

ECHANGES

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ECHANGES ET MOUVEMENT is, 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 on all struggles of all kinds carried out by those directly concerned for their own emancipation. It is therefore important that each recipient makes his own contribution to this end in exchange for what he expects from others.

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For one year: 6 issues of the bulletin Echanges and two pamphlets (about 100 pages): 25 french francs or equivalent. Please write whether you want the english or the french edition. All subscriptions will begin the first of January. Subscribers in the first half of the year will receive all the issues published since the first of January. Subscribers in the second half of the year will be considered as subscribing from the following 1st of January but will receive all the bulletins from their subscription.

ECHANGES

The international get-together took place as foreseen (see Echanges no.34). We are busy writing the account, that will be sent to all subscribers before the end of the year, if possible.

PUBLICATIONS, GROUP ACTIVITIES

Belgium

● Bulletin Information Liaison no.49, feb.'83, in french, publ. by l'ASBL and the Groupe Autonome Libertaire, gives a file on anarchism in the 80's. Address: 2, rue de l'Inquisition, Bruxelles, Belgium.

● In Internationalisme (CCI belgian bulletin, in french), no.68 and next ones are articles on the situation in Belgium. Address: B.P. 13, Bruxelles 31-1030, Belgium.

If you are interested in bordiguist positions, the Groupe Communiste Internationaliste publishes a review Le Communiste (in french and spanish) (no.12 Against work, no.16 Nationalism against the proletariat) and a bulletin Action Communiste, more devoted to Belgium. Adress for these publications: B.P. 54, Bruxelles 31-1060, Belgium.

Canada

● The open road, spring '83, in engl. Address: PO Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver BE, Canada V6R4G5

Spain

● A change with imperceptible effects. Text on the present situation in Spain. Written from a discussion with a Barcelona worker (in french, copy from Echanges).

France

● L'Eveil internationaliste (B.P. 221, 44604 St.Nazaire, France) has published in french since feb.1983:

- leaflets on the factories in St.Nazaire/Nantes district, on the council elections, local struggles, the war Irak-Iran, redundancies

- a pamphlet (nr.4, march 83) containing the french translation of various articles from foreign groups, most of them already mentioned in Echanges.

● Courant Alternatif, monthly bulletin publ. by OCL (Organisation Communiste Libertaire) in french. Address: Egregore, B.P. 1213, 51058 Reims Cedex. No.12 of feb.83 contains an interview with a steel worker from Chiers in the north of France. No.25: articles on militantism; on the split inside Solidarinosc support committee in France; squatting in Paris; files on the unions in France; armed struggle a.o.

● La Guerre Sociale, address: B.P. 88, 75623 Paris Cedex 13, France; in french. No.5: criticism of ecology, international situation, problems of organisation and intervention, criticism of economy and politics.

● Agora, address: B.P. 1214, 31037 Toulouse Cedex, France. Libertarian review in french. no.14, winter '83: among other articles a text on the steel industry in France.

● I.R.L., address: ACLR, 13 rue Pierre Blanc, 69001 Lyon, France; in french. In the feb.'83 issue: the "Coral affair" (see Echanges 34); history of the group Noir et Rouge (presentation of the Noir et Rouge Anthology); on the 6th congress of the spanish CNT with interviews with various CNT militants.

● Le combat syndicaliste, address: 33 rue de Vignoles, 75020 Paris, France. Bulletin of the french CNT, in french, on anarcho-syndicalism in Poland

● Emancipations, address: B.P. 181, 64105 Bayonne Cedex, France. Libertarian local review in french.

● Chronique des Stratégies Présents (from: Le Frondeur, B.P. 105, 94402 Vitry Cedex, France). This review takes the place of 'Le Frondeur' (for last issues see Echanges). In this review: "Let us kill the ruling ideas"; role and strategy game among the new revolutionary generation.

● L'Intersyndicaliste, address: 11 rue St. Vincent de Paul, 13004 Marseille, France; in french. Criticism of the capitalist economy from the position of 'distributive economy'.

● Tout, address: 21 rue de la Butte aux Cailles, 75013 Paris, France; in french. no.1, dec.'82: squatting in Paris; on the steel factory Usinor-Dunkirk and the 'Syndicat de lutte de travailleurs' (see Echanges 34); discussion on Action Directe (see same Echanges). This new bulletin "wants to be an attempt to promote the process of collecting/circulating information and analysis on the movement. It is expressing neither a line nor a political project built far from any reality, nor an attempt to centralize... only the contribution of some autonomous individuals who feel the objective/subjective need to build a network of exchange and discussion among proletaires. 'Tout' is not the bulletin of a tendency ("autonomous") or the place to elaborate some theory (even autonomous) but an attempt to help the development of proletarian autonomy considered as the self-organisation of radicality, as the meeting of actual subjectivities. 'Tout' is an open place because we bet that the meeting between our differences and their confrontation (not to be confused with juxtaposition) are far more creative and efficient than any attempt to unite and centralize."

● Murs, address: CLARES, B.P. 111, 87003 Limoges Cedex, France; in French. Studies, discussions, interviews on the french prisons.

● Révolution Sociale, B.P. 30136, 75767 Paris Cedex 16 or: B.P. 39 Bordeaux Nausontry, 33034 Bordeaux Cedex France; in french. Contained: Achilles' heel of the bourgeoisie (criticism of ICC positions); the fight around the free radio; which position for the social movement; crisis, democracy and social struggles in Latin America; in the last article "In spite of all" and in a circular letter to subscribers and contacts, the french group 'Volonté Communiste' (GVC) explains why the only four members of the group have decided a temporary suspension of their bulletin. They explain it by lack of response to their activity (partly due, according to them, to the "crisis of the revolutionary milieu"). The group will pursue its activity in publishing pamphlets, leaflets and later a new bulletin. In a presentation of the Noir et Rouge Anthology (1956-1970) under the title 'Doubt is revolutionary', Revolution Sociale underlines what remains from Noir et Rouge, qualified

as a fundamental lesson: "an attempt to understand the real movement such as it is and not through the ideas of sectarian groups." We would have liked to find in this last issue a deeper analysis of the 'difficulties' of the GVC and mainly what these difficulties mean really when related to the real movement of struggle and the 'revolutionary chapel' of a voluntarist group of four militants.

● L'Insécurité sociale, address: BP 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France; in french. No.5, march'83: Blues, from which we will quote the first sentence: "Human beings are dying more from money obsession in their mind than from lack of money in their pockets." Other article on the huge scale and military useless bombing of Dresden on 13th feb.'45 (more than 200.000 people killed in one night). No.6: Your money or your life (on money, labour and life); terror and its agents in the capitalist world.

The same group has published a pamphlet 'Débats' containing the translation of some texts already mentioned in Echanges on the problems of organisation, revolutionary activities etc.

No.7, aug.'83: salaried labour and struggles for wage claims. Analysis of the limits of struggles in time of crisis.

● Spartacus, address: 5 rue St.Croix de la Bretonnerie, 75004 Paris, France. Has published a french translation of various texts of Paul Mattick:

- Marxism yesterday, today and tomorrow
- Rosa Luxemburg in retrospect
- State monopoly capital
- World crisis and workers' movement
- New analysis and old class struggle
- Was the Bolshevik Revolution a failure?
- Dictature of intellectuals
- Authority and democracy in the USA

Is there another workers' movement?

● Spartacus and Acratie (address: BP 25, Peyrekorade, France) have published an anthology of Noir et Rouge (Black and Red), review of anarchist studies from 1956-1970. After a short presentation of the history of N&R - mainly its location between anarchism and marxism - the book reproduces the most significant texts, classified according to some topics. Noir et Rouge was a small core of comrades whose influence went far beyond their number because they tried to overcome political taboos and to have a clear view of things. This influence is still alive today and so, their analysis around the following topics still useful: the review audits evolution (how to put oneself constantly in question), theory, anarchism and marxism, nationalism, Spain, organisation, parliament, free-masonry, against schematism.

● A letter from a french group gave us the opportunity to explain what is our aim when contacting other people or mentioning texts or publications in the bulletin. These comrades wrote about groups and publications mentioned in the previous

issues of Echanges:

"We would like to warn you against the group Action Directe. They have to be considered as enemies of the workers' movement because of their bureaucratic leninism, their support to third world struggles, their one-way criticism of american imperialism. It is possible that this group is manipulated by the police. We agree with what you said on the situation of the radical groups in France, but we will add this milieu is presently rather apathetic. The group Eveil Internationaliste rejects leninism in theory but not in practice. Its ideas on the working class, on organisation show a great confusion between their practical leninist trend and their desire to be critical to bolshevism."

Our answer is not to give a lesson but only to underline our position:

"Thank you for the 'warning' on Action Directe and Eveil internationaliste. We leave generally these abuses to the groups which compete in the leftist microcosmos. We think that the summing up of the positions of these groups (and when we know them in practice) is sufficient to allow all people getting this information to form their own opinion. The experiment of autonomy begins by exorcising one's own thinking and has nothing to do with preconceived opinions.

If we have to qualify as "enemies of the workers movement" all those very confusing and at the same time pretending to possess the universal truth, we would find a lot in the 'revolutionary' milieu. All this is not very important because the real struggle movement (not the pseudo-movement of small groups, how great their pretence is) gives constantly and immediately the real measure of all these people 'intervening' around and outside of it: the real movement ignores it. If we consider what you wrote on the police manipulation, we think any group cannot escape such a situation. More a group follows that way of 'action and intervention' at any price, more it has to become violent to compensate the futility of its efforts and the corresponding frustration, more it is only a piece in the traditional political game: even if not infiltrated (it's very easy to do so for the police, because the militants ask only blind obedience) its actions are immediately distorted notwithstanding the pureness of its intentions. They become part of the political game and a weapon against workers' struggles. Examples are numerous.

Open, underground, ignored leninism, contradiction between theory and practice are the most common things among the revolutionary milieu, whatever is the label: marxist or anarchist, councillist or situationist. We won't use the label leninist but elitist to qualify all those who think themselves the revolutionary world consciousness and are crusading in the holy land of the proletariat. Coming back to the above quoted groups, a last remark: anybody (including ourselves) is evolving according to the experience of his own activity because this experience

shows us what is relevant or not. But there are two ways to evolve: we can refuse to consider reality, i.e. to change our previous system of ideas and then, we escape by going ahead further and further in a kind of suicidal attitude. We think this is the situation of Action Directe (among others). We can also evolve by trying to change our system of ideas, but we cannot remove the curtain in one day. It is easier effectively to change one's theory than one's practice. We think it is the situation of Eveil Internationaliste. We will see what their present experience will bring to them. The most important thing is to find comrades open to a discussion not only on ideas but on practice too. It is not with insults that this evolution could go ahead: they will have rather anopposite consequence."

Great Britain

● Lucas Aerospace (see previous Echanges issues) An interview with Mike Cooley, one of the most active around the so-called Alternative Plan (alternative products for military equipment) published in the english bulletin 'Big Flame' was translated by the french trotskyist review Sous le drapeau du Socialisme, no.92-93, feb.'83, address: 42 rue d'Avron, 75020 Paris, France. This interview gives interesting information on how the L.A.-combine, a shop stewards committee, considered a kind of union self-management of a big trust (Lucas) and how it tried to draw the links between such a self-managed factory and the State and the Labour Party.

● Intercom (new address: Wildcat, Box 25, 434 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3 BN, England). In no.2: the new Solidarity - a phoenix from the ashes?; an engineer writes (on automation and capitalism); organisation and revolutionaries - a reply to centralist critiques. In no.3: report of an Intercom conference; the politics of Intercom; the case for ultra-left "entrism" within the "peace" movement; the Labour Party - rotten to the core.

● The Lucas Plan (published by Allison and Busby Ltd, 6a Noel Street, London W1V 3RB, England) is the most extensive book written by Hilary Wainwright and Dave Elliott on the struggle at Lucas. The book gives many details and shows what has been the impact, also internationally, of the Lucas Plan. (£ 2,95)

● Subversive Graffiti (address: c/o 163 King Street, Aberdeen). In no.8: No to all war; state violence against workers (about Denmark's docks and fishing industry strikes) * England

● Workers Playtime (address: c/o C.1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E.1, England). In the april '83 issue: nuclear war is great for business; flushed with victory (on the water workers strike); workers' autonomy?; no F.T. - no comment: how in a shipyard the shop stewards

committee broke a spontaneous solidarity strike against the sacking of a too militant shop steward; coming apart at the seams, about the manipulation by leaders of a national ballot on a general strike against closures rejected by the british miners; popular yarns of class war (Ford strike at Halewood).

In the June '83 issue: all out for a hung parliament (election 83); the Cowley washing up strike (at British Leyland); stewards scared shipless (on the shipyards); discussion on the Coops; people crawl for jobs (on the People's march for jobs).

● Solidarity (address: c/o Lathom Road, London E6, England). In Vol.1, no.2 were published several texts of Castoriadis, developing the same ideas as in his book (reviewed in Echanges no.30; author's introduction; Russian policy and society; power relations: the relevant imbalance) and four pages of responses, among them a letter from John King ending with "I can publicly disassociate myself from someone who can no longer be regarded as a socialist, nor a humanist, nor an internationalist. I invite other readers, individually or collectively, to do the same."

Holland

● Loon op Zand Exchange (address: Bas Moreel, van Hornestraat 15, 5175 CC Loon op Zand, Holland) no.1, may '83, in engl.: "This is a one person initiative by somebody with a somewhat eclectic interest although some bias will have been evident... This bulletin is meant to be what it says. On the one hand it is an expression of appreciation for those who have been sending me their magazines and newsletters and on the other hand it is an attempt to get some new exchanges." The bulletin gives articles and books abstracts only from the Dutch press (Holland and Flanders).

Hong Kong

● International Correspondence (address: PO Box 44007, Shan Keiwan Post Office, Hong Kong) in Chinese, except one article in English: ICC's "left in opposition perspective"; empiriocriticism and the role of revolutionaries; abstracts from articles in Chinese.

Poland

● A new french review La Banquise (address B.P. 214, 75263 Paris, France) contains a long article "Poland, looking elsewhere" trying to replace Poland's struggles in their international historical context. We can agree with a lot of analysis when this text tries to relate the movement of capital and the movement of class struggles. But we disagree when the author jumps in the bordigist thesis to look for revolutionary perspectives and a "communist movement" presently represented by a "very weak minority" who refuses all consensus. Only the english 1982 riots have not been recu-

perated and are opposed to all other struggles - including Poland - "which were lost in the dry sands of the capitalist world."

In the already quoted issue of Sous le Drapeau du Socialisme a bibliography of books and articles on Poland but only those analysing the struggle from a leninist bureaucratic point of view.

● La Poudrière Polonaise (address: Edition de la difference, 22 rue Rambuteau, 75003 Paris, France), in french, a critical praise of auto-limitation.

Portugal

● Pravda 1 (Fendu Edicoes lun Coimbra, Portugal) in portuguese on Portugal, Crisis, Spain, Poland.

Italy

● Collegamenti (G.Carozza, cp 1362, 50100 Firenze, Italia) no.5, dec.'82, in italian: writings from Marco Baluschi (who died in a mountain accident on the 4th of July '82). Collegamenti will start again their magazine this autumn (after a rest of 3 years). The magazine will be named 'Collegamenti-Wobbly' because the comrades of Wobbly will participate also. They write: "We have taken this decision because of important struggles that have developed in sectors like education, hospitals, and by jobless people. These struggles are interesting because of their attacks against the State as a result of all kinds of cuts (in social welfare etc.) and because of the facts that they lead to permanent organisations opposed to the unions..." "We hope that you are interested in an exchange of publications...and offer you a half page to present your bulletin."

● Metroperaio: analysis and consideration on the world car market, Alfa-Romeo and Renault.

● Collegamenti (see above) in no.9 of sept.'82: Precuratio a Milano: cambiamento della differenza e differenza del cambiamento.

● Il ruggito del topo, bulletin of teachers, Milano, may 1982

● Wobbly, nov.82 and feb.83 issues information on struggles in Italy.

● Block out no.4 and 5: another bulletin on the teachers struggles. All these publications in italian from Collegamenti.

USA

● Anti-authoritarian Anonymous, address: PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440, USA. Bibliography of John Zerzan's articles in English

● Fifth Estate (address: 5928 Second Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48201, USA) In the Spring '83 issue: Pentagon War Plans on Automatic; primitive versus civilized war; a family quarrel; book reviews.

● International Blacklist - An anti-authorian directory of groups, publishers, magazines, bookshops etc. Available from: Blacklist Group, 719 Ashbury Street, San Francisco, CA 94117, USA. No price mentioned.