse? The dialectic of the assembly movement - illusions and realities. Furthermore testimonies on the living conditions of the workers in Great Britain.

"Theorie Communiste" (in french, avail. from C. Charrier, BP 2318, 13213 Marseille Cedex 02, France). No. 4 12/81, contains: From the struggles of today to the revolution. Notes on the restructuring and the new struggle cycle. Bibliography with comment of basic texts on this subject.

"ESSAIS" - Revue de critique et de communication prolétaire. Publ. by Jimmy Lallemand, BP 103, 49015 Angoulême Cedex, France. Texts on the position of the proletariat and on 'Is order established in Warsaw?'

"Torture in Italy" (short text in english publ. in London. Copy from Echanges.

"Up from the ashes" (avail. from PO Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W1P2) thinks "it is time to move beyond the fragments" because "gradually a anti-authoritarian movement of the left is taking shape". Their appeal to everybody to answer is as follows:

Though a few of its lifeforms linger on here and there in tidepools left by the receding waters of history, LENINISM IS DEAD. This is not the place to perform the autopsy. This has and is being performed elsewhere. Suffice to say that growing numbers of people are coming to recognize that Leninism represents the latest (and possibly last) form of bourgeois ideology, and is a bitter enemy of human liberation. We, who were once members of a Marxist Leninist group which emerged out of the sixties, have come to this conclusion through long and bitter struggle.

And we are certainly not alone. Gradually, by degrees, an antiauthoritarian movement of the left is taking shape, many of its members refugees from a variety of Maoist, Trotskyist, and other neo Leninist sects. Broadly speaking, three distinct groups have emerged: the anarchists (themselves divided into anarcho communist and syndicalist factions), the socialist feminists (grouped, for instance, around the SOLIDARITY network, formed from the debris of the New American Movement), and a host of independent, revolutionary minded activists in the women's, antiwar, antinuke, and ecology movements. To this could be added various council communists, and others. This movement is extremely fractionalized. Dialogue between these groups is spotty at best. Cells and pockets of activity dot the continent like so many yeast cells.

It is time to move 'beyond the fragments'. But a question remains: is this to be achieved by synthesizing the 'worst of both worlds', by fusing, in the manner of Sheila Rowbotham, the phillistinism of the Old Left onto the social worker mentality of the New? Or is it to be achieved by developing a thoroughly revolutionary libertarian alternative? We are at the crossroads of history. Never have the threats and possibilities for humanity been so painfully counterposed. The alternatives are an immense leap forward or a cataclysmic leap back. However weak and fractionalized we are, we represent the new and vibrant shoots of the political and social future. And it has been left to us to develop the unprecedented theoretical and practical solutions that such times demand. We have antecedents, but responsibility for reshaping the theoretical legacy of the past, and developing a new synthesis, lies with us.

Specifically, we feel there is a need for a journal (theoretical, to be sure, but decidedly not academic) to facilitate the process of identifying the cardinal issues that confront and divide us, and to promote principled struggle with the aim of

achieving political unity, and the formation of a nonauthoritarian, revolutionary political organization at the earliest possible date. Such a journal should be open to all who share this dream, regardless of their organizational affiliation. A journal with this specific goal would complement, not detract from, the work of the many other journals already in existence. We want to know what you think. We want to receive a written reply from everyone who receives this letter, telling us, positively or negatively, whether such an endeavor is desirable, possible, necessary, or out to lunch. WRITE TO US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND SHOW THIS LETTER TO OTHERS. On to the future!

May 1, 1982

Ronald Hayley.

Joseph Moore

"International Blacklist" - an anti-authoritarian directory of libertarian groups and publications, published before in 1980, will be reprinted soon. If you want to be mentioned too, write to Blacklist Group, 719 Ashbury Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94117, USA.

"Undercurrents" - "Minus". A split in this libertarian group is the subject of a letter explaining the theoretical and practical differences, summarized in 7 theses.

Address of Undercurrents is: People's Press, 5 Holly Road/Mid Garage, Ground Floor, Happy Valley, Hong Kong.

Address of the people that left the group: PO Box 44007, Shawweikian Post Office, Hong Kong.

"Insecurité sociale" (in french, avail. from BP 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12) has published three issues now. For no.0, see Echanges no. 30. No.1 is about Poland. No.2 contains a debate on the capitalist crisis. There are separate texts on the unions, on the role and organisation of the avant garde.

"Subversive Graffiti" (in english, available from 163 King Street, Aberdeen, Great Britain). The editors present themselves as "a small local collective. Two of us were members of the group Solidarity. We distribute about 1500 copies of our SG, a single sheet with information, in places where people work, in offices, during meetings and send it to various people." Subjects in the first issues:

- no.1 - City workers show away - Glasgow riots
- no.2 - Action not words
- no.3 - Thieving landlord - Occupations
- no.4 - Stop the snoopers
- no.5 - Whose war? Fight wage cuts
- no.6 - NHS workers fight poverty pay + Railway sell out

"Wildcat" (see also Echanges no.30) (in engl. available from Box 25, 164-166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M 438 N, England)

- no.4 - Councils wield the axe - BL goes for broke
- no.5 - Sabotage by the union (the strike at Parkinson Gowan). Law and order (the state prepares the war in the streets)
- no.6 - NHS' workers fight back - Dust up college cut - Falklands war.



"Revolution sociale" (journal of the group 'Volonté Communiste' (GVC), address: B.P. 3816, 75767 Paris Cedex 16, France or: 46 rue du Mirail, 33000 Bordeaux, France). Contents of some issues:

no.8/april 1982:

Belgium, Guatemala, Letter to James Schenkel or a new standpoint on workers autonomy, the revolution is a gambling

no.9/May 1982:

War propaganda, Guatemala, Middle East, What is a possible organization for revolutionaries

no.10/June 1982: Saint-Malo has the fevers

no.11/July 1982:

Blitzkrieg in Lebanon or the barbarian solution of the Palestinian problem, problems of the social question in the third world, instability and decadence

Capitalist

"Synthesis" (available from the League for Social Ecology, P.O.Box 1858, San Pedro, Ca. 90373, USA. Price for 5 issues in the USA \$25, outside the USA US \$4.)

Contents of the June 1982 issue:

The Best of Times, the Worst of Times, Foundations for Social Ecologists, Foggy writings, Karl Hess on the Libertarian Party, Emma Goldman - The place of the individual in society - review, Survival techniques in the nuclear age - review, Helen Caldicott and the anti-nuclear movement, Comments on previous issues, Bound Together Collective Bookstore, Seven theses on social ecology, European perspective on Poland (letter from Conrad H.Simon), Individuality and group size.

"De l'état de guerre polonais aux ordonnances françaises de 1959", a pamphlet on the supervision of work under the military (in french, price 2 f.f. available from Acratie, BP 53, 64100 Bayonne, France)

"Civil war in Italy?", pamphlet in french on the "autonomous" movement in Italy and the repression it suffers. Available from CERACS, 4 rue Charles Moreau, 75013 Paris, France. price 3,60 f.f.

"Transnational Information Exchange" (in english, available from TIE Europe, Transnational Institute, Paulus Potterstraat 20, 1071 DA Amsterdam, Holland). The international transnational institute publishes books and pamphlets on (multinational) industries, western countries and various organizations. Some of them are:

- Lucas Aerospace
- The world council of churches
- Italian metalworkers federation
- Ford

"About the Swiss movement" (in french, available from Anne Laennec, 6 rue du Guiram, 83200 Solliès Toncas, France). Critically written information on the youth revolt movements in the Swiss city

of Zürich and others and about the repression of them and their survival. Also: platform of 'Lausanne bouge' and The Berlin movement by itself (10 theses on self-reflexion).

"Pologne 1980-1982 - class struggle and the crisis of capital" (on Poland, in french, price 24 f.f. available from Spartacus, 5 rue Ste. Croix de la Bretonnerie, 75004 Paris, France) This brochure will be sent to all french subscribers of Echanges and we shall have some extra. We hope that the english translation will follow.

"L'intersyndicaliste", summer 1982, on unemployment. In french, available from: Le Grand Avalix 44600, France.

"Nuclear Madness" (in english) from: Be Free, PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440, USA.

"Au delà du parti" (beyond the party). Brochure by the collective Junius in french, is about the evolution of the party concept since Marx. Available from Spartacus, address see above. We shall review this pamphlet in one of the next bulletins.

"On the tasks of revolutionaries" (in english, available from KPL, I.Myrseth Thv, Meyerstr.5, Oslo 5, Norway. This text is followed by an article on the economic cycle of the world market after world war II.

"Communismo dei Consigli" (in Italian) (available from Tiziano Galande, Valdentro 32, 45026 Lendinara, Italia).

- No.1 Autonomia operaia e repressione.
- no.2 Guerra e rivoluzione
- no.3 Capitalismo o comunismo
- no.4 Polonia: quieto che Gli altri non dicono and other texts: Dalla pratica alla teorica ovrero presa di coscienza determinista; Ruolo globale del 'terrorismo'

"Basta" libertarian periodical, available from BP 105, 31013 Toulouse, France (in french)

"L'Eveil Internationaliste", available from: BP 221, 44604 St.Nazaire Cedex, France) In french. The May '82 issue had an article on a strike at Renault.

"Reflexiones sobre contra el poder y la Mercancaria" (in spanish) Aformacion del poder y negacion de la comunidad. El estado y el mercado - are articles in the 12/1980 issue. These texts from a group in Valladolid are available from Echanges.

"La Frondeur" (french publication for critical thinking), available from BP 105, 94402 Vitry Cedex. In the no.8/1982 issue: Short reflexions on intervention and organization, The concentration myth, Experimental contribution to the criticism of marxist ideology. \* France

NOTES

- Mutualist Books doesn't exist any more.
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