

56

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SPAIN

Cultura Libertaria (Apartado de correos-1687 - Vitoria 01080 - Spain - in Spanish) N° 13/June '88: Lily Litvak. Anarchism in Brasil. Review of publications.

Odio al capitalismo (Hate for capitalism - AVVN. Apartado de correos 25-27080 Lugo - Spain) 'This new publication will try to get out each 2 months. By the moment, only in Spanish because, to write in another language is impossible. If you want to receive next issue we can interchange out publications. In this way these ones will be out more cheap for all, Ok? If you are interested into receiving it, you write (to the above mentioned address) and tell which is your decision. The price is 60p. each one. Greetings'.

La Estiba - Voz de los puertos (Boletin de la Coordinadora Estatal de los Estibadores portuarios - in Spanish) N° 38/June-July '88: Teachers strike. Information about the Asturian ports. Restructuring of the Cadiz shipyards. Industrial relations in the ports. Working agreements in some world ports.

CANADA

Open Road (Box 6135 - Station 6 - Vancouver-BC - Canada V6R46 - in English) N° 22/Spring '88: The politics of bombs.

HOLLAND

An imaginary museum of revolution (Jeffrey Shaw & Tjebbe van Tijen) Nieuwe Amstelstraat 70 - 1011 PM Amsterdam - Holland (in English

and French. A project to celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution. 200 Monuments, statues, sound images, dramatized presentations, etc.. about 200 revolutions from the last three centuries.

BELGIUM

A Contre Courant (BP 1666 - Centre Monnaie-1000 Bruxelles - in French) N° 2/Sept. '88:

On the content of the words: class, party and factory. Poland. Burma: workers struggles and laboratories of counter-revolution.

GREECE

Internationalist Bookshop (B.P. 10022-26016 Athenes - Kallidromiou 40 - 14473

Athenes - circular letter) The 'Internationalist Bookshop' belongs, as a means, to an extensive effort to accelerate international contacts, this task passing necessarily through communication on an international level and interchange of studies, essays and documents. Our intend is to present a collection of documents, as complete as possible, relating to every anti-capitalist, anti-state revolutionary tendency both of past and present, regardless of language or geographical position. Apart from books (which are always difficult to find, whether in new or in old editions in the markets abroad), we are particularly interested in having a collection as complete as possible of current international material including magazines, brochures and tracts.

Given that a like effort is quite new in Greece and that we stumble over countless difficulties such as a non lucrative enterprise is always bound to face, we are by no means in a position to buy all this material beforehand. We hope that there will soon be a growing number of people interested in reading and even buying regularly the international, anti-capitalist, anti-state press. Consequently, we invite any group who publish such material and share our opinion concerning the present need to edify a solid basis towards the extension of international contacts, to send us copies of their printed material of any kind us undertaking the obligation to return the money to them from the issues sold at the end of the year (or at any other time defined by them) and from which money we are not interested in withholding any commission.

BURMA

Killings fail to deter any angry people: not whether but when A detailed article on the recent fights in Burma (from Far Eastern Economic Review/August '88). Copy at Echanges.

PHILIPPINES

Poor get poorer: a worldbank report paints a grim picture for workers (from Far Eastern Economic Review/August '88 - in English). Copy at Echanges.

CHINA

Fish out of water - The military loses the prestige it once enjoyed (from Far Eastern Economic Review/August '88 - in English). Copy at Echanges.

GERMANY

Un rebelle dans la révolution - Allemagne 1918-1921 - Max Hölz (Spartacus - in French) Autobiography - youth, war and revolution with postfaces and other documents.

EASTERN COUNTRIES

IZTOK (BP 70 - 75563 Paris Cedex 12 - in French) N° 16/Sept. '88: Islam and bolshevism: confrontation between islam and bolshevism, an historical view. The Azeris (on Azerbaïdjan). Bibliography. Interview with Castoriades: Russia, the first candidate to the social revolution. Libertarians and liberal renewal in Eastern countries. Nicaragua. Yugoslavia: army against alternative, the Ljubljana trail. Poland: an anarchist movement. Bibliography on 'socialist countries' (Even if we can disagree with some ideas expressed in the review, we want to mention its seriousness and the quality of its information).

UNITED KINGDOM

Counter Information (p/4 CI - 11 Forth Str-Edinburgh - England - in English) N° 20/July-August '88: The Polish May: an eyewitness report. Bilbao battle. Actions against the poll tax. Emerging appeal for funds or any kind of support.

Solidarity (A Journal of Libertarian Socialism - c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6 2A - U.K. - in English) N° 18/Autumn '88: Necessary condition: what is it makes libertarian socialism so different? Precisely what set apart the demands of French workers and students in 1968, argues S.K. French, the insistence on self-management. China: the westernisation of practically everything. Black and red in black and white - review of Clifford Harper's book: Anarchy, a graphic guide (Camden Press). What Iran could do again - review of Assef Bayat's book: Workers and Revolution in Iran. A Third World Experience of Workers' Control (Zed Press. If we refer to this review, the book contains very interesting reports on class struggle in Iran in the early 80's)

Wildcat (BH Cat. - London WC 1 N 3 XX - see Echanges N° 55 to find who is who in W-heirs) N° 12/Autumn-Winter '88/'89: Cease fire in Angola begins.

U.N. chief sets Gulf peace date: down with peace for class war: neither war nor peace: revolution. Lessons of the P&O strike. Poll tax: exocet Thatcher's flagship. Split in Wildcat: councilism in decay. Slav revolt. USSR: unemployment speed-up strike resistance. Poland: the Phoenix and the fireman. Burma: a hungry mob is a angry mob. (review in another issue)

News from Everywhere (Box 14, 136 Kingsland, High St - London E 8 - Uk - in English) Inside information on the North London three month long civil servants strike (April '88). A text from 'Mendeka' - a reaction against political terrorist domination in Euskadi, 'an open collective, an alternative of an assemblyist nature, with no dominant ideology, which brings people together who want to act within an autonomous context' (1987). On squatting in London (SCH-careerists in the business of social control).

From the above address, you can get copies of two pamphlets recently produced:
- None shall escape - Radical perspectives in the Carribean - Fundi - Carribean Situationist (90p, including postage)

- Towards a history of workers' resistance to work: Paris and Barcelona during the French Popular Front and the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1938 - Michael Seidman (60p, including postage)

This reprint of an essay which has originally been published in the Journal of Contemporary History deals with a subject that - as the author says - has been largely ignored or underestimated by labour historians, Marxists as well as others: workers' resistance to work.

As Seidman puts it: 'Many Marxists view the working class as gradually acquiring class-consciousness .. making itself and eventually desiring to expropriate the means of production. Modernization theorists see workers adapting to the pace structure and general demands of industrial society'. None of them 'have taken sufficient account of the continuities of working-class culture which are revealed by its ongoing resistance to work', which can not 'be dismissed as 'primitive' or as examples of 'false consciousness'.

The study of workers' reluctance to work, for Seidman, shows that the claim by union and political parties of the so-called left to represent the working class is somewhat questionable. In developing this thesis lies the quality (and importance) of these 28 pages.

Basing himself on Spanish and French sources, the author shows that under 'leftist' governments too French and Spanish workers continued their traditional ways of resistance to labour in spite of calls by 'communists', 'socialists', anarchists or syndicalist for greater production, what created tensions between members of the working class and the organizations which claimed to represent them.

In both situations, persuasion and propaganda which aimed to convince the workers to work harder was inadequate and had to be supplemented by force.

'Unfortunately', Seidman adds, 'it is perhaps impossible to measure precisely the countless refusals to work. Workers' silence has impeded the discovery of the most significant acts of the class ... What is most essential is often the hardest to uncover'.

Seidman wants to stress that the view of a working class imbued with an implicitly unitary 'class-consciousness', overlooks that there are unmistakably several types of 'class-consciousness'. Sometimes between the lines, sometimes using plain words, he makes it perfectly clear by a lot of historical facts and examples, that the so-called passiveness or refusal of the working class to accept what so-called 'conscious'-workers or militants wanted or want to be believed, cannot be dismissed as 'unconsciousness' or 'false consciousness' but has to be characterised as a very different class-consciousness, which happens to be the consciousness of the large majority of the workers.

That the attitude of this majority, both in Spain and France in the thirties not only reveals how workers react on economic reality, but also clearly indicates the true character of the Spanish or French society of the time, doesn't need further explanation.

However, this to unveil has not been the author's main purpose, though, referring to the Spanish 'revolutionarists', he calls them 'the new ruling class'. Anyone who shares his opinion will certainly appreciate his text.

FRANCE

Le Brise-Glace (BP 214-75623 Paris Cedex 13-France - in French) N° 1: Palestine: l'avenir d'une revolte - a good article on the young

Palestinians revolt and on Israël and the Jewish problem in general. Terrorism: the war of falseness (on the group Direct Action).

Open letter to Hopis and Navajos Indians. 10 Thesis before the tempest (in French - Editions Oraibi - 26 rue Keller - 75011 Paris) An attempt to find a link between the struggle of Indians in the USA and the 'revolutionary tradition' among Europeans.

En avant Divorçons d'avec la Bourgeoisie (in French) Brochure cadeau/December '87. This pamphlet contains various texts borrowed from different sources (leaflets of the French student movement: December '86 - Iztok - committees of unemployed - situationist groups - ICO's pamphlet 'basis for a communist economy). How everybody could change his life and begin to build a new society, and on which basis (available at Echanges)

Kanakie mon amour - Après et par de là l'indépendance Free pamphlet from the same source (Kanakie my love - After and beyond independence) (in French - available at Echanges)

(publications to follow p 25)

WHO'S AFRAID OF THE SECURITY STATE ?

Th. SANDER

I

Within the short span of perhaps two decades West Germany has been transformed into one of the most highly developed police-states, if not the most highly developed police-state in the world, judging by the sheer extent and the degree of sophistication of control and surveillance. Everyone must register with a particular local government office when moving to a new residence; so there is no problem of keeping track of any person, dead or alive, provided you got any address of him or her from the last twenty years or so. Also every citizen is required to carry an identification card, always stating the actual residence; this year the authorities have begun to issue new identity cards in the format of check cards which can be read automatically by machines (portable ones, of course) and will greatly facilitate the business of mass controls at airports, on the highways, in trains etc. Against the vote of other EC member-countries West Germany is also going ahead with the introduction of a new Euro-passport with the same characteristics as the new identity card; at present an estimated average of only three per cent of people crossing borders will be controlled by border police, but this could be much more in the future. All the information gathered in police controls of any kind can now be stored easily by central computers, for whatever use. The social security institutions (e. g. the State insurance companies) keep records on the work history of the vast majority of working people; so there is no problem of finding out where you worked during the past forty to fifty years, for whom, how long and how much social security you paid. The local and regional tax offices have all the data on everyone's income and tax payments or exemptions from tax and are also collecting masses of detailed information on tax payers' living conditions including size of apartment, size of rooms and location within apartment (not surprisingly, when searching houses or apartments, the police often know exactly where to look for what), amount of rent paid, amount of money spent on radical literature, subscriptions to radical journals etc. Public service institutions supplying water, gas and electricity have ample information on the consumption behavior of every single household in this field; such information has

already been used for sifting through hundreds of thousands of electricity bills in order to find out secret hideaways of terrorists, presumably characterized by low electricity consumption. Public health authorities systematically gather information on all diseases of school-age children, on infectious diseases, drug addiction, homosexuality, venereal diseases, AIDS, prostitution, and in addition they have files on all kinds of disabled persons, on pregnancies and cases of abortion; moreover private and public hospitals always have voluminous dossiers on every patient including the answers to the usual questionnaires (sometimes with hundreds of questions on everything concerning your health, and that of your parents and grandparents), so there is no problem in finding out why you were in which hospital and for how long twenty years ago. Automatic camera surveillance of important public places like airports, train stations, major street crossings, nuclear power stations, parliament buildings, banks and insurance companies has become a standard feature of police operations; whenever there is a demonstration of any importance, additional cameras are often hidden along the route to take as many photos of participants as possible. A Federal Bureau for automotive traffic has a register of every car owner (i. e. of every second West German citizen) including his or her involvement in traffic accidents, infringement of traffic rules, tickets received (except minor cases), withdrawals of driver's licence etc., and always stating names and addresses of all persons sitting in the car. And this list is still far from being complete. In order to be able to handle such enormous masses of information the secret service and the police have built up vast computerized systems of information handling and storage. They are constantly expanding the volume of the information at their disposal by tapping directly the data stores of institutions like the ones mentioned above and by their own vast dragnetting operations. Taking part in any demonstration (the wild ones and the ones authorized by police headquarters), leafletting for a union demanding higher wages (not the destruction of bourgeois society and its State), petitioning parliament to stop arms sales to the Middle East countries and other forms of inappropriate protest will inevitably get you into the data stores of police and secret service computers, the data serving for whatever purpose whenever needed. Anyone applying for a job in the public sector will be X-rayed for

political reliability: No-one will get a job as a messenger boy in the Ministry of the Interior (or any other administrative body), as a cook in a State penitentiary, as a train driver for the national railway company or as a teacher at a public school without the computers of the police and the secret service having been consulted before. Applicants have in fact been surprised by the information available from police computers: Doubts about their political reliability had arisen from the fact that their cars had been seen once not too far away from a place where the Moscow-oriented West German Communist Party held a public meeting.

By now anyone reading this description of the contours of the West German police-state might have the impression of a climate of fear and anxiety and of passive acceptance of the status quo prevailing in the West German population in the face of a perfect machinery of control and surveillance. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. The West German capitalist system moves faster and faster down the hill, and at the same time the West German State looks more and more vulnerable and weak. Talking about the rapid development of the security state, it seems logical to say that a stable social system does not need a gigantic machinery of social control or, putting it the other way round, a social system modelling its State in the manner of Big Brother thus betrays its own instability. If there is a climate of fear and anxiety in West Germany, then the ruling class, the politicians, the police etc. are more liable to be affected by it, and indeed it is their security which the security state is trying to guarantee in the face of growing instability and unrest, even resistance and opposition. There is no way of giving a systematic overview of the phenomenon of resistance and opposition and its causes right here. But a case study of this year's national census might as well suffice to get a glimpse of the increasing hysteria of Government agencies and parliaments, of the insatiable greed of the secret services and the police for more and more data on every single citizen, of the never-ending blindness of the organized political opposition being lost in the wilderness of intensifying class struggle, and of the irreversible trend towards the total alienation from politics and political institutions of the vast majority of the population, explaining not only why the census did not produce

the kind of results it was expected to have , but also why the West German State strives to get so much information on every single citizen.

In spring 1982, just a few months before the governing coalition of Social Democrats and Liberal Democrats was ousted from its position, the Bonn parliament passed a law concerning the census in 1983, acting in total innocence of course, as if the law was not giving the administration full power for an operation of spying out the entire population, an operation without any parallel in German history, the Third Reich included, and certainly also in European history. Nobody protested in parliament, surely the parliamentary opposition (the Christian Democrats) did not have any reason to do so, and the law was passed unanimously. This in itself is a measure of the arrogance of all the parties represented in parliament, but also of the ignorance of politicians in questions of popular discontent and in grasping the dramatic changes in the relationship between politicians and citizens. Anyhow at that time nobody really believed in the possibility of an extra-parliamentary protest movement against the census. The public relations officer of the Federal Census Bureau, being asked by a journalist at the beginning of 1983 about the possible consequences of 100000 citizens disrupting the census, was still very confident, saying: "This is a purely hypothetical question. A refusal of such a magnitude would be without any precedent, and I am totally at a loss to see why this should occur right now in the case of the 1983 census. This has never happened before, and in my opinion the assumption of mass disruption is totally unrealistic. I simply cannot believe this is going to happen." Indeed he was correct in pointing out that never before had there been any mass protests against the census. With the last census in 1970 only 25 out of a total of 141 major cities in West Germany had reported on fines for stubborn opponents to the census, the city of Bremen being by far top of the league with a total of 122 citizens fined for not complying with the law. Before that, in 1961, the mini-protest movement had even been more mini than that.

But in april 1983 the Supreme Court, in a remarkably unanimous decision of all eight judges, none of them having a reputation for radical leanings, halted the census after civil rights activists, led by the Green party, challenged it because of plans to share census information with 'law en-

forcement agencies' and to use census information for updating personal data in the files of the tax office or the local offices for registering all residents. The Supreme Court would hardly have done so if it had not been for the widespread protests (their motto being: Politicians have questions, citizens don't answer) and the evident anti-census groundswell in the population. There was talk of one quarter of the population refusing to be counted. Surely the Supreme Court had no intention of questioning the right of the government to submit the entire population to a regular census. It only thought unconstitutional the way citizens were asked to fill out a questionnaire which allegedly served statistical purposes only, but in fact could also be regarded by the tax offices, the criminal courts, the secret service and others as a voluntary self-indictment of individual citizens.

It took the Bonn parliament and the government coalition of Christian Democrats and Liberal Democrats four years to repair the damage and to get ready for the next round, combining a micro-census (about which I won't say anything here except that data are gathered from a statistical sample of one per cent of the population and that anyone selected for the micro-census will have to answer a minimum of 79 questions on a week by week basis over a period of four years) and the census properly speaking. For the census there were three types of questionnaires: one for landlords and owners of private homes asking questions about buildings and apartments, one for employers and self-employed people asking questions about individual firms and workplaces and a general one for every one of 25 million private households in West Germany. This time the government started a massive advertising campaign stressing the usefulness of census data for more rational and efficient State planning and in the end for every citizen, and emphasizing the complete confidentiality of census-gathered information. In particular it sought to create the impression that the strict guidelines of the Supreme Court for any census had been respected, that personal data would not be stored along with the other statistical data and would eventually be destroyed, that local census offices would be totally separated from other administrative units, that 600000 census helpers would be carefully selected and well prepared for the task, avoiding to employ them within their own immediate neighbourhoods, and that sharing

of individual data with other federal or regional administrative bodies would not be permitted. Moreover households were no longer obliged to answer the questionnaire in the presence of census helpers, but could also return the questionnaire personally to the local census bureau or send it in by mail in a closed envelope. This last improvement, however, was never publicised very much by government agencies, for evident reasons, and at this point everyone at the Census Bureau still hoped for a maximum of twenty per cent of questionnaires being sent back by mail.

Once you have got used to the general idea of governments thinking and acting like they should know as much as possible about the private matters of the governed and the governed should know as little as possible about public affairs as handled by governments, you will of course not be easily convinced by anyone saying: You can trust me, even if I don't trust you. I am only gathering all these personal data in order to cross-check with the other information I have about you and to be able to establish the necessary links for further evaluation of all the statistical data. Once I have done this, I won't need your personal data anymore, and I will destroy them. You have only got to trust me." Suspicious attitudes were further reinforced by newspaper reports on a statistical experiment undertaken at the University of Hamburg by a professor of mathematics and one of his students. Taking a model population of 100000 fictitious people with computer-generated names and addresses, they were able to show how the anonymity of almost everyone of them could be easily lifted even after the destruction of the personal data, simply using less than a dozen of the general statistical data as gathered with the census. There were not many people who could imagine how the government would be able to guarantee confidentiality particularly in the small villages, but optimism was not much stronger as for the confidentiality of information in the cities. In the end the most pessimistic voices were proven to be wrong by the events - they had still been too optimistic. After the census the city of Munich, for example, spread the news that the most outspoken leaders of the boycott movement were the ones who had most diligently answered all the questions. Certainly this information was totally in line with confidentiality, since the names and addresses, the annual income, the personal debts, homosexuality etc. of the boycott organizers

were not made public at the same time.

While there was widespread suspicion regarding the confidentiality of census information, there was downright disbelief as to the usefulness of direct head-counting and the resulting information for ensuring a higher quality of government planning and politics. Above all, the government argued, we need exact population figures for distributing local revenue sharing money based on population figures and for determining the boundaries of constituencies. We need reliable data on the age pyramid of the population in order to be able to maintain the present level of old age pensions and the system of social security in general. We need exact unemployment figures and data on the structure of employment in order to give everyone a chance in the labour market and to stimulate the opening-up of new job opportunities for the unemployed. We need exact figures on school achievement, vocational training and other skills of working people in order to find ways of balancing manpower demand, occupational requirements and educational policy. We need exact figures on the number of apartments and houses available, on the age of buildings, on second homes, on empty houses and apartments, on the availability of bathrooms and kitchens, on rents paid in order to determine the proper size and nature of housing problems and to take the initiative for balancing offer and demand. We need exact figures on the ways of heating homes, on the sources of energy used in the heating of homes in order to know if and how to encourage the modernization of heating systems, thus making a contribution to the protection of the environment. We need exact figures on the means of transportation used between the home and the workplace or school/university and the time needed for going to work or school/university in order to get a solid base for planning transport services and the extension of road networks.

Needless to say that most people were not fooled by such arguments. Looking at the experience of past censuses in 1961 and 1970, living conditions of the population and in particular of the dependent workforce definitely had not improved with more reliable statistics being available. Quite to the contrary, more detailed and more reliable statistics had either not prevented or even served to further the rapid deterioration of the social security system, most markedly ever since 1973, the dramatic rise of unemployment figures to

post-war record levels of four to five million people (to be compared with the roughly two million people officially counted - talk of reliable statistical data in order to get a more solid base for rational planning!), the renewed emphasis on elite formation and social selection in educational institutions, the explosion of rents and building costs, the increasing share of nuclear power stations, widely opposed by the vast majority of the population, in the generation of energy, the continuing pollution of air, water and soil, the shutting-down of so-called un-economic parts of the railway system and the local bus services together with the construction of vast new airports and new runways for existing airports etc. It should be noted that in 1961 and 1970 people were absolutely willing to comply voluntarily with the census, and the census-gathered information must have been quite reliable and complete. So the question is why politicians or governments have been increasingly unable to deliver the goods they promised to deliver, although they definitely had lots and lots of information.

A very primitive concept held in high esteem by certain leftist groups would be to regard politics as pure and simple fraud and politicians as professional liars. Certainly there is no denying of fraudulent behavior and manifest lies on the part of many politicians, but then the moral defects of politicians are insufficient for explaining the fundamental defects of politics in a class society. A more adequate understanding might be based on two insights: First, the results of State activities are hardly ever in conformity with the aims. This does of course contradict typical beliefs of politicians which might be characterized as the myth of mechanical society, the myth of society as a machine and of politics as social engineering, with the politicians just pressing buttons and pulling levers, and the machine doing exactly what they want. It is in this context that politicians try to get as much information on the mechanical functions of the supposed machine, for example by a regular census. Having so much information and pushing buttons like mad, it must be utterly disappointing for politicians to see the supposed machine doing all sorts of

things, but not what they expect it to do. But it is totally ^{produced by} inconceivable for them that such unexpected and unwanted results are often State authorities themselves. If anyone wanted to explain in a few words, why there was hardly any disruption of the census in 1970 and why there were so many problems with the census in 1983 and in 1987, then one of the main factors would surely be the massive build-up of the security state between these two dates.

Second, any government is incapable of directing, planning or only predicting the development of society, because class societies are evolving according to laws of their own which are simply out of the reach of political control. Whatever information a government might have, it would not be able to make any effective and rational use of it, even conceding it would be capable of interpreting the available information in a rational way (which surely is already an unrealistic assumption). Politicians don't have any fundamental choice of alternative political strategies, and they don't know why they do the things they do, why they have no fundamental choice between alternatives, why political strategies don't work out the way they want them to, who is opposing them and for what reasons. Take for example the West German government's view of the opposition to the census, clearly distinguishing between a vast majority of law-abiding citizens needing just a bit of exhortation (a few days before the beginning of the headcount the Minister of the Interior was quoted as saying that everyone refusing to answer the questionnaire would be regraded as a terrorist; probably he did more than anyone else to convince many hesitating citizens of the absolute necessity to disrupt the census) and a very small minority of radical organizations recommending the boycott of the census and needing harsher treatment by the police and the secret service (they sure got plenty of it). The West German government was soon to learn how totally wrong it was.

Virtually the entire West German green, rad-lib and radical left movement has been active in the boycott of the census, desperately trying to convert it into a demonstration of its own strength, influence and leadership qualities. Jumping on the bandwagon of widespread criticism of the census (according to opinion poll results obtained by the Federal Bureau of the Census a few weeks before the beginning of the headcount, only just a little more than half of the persons interviewed envisaged voluntary compliance) seemed to offer a first-class opportunity for regaining some of the ground lost ever since the disappointing and demoralising outcome of the vast protest movement against the deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe a few years ago. The green, rad-lib and left layer which has always been used to seeing itself as the real fundamental opposition to the existing power bloc or at least as the predestined, legitimate standard bearers of the real opposition, thus dominated by the most grotesque illusions and even being confirmed seemingly by massive police clampdowns, did not lose any time: In an unparalleled effort the organized opposition established an enormous network of hundreds of boycott centers all over West Germany serving for a wide variety of purposes, in particular counseling and advising the population on the census, distributing leaflets/articles/books, putting up information stands, staging public discussions and lectures by specialists on political and legal aspects of the census, organizing protest demonstrations and ultimately collecting the questionnaires of boycotters.

The main problem of the organized political opposition was that of channeling the popular protest and dissatisfaction in such a way as to provide visible support for its own particular cause. For evident reasons this was above all a question of the articulation of the anti-census movement, but then also a question of defining the aims of the boycott and of defining the role the organized opposition had to play in the boycott. As far as the articulation of protest was concerned, there were indeed three fundamental options available to potential boycotters: The first option was a soft boycott; in this case you would basically answer the questionnaire, but using as much as possible little lies, contradictory statements, making all sorts of faults, disregarding instructions how to fill out the questionnaire, delaying return

of the questionnaire etc. The inventive genius of some of the boycotters led to suggestions like the ones made by a Hamburg based Computer Chaos Club: Don't accidentally spill any coffee over the questionnaire! Absolutely avoid graphite paste as used for defreezing car locks somehow getting thinly distributed on the questionnaire because this might cause the total breakdown of the computer! Don't cut off a 4.4 mm strip from the top or bottom margin of the questionnaire because the census computer will then not be able to correctly read the answers! The second option was playing games with the census bureau, bombarding the authorities, preferably the Federal Census Bureau, the Ministry of the Interior, the President of the Republic etc., with phone calls and letters demanding more information on specific questions, e.g. how to calculate exactly the size of your apartment in order to avoid giving wrong answers and being fined for it; or pretending to have lost the questionnaire and asking for a new copy etc. The third option finally was hardcore boycott, i.e. open refusal to answer any questions and to hand back the questionnaire to the census bureau.

Right from the start the near-totality of boycott organizations had decided to opt for the third strategy which seemed to be the only one giving their own cause a boost by enhancing the prestige and power of the organized political opposition, in particular of the Greens who had the biggest battalions in the boycott movement. Once such a decision had been made to coordinate the efforts of the boycott organizations, it became necessary to play down the effect of the soft boycott and to denounce it as a helpless personal gesture without any political importance. This is in fact what they did, saying for example in one of the fast-selling handbooks for boycotters: "It should be clear to everyone that the soft boycott will be of hardly any importance at all. It will fail to make any impression on the state authorities and the general public. It will serve more to make yourself feel better than to prove you are ready to act in a politically conscious and responsible way. ... The only way of making a public impact with a political action will be to return the unanswered questionnaire, with the registration number cut off, to the local boycott initiatives."

Such hollow-sounding arguments were repeated over and over many times. If you are willing to accept the dominant ideology of politics, if you think of political alienation as a normal and perhaps even comfortable state of affairs, then of course the distinction between meaningless individual activities and meaningful organized (=collective) activities, between helpless personal gestures and powerful political actions would make sense. But for anyone not aspiring to leadership positions in the state apparatus of bourgeois society the question surely was not whether their specific behaviour might be seen as political or apolitical in terms of the dominant ideology. Anyone not totally out his/her mind could easily see that a soft boycott of hundreds of thousands of citizens could hardly be dismissed as a helpless gesture, and that the anonymous opposition of the unknown boycotter would be worth no less than the conspicuous opposition to the census as suggested by boycott organizers.

On the other hand, who could be surprised about the sects including the Greens proposing political action? Instead of fighting against politics as a mode of alienation, the organized, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary opposition has always preferred to fight against the popular alienation from politics. Instead of fighting against the state the organized opposition has always pretended to fight against the transformation of a supposedly democratic state into an authoritarian state. The anti-census movement absolutely made no secret enthusiasm for democracy telling people in one of the propaganda brochures against the census. "Everyone of us is threatened by the imminent danger of Big Brother watching all of us. Nobody should close his/her eyes to this development - and have to regret it later, saying: I did not know what all this was about. At the same time one thing should be perfectly clear to everybody: Individual actions by isolated persons operating in the dark will be easily ignored or digested by the state apparatus, and in the end they will have no political effect whatsoever. Only uniting for open resistance will help to prevent a disaster. Don't rely on democracy somehow continuing (!!) to exist, or on others fighting for you in defence of democracy. Fight yourself for democracy!"

Just like medieval painters had depicted the horrors of hell awaiting those who disregarded the moral teachings of the church, so the organized boycott movement started depicting the horrors of fascism awaiting all those who did not believe in the splendors of capitalist democracy and were not willing to risk their lives for the defence of bourgeois civil rights. One of the most stupid arguments ran as follows: 'The Third Reich counted heads forty-eight years ago, and now the Fourth Reich counts heads again. In 1939 there was a census which was not only used for the war plans of the Third Reich, but also provided data for rounding up Jews block by block, house by house to send them to their death. There is every reason to believe that West Germany's government wants census-gathered information for progressing along the same lines.' Anyhow, if the Fourth Reich counted heads in 1967, could there be any question of your rallying to the defence of democracy and of the Constitution? There were even leaders of the rad-lib movement who had only recently attracted public attention by proposing to let hundreds of republican clubs flower for the defence of democratic rights and of the Constitution. As if the so-called democratic rights and the Constitution in general had not regularly served to legitimize all sorts of violence and repression against citizens by the state authorities. As if there were two ways of interpreting the Constitution, a liberal reading and a repressive reading, and two ways of running a democracy under capitalism, and not just one.

While extolling the virtues of participatory democracy and the human values of the Constitution, in order to convince the public of what the aims should be in boycotting the census and why everyone should support the organized opposition, the boycott organizers could not ignore the widespread disillusionment with democratic institutions, but did not hesitate to turn people's disillusionment into an argument against them. In their publications derogatory comments abounded about these poor, unknowing creatures who have to be admonished constantly not to submit passively to the police-state, who would just be delighted to have another census after seventeen years' pause if they were not kept informed by

someone about the dangers of the security state, and who would not have the faintest idea of what they could do to boycott the census if somebody was not writing guidelines for them. With the usual cynicism one commentator wrote: "It looks as if we needed catastrophes like the one at Tchernobyl before people will wake up (!) from political apathy (!) ...". The complete disregard for the widespread refusal of political alienation, for the self-activity of people could not be expressed more clearly. No wonder then that only a tiny minority of West German citizens (recruiting themselves mainly from the educated layers) blindly followed the recommendations of the boycott organizations.

Up to this very day it is impossible to say exactly what the results of the census were, and for various reasons we will probably never learn in detail, how many people boycotted the census in one way or another, what regional distribution the boycott had, how many people got away with the hardcore boycott, and how many were fined or even jailed for it, how many people deliberately were not included in the headcount. And yet one thing is absolutely certain: The census has been disrupted by a majority of the West German population, and at the same time the census boycott has been the second major defeat for the organized protest movement in this decade. This clearly testifies to the maturity of the unorganized opposition in West Germany.

Considering the very high expectations of boycott initiatives, the strategy of the hardcore boycott as advocated by the near-totality of boycott initiatives, has collapsed completely. With several thousand addresses of centers for turning in the unanswered questionnaires (e.g. more than 150 addresses each in Berlin and Hamburg, two of the foci of organized opposition to the census), there was only a trickle of hardcore boycott evidence in major cities and hardly anything at all in smaller towns and villages. Experts had calculated long before that a national average of at least five to ten per cent of the population boycotting the census was needed to cause real damage in the evaluation of the census. Weeks after the beginning of the census the regional government of Lower Saxony began voicing fears of refusal rates up to five per cent in university towns like Hannover, Göttingen, Oldenburg and Braunschweig. At the same time the national bureau of boycott initiatives, publishing regularly total figures of hardcore boycotters in order to encourage the hesitant to join the boycott movement, signalled a meagre 800000 boycotters for West Germany as a whole, equalling just above one per cent of the population. These figures were of course utterly disappointing, even if taking into account that two or three months after the beginning of the count a considerable number of ques-

tionnaires was still held back by individuals in big cities mainly, developing a wait-and-see attitude, and that in major cities like Hamburg and Berlin a large number of households had not even received a questionnaire. This was partly because of household members being absent or not opening the door for the census helpers, partly because state authorities, evidently in a deliberate move, chose to tackle certain problem areas separately and therefore delayed the distribution of questionnaires in these areas or sometimes even did not bother at all to distribute them.

With hardcore boycott figures being as miserably low as they were, their publication could not possibly have the effects they were meant to have. Instead of encouraging people to join the boycott movement, they were indeed more apt to discourage even hardcore boycotters to go to the very limit of being taken to the courts for violation of the census law and being sent to jail. It came as no surprise when the united front of boycott organizations started to crack and to fall apart: Many staunch defenders of open refusal having preached the gospel of joint, unswerving, open resistance to the security state for months on end, like prophets of doom in the face of an unbelieving crowd, then suddenly felt compelled to back down completely, saying: 'We don't want any martyrs' and 'To continue recommending steadfastness does not make sense anymore'.

While the organized boycott of the fervent admirers of democracy went down in total defeat, with the hardcore boycott turning out to be the softest spot of the boycott movement, the unorganized boycott can be seen as a massive demonstration of the refusal of the State.

State authorities of course ignored signs of warning when they ran into serious difficulties recruiting the necessary numbers of census helpers. With a legal obligation for every West German between the age of 18 and 65 to work as a census helper and after a month-long advertising campaign, only 7500 helpers could be hired in West Berlin instead of the necessary 20000. In Hamburg only 2700 voluntary helpers could be found instead of the required 13000, and in other major cities no more than a fifth of

the helpers needed could be rounded up. Thousands of citizens, mainly from public administrations, went to the courts to fight against their nomination as (involuntary) helpers, and in the end many census bureaus had to turn to school students from the age of sixteen upwards for taking over the job.

The first surprise already came when questionnaires were distributed to the households. State authorities had expected about eighty per cent of the population would be willing to sit down and answer the questionnaire in the presence of the helpers giving the necessary informations and explanations and having an eye on the answers being given correctly. In fact more than fifty per cent of the West German population made use of their legal right to refuse helpers access to their homes, promising to send in the questionnaire by mail within a fixed period. The second surprise came when the census officials had a closer look at the questionnaires returned by mail: for entire regions like Lower

Saxony and the Sarre fifty to sixty per cent of the questionnaires were officially described as being of no use for the authorities. Instead of marking the answers to multiple choice questions with the prescribed pencil, people had used a ball pen or had made corrections of entries by ball pen, thus making automatic computer reading of the questionnaire impossible. Instead of making pencil strokes in prescribed places, they made crosses which could not be read correctly by computers. They simply forgot to answer questions or to give the necessary details. In millions of cases they were not even able to say if they were male or female. As one census official put it in disgust: People did everything wrong they possibly could do wrong. Among questionnaires sent back by mail the leading official at the census bureau in Regensburg (Bavaria) found almost none which was filled out correctly. Unfortunately he was unable to discern if people were just uninformed, careless or of bad faith. In Würzburg (Bavaria) census helpers had to go back to one third of all households to clarify contradictory or missing answers, and in Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg) 160 employees of the census bureau were whipped into doing overtime at their telephones trying to get supplementary information from more or less

half of all the households in the city. A widely read newspaper comment ironically diagnosed serious faults, if not a real state of emergency in the field of public education. In a few cities there were no ways of even trying to save the count at all. In Hamburg, for example, 50000 questionnaires had not been sent back to the census bureau and 100000 households had not received a questionnaire yet, months after the beginning of the count. Normally the authorities would have to send reminders to every single household by mail, with households having to acknowledge receipt of the reminder right at their door. But in doing so the authorities would have incurred costs of five Deutschmarks per letter, and this was money they simply did not have. Similar problems have arisen in West Berlin where about 250000 households have not returned the questionnaires or never got any. The local census bureaus are confronted with chaos, and the value of the census-gathered information can be described in just one word: scrap.

Th. Sander

Elements of Refusal - John Zerzan, Left Bank Books, 283 pp., \$8.95 plus \$1.50 postage from Left Bank Distribution, 5241 University Way, N.E., Seattle, Wa 98105. DB29 carried information on Questioning Technology (\$11.95 + \$1.50 postage from the above address) of which Zerzan was one of the editors. Instead of compiling other people's essays as in the latter, Zerzan has collected 20 of his own in Elements of Refusal. As the title suggests, these all concern human resistance - in this case to what Zerzan regards as the dehumanizing march of technology.

Zerzan would seem to be one of the most tireless and far-ranging researchers in this field. His articles on the resistance to industrialization, especially in England and the U.S. and to the regimentation of factory life and the machine are heavily documented as are some of his less gratifying - to this reader - essays. The latter include 'The practical Marx', which documents some difficult-to-explain words and actions of Marx and Engels. From my point of view he is the best in four essays on the origin and function of unionism and a couple on the unconscious revolt of youth against contemporary culture. Like Questioning Technology this deserves a longer review and we hope to combine the two in a review in an upcoming issue. (from Discussion Bulletin, N° 30/July '88).

Le Communiste (BP 54 - BXL 31 - Bruxelles - Belgium - Central organ in French of the G.C.I.) N° 27/July '88: Massacre at Hallabja (on the Iran-Irak war). The debt question: enough writings - 1984-'85-'87 worse than foreseen: an example, France. Contribution to the critics of political economy.

L'Intersyndicaliste (Groupe de Salariés pour l'économy distributive - 11 rue St. Vincent de Paul - 13004 Marseille - France - in French) N° 26/April-May-June '88: What are we waiting to be happy. Problems about mutuality.

Cash (53 Avenue des Gobelins - 75013 Paris - in French) N° 10/May-June '88: Social insecurity. To remove poverty. For a real citizenship. A.N.P.E: having people in more precarious situations helps to control them. Recomposing the productive work. Social minimum and guaranteed income.

Courant Alternatif (OCL/Eggregore - BP 1213 - 51058 Reims Cedex - France - in French) Autopsy of a town: Marseille and the old pig (Le Pen). Immigration. The rock movement. The restructuring of state capitalism: perestroïka and working class.

I.R.L. (13 rue Pierre Blanc - 69001 Lyon - France - in French) N° 77-78: a copious file on May '68 in France. Discussion about productivism.

Antisémitisme et progrome de Beyrouth - Freddy Perlman (Interrogations c/o I.S. BP 243 - 75564 Paris Cedex 12 - France - in French) This pamphlet is the translation of a text first published in Fifth Estate (1982); this new edition is put up to date with some addings.

USA

Synthesis (A newsletter & journal for social ecology, deep ecology, bioregionalism, eco-feminism and the green movement, PO Box 1858, San Pedro CAL 90733 - USA - in English) N° 27/April '88: The birthing of a movement: on divisiveness and differences in green politics. Review of the Murray Bookchin's book: 'The rise of urbanization and the decline of citizenship'.

Labor Notes 'Let's Put the Movement back in the Labor Movement' (7435 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Mich. 48210 - USA - in English) N° 111/June '88: Jackie Presser's Replacement is 'Same Stuff, new wrapping'; say Teamster dissidents. Poland: a new generation confronts a faltering economy and half-hearted reform. Miners fight to keep foothold in Non-union west. N° 112/July '88: Unemployment, the real story. Teamsters impose rejected freight contract. Job security and shopfloor representation are key issues in election at GM-Toyota plant (Fremont). N° 114/Sept. '88: Ousted officers suddenly become reformers: Teamsters

carhauers reject contract by 729. Computers in the wrong hands turn offices into sweatshops. Paperworkers vote dues increase to continue fight against international paper. N° 115/October '88: Teamster factions go for each other's throat. Lunafil strikers win after 410 days. Will Dukakis rescue the Labor Movement?

Workers Vanguard (paper of the Spartacist League of the U.S. - Box 1377 GPO-New York, NY 10116 - USA - in English) N° 456-1/7/'88: Capitalist America in physical decay: New York bridges are falling down. Polemics about the English trotskyist tendencies (WRP, SWP ..) N° 457-15/7/'88: Victory to Electric Boat strikers (10.000 out at General Dynamics Shipyards). N° 458-29/7/'88: Solidarnosc Dirty Dollars. Perils of perestroïka (Turmoil at the top in Gorbachev's Russia). N° 459-12/8/'88: Smash Fed's Vendetta against Teamsters: Unchain the unions. Bitter legacy of Reutherism: GM/Toyota/UAW tops team up against workers. N° 460-9/9/'88: S.F. Hospital workers back Boosco Down. N° 461-23/9/'88: Metro North workers flex their muscle. Eastern workers: sock it to Lorenzo. N° 462-7/10/'88: Armenia at the flash-point: perestroïka fuels nationalist turmoil.

Industrial Worker (IWW - 3435 N. Sheffield Avenue -suite 202 - Chicago - ILL. 60657 - USA - in English) N° 7/July '88: Another 8-9 in the making? Shipbuilders' local union fights for survival. Solidarity unionism.

News & Letters (59 East Van Buren, rm 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605 - USA - in English) N° 4/May '88: New youth movement challenges Reaganism. Dunayevskaja's new perceptions of Lenin. N° 6/July '88: Workers are more than just spare parts. Druff for marxist-humanist perspectives 1988-89. Iranian workers' strike.

In These Times (1300 West Belmont - Chicago - Ill. 60657 - USA - in English) N° 25-18/5/'88: Opening new doors for the left: Citizen Action's hi-tech reach. Solidarity and workers not solid in '88 strikes. N° 27-8/7/'88: Chilean coal miners: more victims of 'Chicago boys'.

Support Report (published by Austin United Support Group - 711 . 4th Avenue-Austin - MN 55912 - USA - in English) Vol. 2, N° 20/21/23/24-July/August '88. This weekly paper provides a lot of information on the day to day workers' struggles in the middle of the Usa. This support group was settled during the Hormel strike. It is still supporting the 8-9 families fight but gives as well its help to any fight in which - as usual - union bureaucracy has to be opposed as well as bosses.

Discussion Bulletin (PO Box 1564, Grand Rapids, Mi 49501 - USA - in English) N° 30/July '88: A page from labor history: the Detroit IWW or the Workers

International Industrial Union. What is 'revolutionary Unionism'? Correspondence: letters from Tiziano Galaute 'Basic ideas for the councils' communism'. From Internationalism. Review of books and bulletins. N° 31/Sept. '88: Publications. Long article on the Coordinadora in Spain (see Lá Estiba). Who are the anarcho-syndicalists? Reviews of 'Communist Organizations & Class Consciousness' (published by the ICC) and 'Non-market Socialism in the 19th and 20th centuries' (Macmillan).

Fifth Estate (4632 Second Avenue - Detroit - Mich. 48201 - USA - in English) Summer '88: May protest in Detroit: stopping the incinerator starting the movement. Industry as the origins of modern domination: Industrial domestication. May-June '68: the battle for France. Letters from Poland. Anarchy in Toronto (the 1988 gathering). Agriculture: essence of civilization.

Begging: to give or not to give (Time 5/9/88 - in English) With panhandlers at every corner, people are running out of patience - and change - a very long description of the poverty in the US and the reaction not only from the ruling class but from the people having job & money (copy at Echanges).

Detroit as seen by Montreal dailies (l'Horrible du voisin Lysiane Gagnon - in French) 'All Detroit is like a bombed town .. It has the American record of murders: 686 in '87, more than in Canada ..' (copy at Echanges).

Internationalist Perspective (External fraction of the ICC. - PO Box 1748, Montclair, NJ 07042 - USA; BM Box 8154, London WC 1 N 3 XX - UK; Destryker-BP 1181, Centre Monnaie, 1000 Bruxelles - Belgium - in English and in French) Class struggle in Britain: the truce is over. Critique of the ICC's intervention: what kind of 'struggle groups'? Polemic: 'Privatisations' and state capitalism. On the roots of the ICC's degeneration: mistakes on the mass strike in Poland. Centrism and opportunism in the workers movement: a break with the ICC.

Health troubles at military plant add mystery to top-secret project (New York Times 18/9/'88 - K.B. Noble) The article provides a lot of facts on the use of very dangerous materials used in the aeronautics industry and on their bad effects on workers' health. Nothing new even the dirty tricks of employers to escape their liability. 'Modern industries' are even worse than the old ones, because workers are treated there as guinea-pigs. (copy at Echanges)

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