



...To be used up as we are, like the gears of a machine, the living stop-gaps of the economy- how could any of us believe that higher pay could abolish the essence of our misery- to have a price where I remain a human being no longer but instead become a piece of variable capital!...

photo taken from Soviet Life, March 1986. Alongside appeared the caption, 'Work must be respected'

angry workers' bulletin

INSIDE: Articles on:

- Why we do this:
- class struggles in the U.S. Armed Forces
- The necessity of mass theft
- Why "workers' self-management" would be a drag
- The Russian Revolution
- the content of post-capitalist social relations

Shot twelve Stalinists, three social democrats and one anti-semite... before breakfast! after lunch...

Why are we smiling? Because giving bosses and Stalinists their comeuppance is fun!..



BUDAPEST 1956

Sure it's fun! For what is our subversive happiness if not the feeling that proletarian power is increasing, that the resistance of our enemies is being overcome...

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORKERS INSURRECTION IN HUNGARY

no.1

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 SUMMER 1986

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STATEMENT OF DESIRE

The situation of the human species is fundamentally characterized by a terrifying crisis of social organization. While this crisis may be subsumed under the over-arching rubric of a "crisis of civilization" (after Grandizio Munis), its predominant objective manifestation is that of a crisis of political economy. The economic crisis can only be seen as an organic and epochal deterioration and contraction of the bourgeois productive and exchange apparatus, a delimitation of its intrinsic process of accumulation and expansion. What we are witnessing is the classical breakdown of the capitalist system, as foreseen by Karl Marx.

The world we live in is not primarily characterized by the manipulation and exploitation of the many by the few, although this observation contains some limited truth. Our world is the world of Capital, it can be historically defined as bourgeois civilization, society ruled in its entirety by the terrorist dictatorship of capitalist social relations. Capitalism is the specific form of society based on the extraction of surplus value from wage-labor, on generalized commodity production, of production for market exchange rather than for direct human use, of abstract and dead labor over human creativity. The mystery of commodity production and exchange, and its contradictions, prompts all other forms of estranged social and personal relations,

the elimination of all personal and communal interaction not based on exchange value. All of the overriding features of human oppression- the misery and loneliness that stunts our ability to be with ourselves and with other human beings, the alienation of humans from the natural world, the massive poverty and death by famine or malnutrition of one out of every six human beings, ethnic and national wars and ecological ruination are directly traceable to the mode of production defended by every government, politician, police force and army on this planet. In its guise of the nation-state and geographic blocs of political and military power the only solution for the regeneration of the capitalist system is one of world conflagration: its only possible "renewal" through a cumulative drive toward a third international imperialist war and self-destruction, and the destruction of the greater part, if not all of humanity with it. The "future" capitalism has in store for us can already be seen in the barbarism of the "small" wars being fought in several dozen different areas today. The uncertain position of our species, and the possible destruction of this planet in a third world war or an ecological catastrophe brings the Social Question to the fore- Why do we end up "living" the way we do?

Having begun by summoning up images of pain and annihilation, we should say that although we think that capitalist civilization will be destroyed, we do not think that the capitalist system will be able to take humanity down

with it. We think it is not only imperative but also more likely that the bourgeois slide towards total genocide will be thwarted by a world-historical leap beyond the entire mechanism of value/market production by the vast majority of the global human population- several billion women and men who sell their labor-power to the commodity economy or suffer the consequences of their inability to sell their labor power, who directly produce and reproduce the basis of capitalist society and have the most to gain from its suppression. Like Nietzsche's Hypoboreans, in the actions of our class today against the conditions of its existence our class must know where it has come from. Those billions of us without property or social reserves, in our life of dispossession, have to become the conscious subjects of our own history. The defeated social revolutions of this century, with all their flaws and limits, and the dynamic seen today in the angry violence of the dispossessed, in South Africa for example, are the embryonic expressions of the future anti-statist, unyielding class dictatorship against capital world-wide, what must become a warlike negative communist movement without frontiers or compromises, the new world trying to come alive. While others speak of peace, we must wage war, when others speak of democracy, we shall destroy. The generalized 'party' of planet-wide social revolution will be a social form by definition anti-hierarchical, anti-representational and anti-democratic. For the abolition

of all acts of buying and selling, the suppression of politics and the economy, the overthrow of "work" and "leisure" as such, of the social function of art and culture, the self-abolition of the working class as a social relation and of class society's conceptions of time and space. It's very likely that in the coming stateless and moneyless world human community we will all tend to be freely bisexual and non-monogamous. We feel that the destruction of capitalist social relations is not just going to occur as, say, a series of measures enacted by an international communication of workers' councils 'The Day After The Revolution'. It exists as a greatly repressed tendency in collective struggles today, and in many small gestures and attitudes. We want to try to understand this.



Not just Capital, which Bakunin himself described as "brilliant", but the many other profound and emancipatory writings of Marx and of the only real anti-capitalist proletarian current that emerged from the corpse of Official Marxism during the wave of revolution that swept the globe following World War One, the political tendencies usually referred to as left communism,

Our publication, the Angry Worker's Bulletin, is produced by a small number of people, ex-anarchists for the most part. We want to produce this publication two or three times a year and provide information and analysis of the world today from a social revolutionary class war perspective. We also want:

- **** To analyse the failed revolutions in the past...
- **** To develop a strategic understanding of workers struggles today...
- **** To analyse the cultural and psychological aspects of our oppression.

The particular currents of subversive theory and action which we find more useful than others begin in the revolutionary theory of Marx.

particularly the Dutch and German left communists. We also feel that there cannot be any modern revolutionary analysis that doesn't incorporate the insights of the Situationist International. We identify strongly with much of the authentically communistic trajectory of the libertarian tendencies in the workers movement. By this we mean its hatred of all authority and bureaucracy, its all-sided emphasis on the emancipation of the individual, the implacable opposition of revolutionary anarchists to the State, their concern for moral and spiritual regeneration within the revolutionary movement, its stress on self-activity and mutual assistance.

One of the most fundamental lessons of twentieth century history, a key point separating the "revolutionary milieu" (if we can call it that) from the garbage and bullshit of groupings on the left wing of the capitalist political ensemble is a recognition of the generically anti-working class nature of unionism, in any form. One of the most important things we intend to do in the Bulletin is to get out information on working peoples struggles that are beginning to take on an anti-union context. One such strike began last fall among two thousand predominantly female Latina and Mexican employess of two canneries in Watsonville, California. Some of us were active in the strike support committee in San Francisco before the support committee became an unpaid Salvation Army operation for the deservedly rotten image of the union. The strikers went out against the wishes of "their" union, the Teamsters,

and initially formed a strike committee which had some real anti-union aspects. We are in the process of writing an article for an upcoming issue of the Bulletin about the ways that the union apparatus has functioned to prevent the extension of the strike to other canneries and to regain control of the strike against the strikers.

We want to analyse the complex nature of the Industrial Workers of the World. That is to say, the I.W.W. when it was a real expression of combative proletarians, before its demise as the expression of a real social movement in the 1930's. We don't think that the historical I.W.W. can really be tarred with the brush of anarcho-syndicalism. The I.W.W. was a very eclectic organization and there were many tendencies in the I.W.W. who tended to push the I.W.W. towards being a kind of radical labor merchandizing outfit, but there were other tendencies in the I.W.W. that tended to more closely resemble the 'unitary organization', the A.A.U.D.-E. of the revolutionary movement in Germany after World War One. Was the I.W.W. a kind of 'pre-councilist' formation?

We have to re-examine the events in Spain in the 1930's. The whole question of what happened has become so shrouded in the reduction of the content of social revolution against capital to "workers' self-management". If the capitalist state in Spain was never destroyed, can what occurred in Spain be called a "revolution"? Or was it just a horrible imperialist war where the movement towards revolution was crushed by a

counter-revolution led by the Social Democrats, the Stalinists, the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. To what degree did a movement towards the destruction of the state and towards authentic communism occur in Spain? What about the social measures that the Spanish workers attempted to enact? What was the real content of so-called "workers' self-management" in Spain? A kind of autarkic capitalism? Or the beginnings of a kind of 'anti-mercantile command economy', a kind of 'war communism' of the workers? We'll also analyse the completely counter-revolutionary role of the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T and the F.A.I., how the anarcho-syndicalist organizations went over wholesale to the side of the capitalist state and helped to organize the exploitation of labor and the war effort for the capitalist Republic.

We want to analyse anarcho-syndicalism in the decades before World War Two. An aspect of such an analysis has to focus on the tendency of anarcho-syndicalist movements to have functioned as a kind of radical working class politics of "extra-parliamentary reformism", with

~~the libertarian union~~, playing the anarchist version of a social democratic mass party, gathering together the largest possible number of people so as to have an influence in this society as it is, as a capitalist society

We hope our Bulletin will prove to be a worthwhile effort. Send articles, criticisms, complaints and death threats to:

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This publication is the common effort of several groups of people in the United States. Other addresses are:

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Milwaukee, Oregon 97222

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OUR INTERVENTION AGAINST 'FLEET WEEK' IN SAN FRANCISCO

From Saturday Oct. 12 to Wednesday Oct. 16 a large flotilla of ships of the U.S. Navy's fleet in the Pacific were stationed in San Francisco and across the Bay at the Alameda Naval Air Station. San Francisco's Mayor Dianne Feinstein uses this annual event, known as "Fleet Week," as a pretext for celebrating the importance of the war economy to the City's merchants and businesspeople. It seemed logical to refer to our leaflet as "Mutiny Week". The phrase sounds kind of humorous and it serves to convey the difference between an anti-capitalist class war perspective and the silly moralizing of the peaceniks, liberals and leftists that the Bay Area is positively crawling with. A small group of us

gave out around 300 copies of this leaflet to Sailors and Marines, mostly around the tourist traps of Fisherman's Wharf and the North Beach area. There were only one or two cases of extreme hostility to us; on the other hand none of the Sailors or Marines offered to take copies back to their ships to give out to other enlisted people either. And since the leaflet speaks favorably about fraggings, sabotage and the collapse of the armed forces through mutiny we thought that putting a return address on the leaflet was more likely to draw the attention of the F.B.I. or Defense Intelligence cops than from radical enlisted people.

I wrote the leaflet on mutinees and looking back on it there are a lot of things I ended up forgetting or leaving

out because of space considerations. I wanted to begin by attacking the commemorations of the ending of the second world war but there wasn't enough room. I also wanted to deal more with the psychology of nationalism in the U.S. and the implications of the death of this society in a different kind of war, in civil war which will hopefully not be too destructive to human life or the natural and material world around us. But any written or broadcasted expression of an opposition to capital and the state can only contain elements of a more "unitary critique", and ending every leaflet or article with clarion calls in exclamation points looks silly after a while.

WORLD CAPITALISM- A ONE WAY-TICKET TO ATLANTIS.... WAR OR REVOLUTION?

The past few years have seen a wholesale rewriting of the history of American involvement in Vietnam. From the official government versions of the events to extremely violent television shows and movies like *The Deer Hunter* and *Rambo*, the people who rule us are attempting to glamorize the slaughter of the Indochinese Wars as a prelude to the next war. It might be in the Phillipines or Southern Africa, Central America or Korea. It might be fought on five or ten fronts simultaneously with the Soviet Union. Or maybe they'll send us off to massacre the populations of Spain or Italy or Britain in the suppression of a revolutionary civil war in Western Europe.

The pressures of the world-wide economic crisis are pushing the rulers of the United States towards war. And the corporate executives, politicians and bureaucrats who will profit most from a war are preparing us for the war by a reproduction of extremely nationalistic values and hatred of people from other parts of the world, pushing everything from Saturday morning cartoons and toys for children that glamorize nuclear war and bacteriological weapons to the camouflage clothing that became fashionable shortly after the Iranian Hostage crisis of 1979-1980. The rulers of Russia are using similar propaganda tactics to get the Soviet working class lined up to fight and die for their bosses.

The ruling circles of the United States are preparing for a big war. A war for which they hope that the people in the Army

and the Navy and the kids they'll draft will quietly and unquestioningly work, kill, and die. And a part of their reason for wanting us to forget what really happened in Vietnam is so we'll forget what defeated their war efforts - and the importance of the resistance of the enlisted men and women against the war effort.

SOLDIERS IN REVOLT - "SEASICK SAILORS"

The first major symptoms of the breakdown of respect for authority in the military emerged among the ground troops of the Army and the Marine Corps. For soldiers in the combat zone, a radical opposition to the war became an important part of avoiding horrible injury or death. From the more mild forms of political protest and disobedience of war orders the resistance among the ground troops grew into a massive and widespread "quasi-mutiny" by 1970 and 1971. Soldiers would go on "search and avoid" missions, intentionally skirting clashes with the Vietnamese and often holding three-day-long pot parties instead of fighting. Commanders would be threatened with "fraggings", forcing them to worry more about their own troops than about the "enemy." War equipment would be sabotaged and destroyed. By 1972 roughly three hundred anti-war and anti-military newspapers, with names like Harass the Brass, All Hands Abandon Ship, and Star-Spangled Bummer had been put out

by enlisted people. Riots and anti-war demonstrations broke out on bases in Asia, Europe and in the United States. By the early 1970's the government had to begin pulling out of the ground war and switching to an "air war", largely because the ground troops who were supposed to do the fighting were paralyzing the world's mightiest military force by their sabotage and resistance.

With the shifting over to an "air war" strategy, the Navy became an important source of resistance to the war. In response to the racism that prevailed inside the Navy, black and white sailors often rebelled together. The most significant of these rebellions took place on board the U.S.S. Constellation off of Southern California in November 1972. In response to a threat of less-than-honorable discharges against several black sailors, a group of over one hundred black and white sailors staged a day and a half long sit-in. After docking in San Diego, 132 sailors were allowed to go ashore, and refused orders to reboard the ship several days later, staging a defiant dockside strike on the morning of November 9th - perhaps the largest act of mass defiance during the war. In spite of the seriousness of the rebellion, not one of the 132 sailors involved was arrested.

Sabotage was a very useful tactic. On May 26, 1970, the U.S.S. Anderson was preparing to steam from San Diego into the Pacific for Vietnam. But someone had dropped nuts, bolts and chains down the main gear shaft. A major breakdown occurred, resulting in several thousand dollars worth of damage and a delay of several weeks. Several sailors were charged, but because of a lack of evidence the case was dismissed. With the escalation of Naval involvement in the war the level of sabotage grew. In July of 1972, within the space of three weeks, two of the Navy's aircraft carriers were put out of commission by sabotage. On July 10, a massive fire swept through the Admiral's quarters and radar center of the U.S.S. Forestal, causing over seven million dollars in damage, and delaying the ship's deployment for over two months. In late July, the U.S.S. Ranger was docked at Alameda. Just days before the ship's scheduled departure for Vietnam, a paint-scraper and two twelve-inch bolts were inserted into the number-four-engine reduction gears causing nearly one million dollars damage and forcing a three and a half month delay in operations for extensive repairs. The sailor charged in the case was acquitted. In other cases, sailors tossed equipment over the sides of ships while at sea.

The House Armed Services Committee summed up the crisis of rebellion in the Navy:

"The U.S. Navy is now confronted with pressures...which, if not controlled, will surely destroy its enviable tradition of discipline. Recent instances of sabotage, riot, willful disobedience of orders, and contempt for authority...are clear-cut symptoms of a dangerous deterioration of discipline."

That resistance and contempt for the military by enlisted people was often directly linked to civilian resistance to the war, and to the beginning of social unrest in the United States itself. Men who had learned to rebel inside the Navy, the Army, the Marine Corps and Air Force contributed to the beginnings of a wildcat worker's movement in the auto factories of Michigan and Ohio, and the coalminer's strike in 1977.

Along with the uprisings in the inner cities of the United States, the rebellions in the armed forces were the American expression of a wave of world-wide working class revolt, occurring in the same period as the General Strike in France in May 1968, the big strikes in Italy and Germany in 1969, the insurrection in Poland in 1970, a series of big strikes and riots in Brazil, Argentina, the General Strike in Shanghai, China against the state-capitalist dictatorship of Mao-Tse Tung.

The era we find ourselves in, an era of the re-emergence of working-class combativity on an international scale since the late 1960's, recalls in many ways the years following the first World War. World War I, like the Second World War, was a direct result of the competition between the major capitalist powers of the day for control of the world market. But unlike the Second World War, World War I did not end with the total defeat of one set of capitalist nations by their rivals. World War I wasn't ended by any liberal "peace movement", by middle class pacifists or 'disarmament negotiations', World War I was ended by the wholesale collapse of the armies and navies of major combatant nations like Russia and Germany in revolutionary mutiny, by mass strikes and insurrection across Russia and Central Europe. The soldiers and sailors of different nations, who were supposed to hate and murder one another, fraternized with each other, turned their guns against their officers and went home to fight for revolution in their own countries. There were mutinies in the British Navy and in the armies of the British colonial empire in Asia. Naval bases like Kronstadt in Russia and Kiel and Wilhelmshaven in Germany became important centers of revolutionary organizations and action. The French invasion of Revolutionary Russia was crippled by the mutiny of the French fleet in the Black Sea, centered around the battleships France and the Jean Bart. A revolutionary in the French Navy was quoted at the time as saying, "The workers of Germany, Austria, and Hungary were fighting an armed struggle, and revolutionary strikes were raging in Italy, Spain, Switzerland, all over Europe, and in faraway Argentina...the French soldiers and sailors saw before them the revolution which was rousing the masses of the people in France."

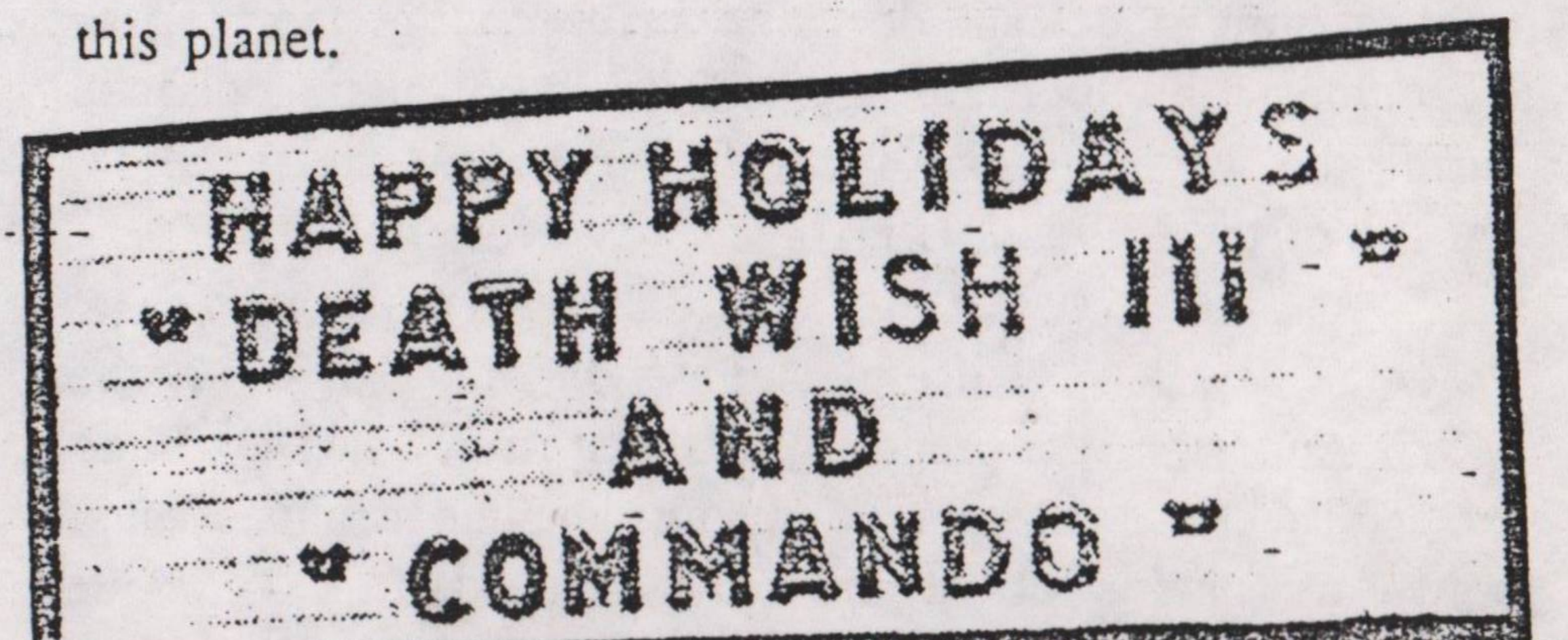
The horrible world wars of this century, the more than 40 "small" wars raging all over the world today, the threat of extermination of the human race and of all life on this planet, the butchering governments and death by starvation

and malnutrition of one out of every six human beings aren't caused by "human nature". They are the direct result of capitalist society, the world of social relations based on the exchange of objects and activity through money, the system of wage labor and the market economy which finds its values created and reinforced by religion and the family, schools and the news media, organized sports, the sex industry, and the work ethic. Capitalist society was born in warfare and has only continued to exist in the 20th century through a terrible cycle of international war, reconstruction and economic collapse. The basis of power in capitalist society is the modern nation-state. The state is only the monopoly of armed violence by which a ruling class maintains its dictatorship over the rest of society in general and over the working class in particular. And the basis of the power of the state is the armed forces.

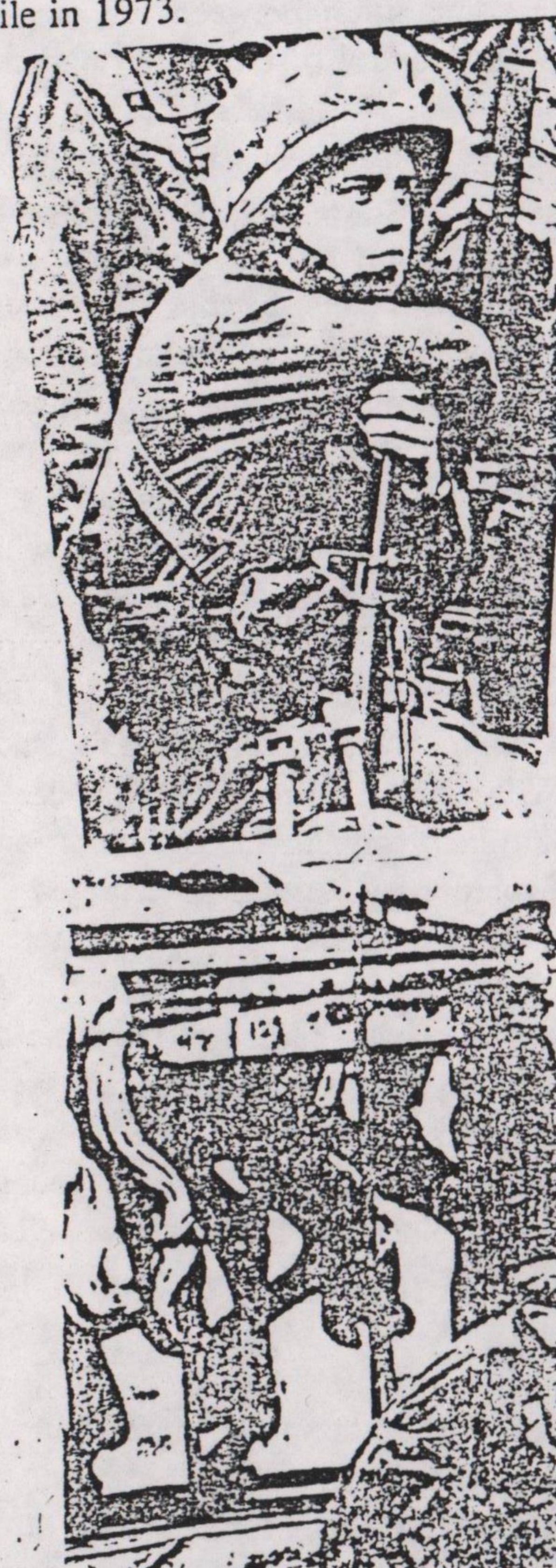
It's very clear that one of the most important functions of the NATO and Warsaw Pact forces is to prepare for the suppression of social unrest in Europe, the way the Polish army did in 1981. In the nations of Latin America, the only real purpose for the armed forces is the suppression of working class movements towards revolution, like that in Chile in 1973.

The managers of capitalist society in the East Bloc and in the West find their system heading into the gravest crisis in the history of the capitalist world. The response they are planning to "save" capitalism could lead to our total extinction as a species - unless the basis of their economy and power is collapsed from within by the working class men and women who they depend on.

There are no "free societies" anywhere in the world today. No ruling class in history has ever given up its power and its existence without a fight, and the men who rule the world today won't be any exception. It may not be very long before the crisis of capitalist society forces into being an authentic anti-authoritarian rebellion against capitalism, in other parts of the world, and even here in the United States - one that goes beyond even the most radical moments of the worker's movement in Poland in 1980 and 1981. At that point in time, the conscious revolutionary collapse of the army and navy will be necessary not just for the possibility of a successful social revolution, but for the very survival of humanity on this planet.



The oath of allegiance: a memorable day in the life of every young soldier



Revolutionary Mutineers in Berlin, 1919

INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES:

DENMARK AND BRITIAN

The British Miners' Strike 1984-1985

The year-long strike by coal miners in Britain in 1984 and 1985 was the most drawn-out and violent strike in several decades of class conflicts in Great Britain. The following article was produced as a leaflet and distributed during the miners' strike by the anti-capitalist revolutionary group 'Wildcat', in Manchester, England. We reprint it here with an introduction from a left communist publication, The Communist Bulletin, produced in Edinburgh, Scotland, where this leaflet was reproduced in the Number 8, April 1985 issue. Publications by various groups of revolutionaries in Britain have shown in their analysis of the miners' strike the same basic lessons that can be seen in the recent strikes by cannery workers in Watsonville, California and the strike and riots of Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota: That all unions, no matter how 'radical' their verbiage, are police mechanisms against the struggles of their working class members and against non-unionized workers, that working people have to create an organized combativity outside of and against the control of the union apparatus, that a strike action that remains limited to a specific section of unionized workers is inevitably going to be defeated. Any strike movement must attempt to link itself to strikes in other enterprises and to a effective opposition outside of workplaces by other proletarians whether they are employed or unemployed. And the violence of strike-breakers and the State (the police, private security firms, the National Guard) must be confronted by the mass collective use of violence by working class women and men: One of the points that is particularly important in the Wildcat leaflet is the way that the collective struggles of working class people lead them into confrontation not only against bosses, against the economy, against the unions and the state, but also against the oppression of women and against the capitalist sexual division of labor, towards the empowerment of women and men as equals in rebellion.

Introduction from the Communist Bulletin Group:

Throughout the miners' strike revolutionaries have insisted that the only way forward was the generalization of the struggle. However strong any single section of the workers might be, if they remain isolated they will not be able to confront the entire strength of the capitalist state. Proletarian strength can only lie in solidarity and self-organization. Solidarity does not mean charity. It does not mean simply giving support to workers in struggle. IT MEANS MAKING THE STRUGGLE YOUR OWN. It means striking together for common demands, because all sections of the working class community face a common fate under a capitalism in its death throes- endless sacrifice. The miners' fight failed because it failed to achieve the generalization of solidarity throughout the working class. However in one critical area the miners did succeed in this. The magnificent integration of the people of mining communities and miners' families, particularly the women, into the strike contains vital lessons for the whole working class in their future struggles. First of all it means that the organization of the fight must be open to ALL who make common cause with it. ALL meetings, all picketing, all activity, all strike committees and picketing committees, ect. must be open to ALL. Secondly, this can only be achieved by going against the unions and smashing union control. The unions will NEVER allow this type of generalization because it removes their power base. Therefore the vital lesson to understand is that generalization of solidarity is inseparable from self-organization....

MINERS! LEARN FROM YOUR WIVES!

Thousands of women are playing a vital supporting role in mining areas. Without this involvement, initiated by the women themselves, miners would have been in a far weaker position to fight. As a woman canteen worker at Parkside pit put it: "It mustn't be forgotten that this strike wouldn't have lasted more than three months

without the self-sacrifice of miners' wives and the participation of thousands of women in support groups".

However, many NUM ('National Union of Mineworkers'- British miners' union, A.W.B. note) branches have refused to give money to the kitchens. Women from Fitzwilliam in Yorkshire say they haven't had a penny from the union. Other branches have tried to impose strict conditions on the way money is used in the kitchens, to make sure the women know who's boss. Women from Upton miners' support group refused NUM money. They said "they wanted to give a donation on condition that they had a say in the menu! But we're answerable to nobody". At Tower Lodge in Hirwain, Wales, NUM officials insisted that one hundred pounds collected by the women had to go to them instead. A miners' wife told how "its like working with the Mafia. Terry Thomas (Vice-President of South Wales NUM) came chasing after the money, and I wouldn't be suprised if Neil Kinnock wasn't far behind". (Kinnock: the leader of the Labor Party in Britain. A.W.B. note)

When women want to go beyond the kitchen sink, and go picketing, they have an even harder time of it. At Wistow colliery miners themselves organized a picket of a local power station, inviting all their supporters along. A miner described what happened: "The NUM officials came down and told us to leave because the pickets had not been organized by the NUM and not all the pickets were NUM members. They also told the female pickets to get back to the soup kitchen where they belonged! One official went over to the police lines inviting them to deal with us as they wished because we were nothing to do with the NUM". This shows which side the NUM is on!

Militant women want more than to be allowed on the picket line. They want a say in running the strike. But despite their support and involvement, the wives and families of miners are not allowed into meetings to discuss the strike strategy and tactics. It is vital that everyone who is actively supporting the strike is treated as equal in taking decisions about what to do

and how to conduct it. Women from a Welsh pit village told why they were banned from strike committee meetings- they had criticized the running of the strike, whereas the men were afraid to criticize 'their own' leaders.

Why are union officials so hostile to women becoming more actively involved in the strike? This demand challenges the very heart of trade-unionism. For once you let miners' wives into the branch meetings, and elect them onto strike committees, a precedent is established. Once non-miners are allowed to fully participate in the strike, the way is open for more and more people to be drawn into the struggle- until what you have is no longer a trade-union dispute, but a mass strike. In this situation, union leaders would lose any special claim to authority. They recognize this threat to their power. They are afraid of women activists who bluntly refuse to do what they tell them. No wonder they tell women to 'get back to the kitchens'.

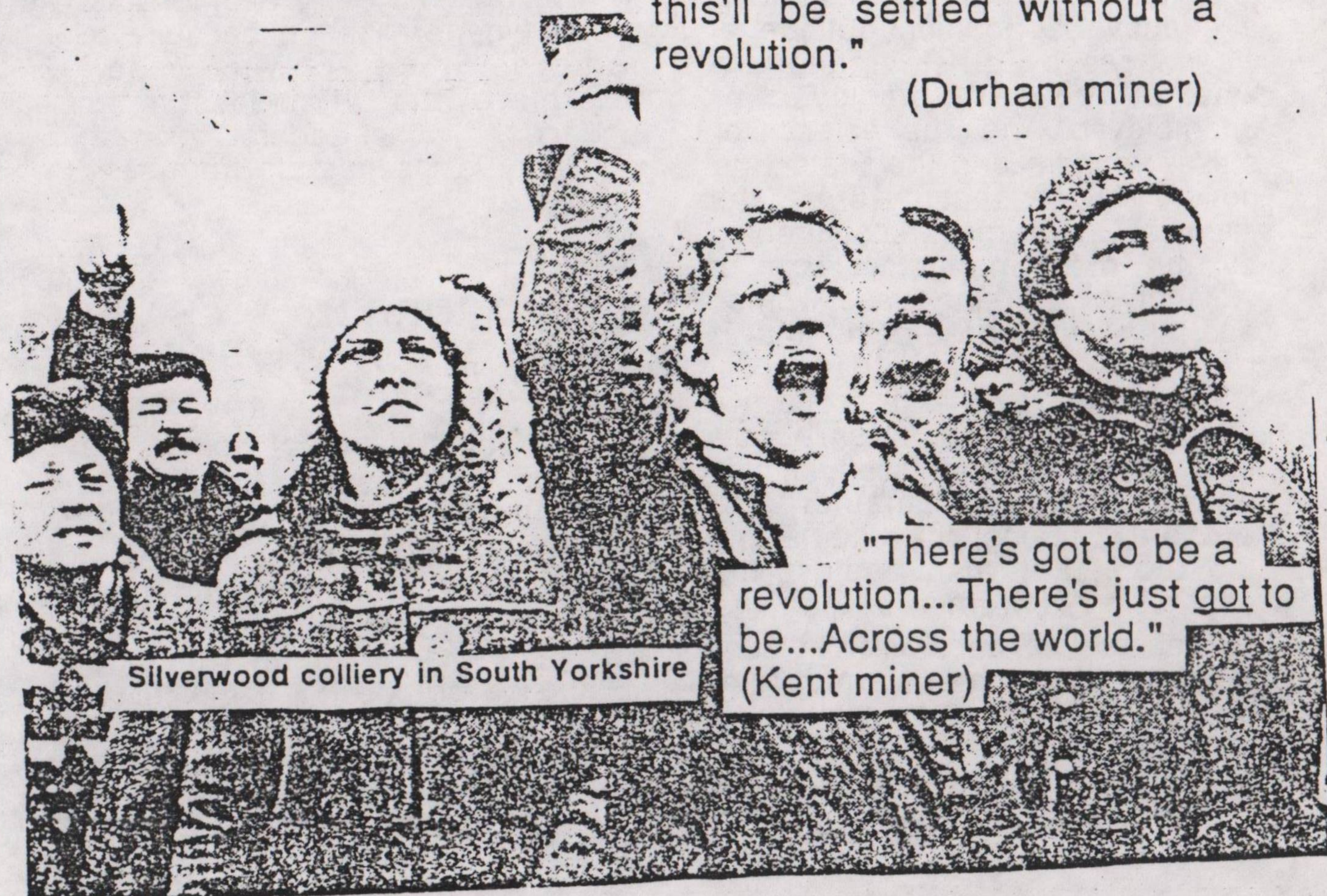
WOMEN PICKETS

Women who want to go picketing have met other problems. If they are the wives of militant miners who have already been arrested, they are reluctant to risk arrest as well, especially with children to look after. There is no reason why this should be organized by women. Men on strike should take their share of caring for children and let the women go picketing. Not just because everyone should be involved. But also, women make very good pickets. For many, it is their first experience of a picket line, but they know what to do.

A women's picket of Sutton Manor pit in Lancashire where I was present, stood out in contrast to the usual picket line ritual of a few shouts and people generally not knowing what's going on. We discussed beforehand what we wanted to do, and despite being heavily outnumbered by the police, we did give them a run for their money. And they hated it. They just couldn't think of enough sexist insults to fling at us. There was a feeling of solidarity and collectivity that comes from struggling together. Without the union leaders and union traditions to tell them how to behave, which the men have, women are able to simply do what they decide needs to be done.

Wildcat does not support the aims of the Greenham movement, (i.e: an all female anti-nuclear weapons demonstration and occupation of the area around the Greenham Commons air force base in England. *A.W.B note*) but pickets can learn from their organization. The women at Greenham Common in 1982 and 1983 had no officials to say what they could do. They organized several hundred people round an eleven-mile perimeter fence at night, keeping one step ahead of the police by using walkie-talkie radios, organizing actions through group delegates to a small central planning meeting, making sure that all participants knew what was going on and everyone was playing their part, however small. What people involved in the miners' strike have learnt, that the Greenham women never did, is the need to respond to state violence with our own violence. As one miners' wife put it: "I've always respected the police, but I'll tell you what, I'll watch a bobby being kicked to death in the street in the future and I'll walk across to the other side. They've shown their true colors now".

Far from being the weakest section of the working class, unable to fight back against the bosses' onslaught because they are unorganized, women have shown time and again that it is their very lack of involvement in the organizations that hold men back, that enables them to organize themselves and carry out their own decisions and actions. This puts them at the forefront of the working class's struggle. If miners are to win, they must learn from their wives and mothers, girlfriends and daughters.



QUOTES FROM SOME OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE: Anger and passion from West Yorkshire, England...

"I hope it never ends."
(Sunderland miner)

"I didn't mind the lefties at first. Then I realized they just wanted to manipulate us" (A miners wife in the town of Fitzwilliam.)

"...There've been so many ways that the N.U.M. hasn't helped during the strike- like when they took the minibus away and had nothing to do with our communal kitchens- that it's made me see that we shouldn't ever look to the unions for help. We should organize ourselves outside them, without them, against them..."
(Fitzwilliam miners' wife)

"Who wants democracy when you can have a gun?"
(Fitzwilliam miner)

"Of course, none of this'll be settled without a revolution."
(Durham miner)

"There's got to be a revolution... There's just got to be... Across the world."
(Kent miner)

INFORMATION ON THE DANISH MASS STRIKE OF MARCH AND APRIL 1985

In March and April of last year, the Northern European nation of Denmark was swept by the most widespread strike movement in Danish history. The strikes in Denmark, like the widespread strikes in Belgium and Holland in the fall of 1983 (and like dozens of other workers' struggles around the world) were not reported on by the news media here in the United States. One of our intentions in *The Angry Workers' Bulletin* is to report information on and give critical analysis of working class struggles that our enemies, the capitalist news media, don't want us to find out about. We are reproducing here part of an article on the strikes in Denmark translated and produced as a pamphlet by BM BLOB, London WC1 3XX, U.K. This article originally appeared in *ETCETERA* No.7 in July 1985 in Barcelona, Spain. The analysis of the strikes following the article is excerpted from a letter to us from a member of the Gruppe Internationale Kommunisten, (Group of International Communists), a council communist group in Denmark.

March 21, '85- The Trade Unions call on their members. They ask them to strike for 24 hours from Saturday night the 23rd to Sunday the 24th of March. This was due to negotiations concerning an agreement with management becoming deadlocked after five months. The government negotiator ceases to countenance new initiatives. The unions had demanded that the working week be reduced from 40 hours to 35 within the next two years and that wage increases rise from 5 to 6% per annum. The government negotiator proposed a compromise: the working week to be reduced to 38 1/2 hours within two years and a wage increase of 3 1/2 % to be granted this year. These proposals were rejected by both unions and management.

March 25, '85- Monday. The effect of the strike can be witnessed. More than 300,000 Danish workers are on strike. The sectors affected by the strike are the distribution of fuel supplies, the shipping service between the Danish mainland and the islands, between Denmark and Britain and Denmark and Norway. Flights by the national airline SAS to

and from Kastrup are grounded, newspapers fail to appear and the engineering industries come to a halt. Because fuel supplies are disrupted the population of Aalborg (100,000) suffers the effects of the cold when the municipal heating system comes to a halt. A hospital management board finds it has no other option than send home several hundred patients. From the first day of the strike, Prime Minister Paul Schluter, head of a center-right government, holds talks with representatives of the (parliamentary) opposition. He wants to be sure he has a parliamentary majority to endorse whatever measures are taken by the government with a view to finding a solution. Talks are necessary because the Schluter government is a minority government.

On the same Monday the number of strikers is estimated to be 320,000 and it is expected that staff belonging to supermarkets and big stores will also join the strike as will longshoremen, transport workers and industrial workers. Plunged into chaos the country is more or less paralyzed. People begin to hoard food. On the islands farmers pour milk away because there is no transport.

March 26, '85- It is obvious that this is the biggest strike in 12 years. Many gasoline stations run out of fuel. Milk and fishing industries are closed down. The Schluter government with 79 out of 197 seats in the Folketing (Parliament) insistently search for a solution with the opposition. The opposition (The Radical Party above all) subordinates supporting the strike to tax reform. Its future does not lie in supporting the strike. The situation is embarrassing for the government; "radicals" use it to obtain a political advantage.

In the government itself opinions vary. Some ministers are of the opinion that it is best not to intervene in the negotiations between management and the unions and that a strike does not undermine this principal. Others take a directly opposed view because the strike is a threat to the economy in general and to agricultural exports in particular. The trade union movement for its part also reveals a clash of opinion. For example, the engineers who still aren't affected by

unemployment all that much, are not enthusiastic about the reduction in working hours, preferring a wage increase. Among the unskilled (including many women) there is considerable unemployment. For this group the reduction in working hours is important for other reasons. Leif Beck Fallesen, editor of the financial daily *Borsen* ("The Stock Exchange", with a circulation of 50,000) writes: "what is being sampled in this strike is the crisis taking place in the trade union movement."

On the same day (Tuesday the 26th) there is a total shutdown of the construction industry. The strike extends to slaughterhouses and dairies. Before one dairy a picket (pickets?) had attempted to stop milk deliveries from leaving. These actions were of a truly peaceful type. On the evening of the 26th the Prime Minister had the intention of intervening and was counting on the support of the opposition. After having argued for two days, the Radicals had in the end come to an agreement.

March 27, '85- The measures announced by the government were: workers are to receive a wage increase considerably below that offered to (offered by?) management amounting to 2% for each year of the next two years. The working week is to be reduced to 39 hours while during the same period taxes will increase....

...On the same day, to a Dutch journalist from a daily with a liberal inclination, Poul Schade-Poulsen (the president of the bosses confederation) makes the following declaration: "It would be a pity if the strike ended within the space of a week. If it continues an agreement with the unions could still be reached." These eloquent words underlined his conviction that the trade unions were also ready to accept the agreement in order to put an end to the strike that they were afraid of. "I fear an increase of 2% will give rise afterwards to other strikes throughout the year..." Also on March 29-

More than 100,000 people demonstrate in Copenhagen against the government measures. Carrying placards and red flags they set off towards Christianborg Slotsplads- that is the square in front of the Folketing (the Danish Parliament).

The demonstration was organized by the Lans organization (the national federation of the trade union movement): The procession extends over many kilometers. One could read slogans like "35 hours now" and others demanding a wage increase. There were other slogans like "Down with Schluter" or "Stop Schluter". In the procession there were many bands. Altogether it had a relaxed quality. On the previous day the strikers had blockaded Parliament for six hours. Today M.P.'s (members of parliament) were free to enter. On March 28th the strikers had also blockaded 9 bridges. The Prime Minister had only been able to reach parliament with the aid of the police: On the radio government minister Erik-Ninn-Hansen had declared: "This is an attack upon democracy". 1,500 people had mounted the blockade. The police broke it up. Two people were arrested. Danish law viewed this blockade which prevented the legislature from functioning as "high treason" punishable with a 14 year prison sentence. Nevertheless the charges against the two arrested were reduced.

March 30th - The government not only wants to take steps on the question of wages and working conditions but announces measures prohibiting the strike. For the unions this amounts to the limits of resistance. On the 29th it was apparent that the unions were in a spot. For them the 100,000-strong demonstration which was peaceful and a safety valve was all and as much as they would do. Minor incidents had shown that the workers were prepared to go further. Eric Larsen, a dockworkers' union bureaucrat, stated: "Ever since the government declared the strike illegal all we can do is tell our members to resume work. In our country an illegal strike is not permitted. Our only hope is that the Social Democrats return to power in two years time. Organize more protests? But How? We don't want the kind of situations that prevail in Britain." (A.W.B. emphasis) On the same day, Parliament approves the proposed measures and outlaws the strike. However, the strike is set to continue for a further 15 days. From being an official strike it is transformed into a wildcat strike of vast proportions.

April 1st - Social life in Denmark is completely disrupted by wildcat strikes and walkouts... The bridge leading to Fredericksvaerk (a coastal suburb) is blocked by some 100 people. Buses are prevented from leaving bus depots. Radio broadcasts are interrupted. Many

trains are late because of industrial action. Striking workers continue to receive strike pay. The trade union movement orders a return to work. But overall the struggle continues. On the same day there are skirmishes with the police in Copenhagen and Odense. There are demonstrations in other towns. Many workers mock the legal prohibitions of the strike. Public transport is paralyzed. Ships stand idle in the ports. The hospitals resort to emergency cover and daily papers cease to come out. Meanwhile the civil service goes on strike. People congregate in front of the Folketing. Enraged strikers call for the dismissal of the government. They smash doors, break windows and fight with the police until nightfall. 3 police are wounded and 15 people are arrested. In Odense 2 policemen are hurt. In Aarhus there is a demonstration of 30,000. The Prime Minister cancels a visit to Madrid.

April 2nd - Wildcat strikes continue to paralyze Denmark all the more. Rubbish bins fill the streets of Copenhagen when garbage workers join the strike. The same goes for Aarhus, Odense, and Aalborg. In Copenhagen there is now no public transport. Strikers erect barricades at the entrance to depots. Many motorists blockaded into basement garages unavoidably have to spend the night in their cars. On April 1st the police arrested 30 people for participating in a demonstration which like so many others was neither organized or supported by the trade union movement. Scenes of violence erupt the likes of which have not been seen before in Denmark's entire social history. Young strikers attack the Prime Ministers' office with large clubs. It could be described as genuine street-fighting. The trade unions withdraw from the scene but the workers couldn't care less. Court officials support the strikers' demands because they are disturbed by the government measures. It is estimated there are 300,000 people on strike.

April 4th - The trade union executive decides to resume negotiations with the bosses because the government measures are of weight only so far as there is an agreement. Negotiations take place firm by firm. A spokesperson for the trade union federation is confident the tension will now disappear. Fights break out between strikers and scab union members. A scab wanted to reach (in a car travelling at high speed) the door of the post office. A picket had to jump out of the way while a second picket hurled himself on the car, forcing the driver to break. A

spokesman for the trade union federation, Poul Moogengaard is confident the wildcat strikes will be over after Easter. This seems (to be) a fond delusion. From now on news on the events grows scarcer. It's obvious bourgeois journalists are not very interested in the autonomous wildcat actions. In spite of everything, at the end of the week they are obliged to start handing out information once more because after Easter the struggle continues unabated. They are obliged to admit those who predicted the end of the struggle were wrong.

April 9th - First Tuesday after Easter. The Danish workers struggle continues. In Copenhagen the entrance to bus depots are blocked once more. The police intervene and public transport is able to resume, but only in part. The press is practically shut down. The Tuborg and Carlsberg breweries are at a standstill. Gas stations cannot get supplies of fuel because of striking tanker drivers.

April 10th - Barricades and strikes disrupt all movement. Schools close and hospitals are unable to function. In the public sector there are between 12,000 and 15,000 strikers. Trade union leaders ceaselessly call for an end to the strikes. At the main tram depots in Copenhagen strikers form a human chain across the tram lines. 3 tram depots are closed by the strikers. The police are unable to break through. Buses are not running in any Danish city. Work is expected to cease in all government ministries.

April 11th - Bit by bit the wildcat strikes fold. Public transport begins to function. The first newspapers appear after a long absence. The previous day (April 10th) 200,000 people demonstrated in front of parliament. There are other big demonstrations in Aalborg, Aarhus, and Odense also.

April 13th - Denmark returns to a situation of normality. At a meeting attended by 3,000 people it is decided to end the wildcat strikes. The journalists say the decision was taken by trade union delegates. If that is correct, then it comes down to delegates not obeying the directives put out by their trade unions - something that often happens amongst those closest to the rank and file. The other possibility is that it was not delegates but members belonging to rank and file organizations. In the bourgeois press information on this matter is vague and contradictory.

A letter from the G.I.K, dated April 6, 1986:

.....You ask for information and analysis of the mass strikes in Denmark last spring. Since this event is beginning to look like something of a myth internationally, especially through the hymns sung by the I.C.C., we ought of course to make a report on the matter....I can give you some quick opinions:

1. The mass strikes in Denmark in the spring of 1985 are generally overestimated as expressions of more radicalized workers' struggles in Denmark and for that matter in Scandinavia. This is not to say that the strikes did not take place or that they were of no significance at all. But the immediate sensation of such events are always many times bigger than their real and essential meaning.

2. The whole event was to a large extent planned, provoked and controlled by the bourgeoisie! Most of the strikes were carefully prepared and led by the trade unions as completely obligatory, institutionalized and normal parts of the traditional process of collective bargaining and setting of new wages and conditions on the labor-market. Even the explosion of mass protest and the spreading of the strikes was expected and calculated, not only by all the left parties and the unions, but also by the employers and the right-wing government. And even the fact that such an explosion of protest takes on a very uncontrolled and unpredictable dynamic and form was expected and calculated. The whole strike movement was provoked on purpose by the employers, the government and the trade unions with the assistance of the left opposition. You can say the whole thing was a set-up and that even the more uncontrolled and unofficial parts of the conflict were within officially recognized and controlled limits.

3. To explain this more convincingly and show the concrete mechanisms of this advanced Scandinavian conflict-management by capitalism demands not only a detailed account of the collective bargaining (in) 1984-85 and of the final closings of this through official conflict, government intervention, explosion of mass protest and more unofficial mass strikes. Attention must be drawn to the very specific Danish tradition for institutionalization and encapsulation, in fact administration, of the class contradictions within the

official bourgeois society through the long and dominating (period of) social-democratic rule...Furthermore it must be recognized that the actual levels of the capitalist crisis and its effect on living conditions are (In Denmark)...way back from everyplace else in the world....

4. In so far as there was actually an explosion of protest and a widespread spontaneity and independent action it must be held clear, that this was very elementary and short lived and without any radical perspective. Rather the perspectives determining the broad masses in the strikes were purely bourgeois in center- and social-democratic left directions. The big question was that the right-wing government had intervened in the collective bargaining and thus suppressed the "free negotiations" between the employers and the unions; the social democratic governments have done this several times before, but this time it was a right-wing government and this time it was done with clear support for the employers' side. So the immediate discontent and protest was that of bourgeois morality, the arguments that of bourgeois justice and the whole perspective only that of making the government think it all over again and do it otherwise. For the parts in the public sector, who were the really surprising forces in the strike movement, the perspective was not even that of forcing the government to resign and make way for another government; such questions would and did split the movement immediately. The whole protest was very short-lived and very elementary and totally within the most stupid moralistic and legalistic perspectives: The parts of the labor market were not allowed "free" negotiations, the public sector were not allowed any at all, the state intervention was not a "just" mediation between the two sides, but solely in favor of the employers side. And the whole rationality was purely parliamentary: to go to big demonstrations in front of parliament to show the politicians the "real" popular opinion and press them for another solution. As this kind of complete confused and empty mass demonstrations had repeated itself over a week the whole movement died out in frustration and hopelessness.

5. And this was exactly what the government had anticipated and planned for. The government knew that a state intervention in the collective bargaining between the

unions and the employers would give rise to strikes, demonstrations and noisy political discussions. It always does so, although it never comes to much when the social democrats have the government and are responsible for the show. Being a right-wing government they knew that they would (become) unpopular and thus expected some more protests than usual. But they also knew that the experiences of workers' struggles in Denmark are very limited, that the unions, the social democrats and the whole left political milieu are too confused and too integrated in the bourgeois order of society to mobilize a real threat to the government. So they simply decided to do the show, to confront the working class directly and to let the working class react as it pleased under the ineffective leadership of all the competing left fractions of parliamentarian social democratic orientation. And they were very clever in offering a whole week to this "free" protest movement: The state intervention came only one week before the Easter holidays, which would surely put an end to all struggling. So they planned and controlled the whole event...

6. And the real rationality of this controlled event (is) also obvious: by taking over the decision on the new labor-market agreements the government saved the unions from responsibility and thus made them more legitimate in the eyes of the workers. During the whole process of negotiations the union had systematically sold out their own demands one by one under and end demand (final demand?) which did not even cover losses from inflation. so even a more "just" mediation of the conflict, even a solution fully in the interests of the unions who have meant a very bad result for the workers. The union was about to end in a trap. And the right-wing government decided to rescue them by officially making a propaganda attack on them and giving them the opportunity to organize protests and demonstrations, that would make them look more radical and honest towards the workers. The big result from the mass strikes here in Denmark has been a strengthening of the unions' grip in the working class despite the fact that they cannot defend the workers and that they are useless in ..real mass struggle against the capitalist crisis and the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

7. Now, the explosion of the mass strikes are of course not totally without radical experiences. The fact that so many workers more or less

spontaneously took up the provocation from the government and responded with one of the biggest strike movements ever...is an important experience of self-affirmation in the working class and thus an important factor in the development of class consciousness. During the strikes a lot of workers experienced solidarity and class consciousness very practically. A lot of new initiatives were taken and tested, ect... But with the dominant character of the strike movement only being a passive reaction, a useless demonstration of parliamentarian protest and to a big extent a provoked manipulation by the government the significance of this is limited. The lessons that can be drawn and were partly drawn by many workers, are more negative: that the unions don't organize the struggle effectively, that even the oppositional base-activists within the union hesitate and do not take the necessary initiatives at the right moments, ect... But these lessons are at the same time counteracted by the overall strengthening of the unionist illusion mentioned above: the experience for the majority of the workers are only that the union-

this conflict couldn't do enough- but that other tactics and better leaders might do better next time...

In Denmark social democracy and trade unionism have an enormous power and position in the working class. (As many as) 9 out of 10 workers are organized in the unions, and those few who are not are certainly not radical, but extremely right-wing. And the institutionalization of the unions means that almost every workers' struggle from the very beginning are totally within the framework and control of the unions. The union structure is rooted very strongly on the base-level, on the factory floor, with local clubs, shop stewards, and voluntary union activists exercising complete control of everything. From time to time workers get dissatisfied with the unions, but the very structure of the union is able to contain such opposition. The opposition is taken up on the base-level and directed inside the unions- the more left-wing activists against the more moderate shop stewards, the shop stewards against the local union office-leaders, the local union against the national leadership, the

union against the federation of unions...all these links are flexible and able to "represent" the workers' views inside the unions and mobilize discontent for the competing fractions of union bureaucrats. This phenomenon is of course well known from unions everywhere, but the total dictatorship of this in Denmark is without comparison anywhere. Due to the historical development of social democracy this dictatorship starts within the heads of the workers themselves and follows every act of theirs.

On this background we have learned not to be impressed by the fact that workers go into strike actions. Maybe I have painted the picture a bit too dark here, but not even big strikes like the one last year can excite us particularly. The quantitative extension of strike activity is in itself no real change or progression in the workers struggle. Not in Denmark at least.

sinks to even lower depths with this article. In essence this article is a thinly veiled attempt to rationalize away his sexual frustrations, guilt and obvious attraction to pornography.

This article, written in the hallowed first-person-objective style of the great journalistic piece Black Like Me, shows the pathetic sexual nature of the author, i&a and, hence, society in general. The article argues, basically, that women are responsible for the existence of pornography! Chaz's reasoning is such: Women are sexually repressed*, women are biased against working class men**, therefore working class men don't get 'laid' and resort to pornography. Other bourgeois thinkers have used this same logic to explain homosexuality and rape. So we can see how Chaz reduces his frustrations!

Bufe divides the sexual world into two camps- those who can get 'laid'; and those who can't. Those who can't, (working class men and white-shoed salesmen) resort to pornography. Those who can get laid (women), don't want to due to repressive training. This situation leaves both groups frustrated.

Evidently after the revolution women will (after they lose their fears about babies and irrational attachments to love, tenderness and other icky stuff like that) be only then perfectly happy to 'lay' working class men. At that time men will forgo the self-management of pornography.

What poverty of thought! Never are sexual relations questioned***or even talked about openly. What Chaz is doing is generalizing his own sexual problems. As Reich pointed out years ago, only sexually repressed humans want to get 'laid' in the first place. That sort of asexuality is an expression of the poverty of life in class society. Because we are afraid of love, sex and pleasures****, we repress pleasurable feelings. When they become too overwhelming, we seek an outlet. Some become violent or drink. Some find a minimally tolerable partner for sterile sex. Others sublimate in various fashions such as intense involvement with school, work and/or politics. Many become infatuated and seek to discover or 'free' repressed parts of themselves through involvements with that 'special' person/fetish.

* And, according to Chaz, men aren't! Sounds like blocking to me!

** If this is true, where do little proles come from? Chaz probably thinks where he came from--the middle class!

*** Especially men's roles. Notice that in Chaz's article only women have negative neurotic behaviour. For men, bad things happen to them, they don't help create it.

Whether we sublimate pleasure or project it onto another person, we are still avoiding our feelings and the ability to express them ourselves. What the WSA advocates is the democratizing or reforming of the power rituals which substitute for eros today.

We can conclude the WSA's analysis of sex with two quotes, the first from the Situationists, the second from Wilhelm Reich:

He "clings to his imitative and degraded version of what is... Even elderly provincial ladies know more about life than he does. He is so 'unconventional' that thirty years after Wilhelm Reich... he continues the most traditional forms of amorous-erotic behaviour, reproducing the general relations of class society in his intersexual relations. His susceptibility to recruitment as a militant for any cause is an ample demonstration of his real impotence."- The Poverty of Student Life

"You feel yourself miserable and small, stinking, impotent, rigid, lifeless and empty. You have no woman, or if you had one, you would only want to 'lay' her to prove the 'man' in you. You don't know what love is."- Listen Little Man

We can underscore the impotence of the boys at i&a, with a quick critique of their 'industrial' coverage. These articles primarily consist of reprints from various leftist front-group newsletters. The one article gleaned from a revolutionary source, (International Dockers' Struggles in the 1980's-Workers of the World, Tonight!) empties the original's minimal coherence and presents a husk fit for reformist rags like Labor Notes and Against the Current. In fact, knowing Tom Wetzel's flirtations with 'Workers' Power' and 'International Socialists', and New York WSA's discussions with the Revolutionary Socialist League, we can surmise the beginnings of a popular front between the WSA and US left-Trotskyism.

Objectively the WSA, like leftist and rank-and-file bureaucrats they run around with, seeks a further and better rationalization of capitalist industrialism. Understanding the miseries of capitalist production are becoming unbearable, if only to humanity and not the ecosphere, the WSA demands the shorter work week. What will shorter working hours do? Expand wage-labor and further the

**** Through the torture of being raised in this society.

dependence of workers upon the system which exploits them. Even left-Democrats in the mid-70's, such as Fred Harris, sought to equalize the present system in a more radical fashion with a negative income tax. Here the WSA is to the right of that brand of liberalism. And one can surmise that the free time created by shorter working hours will become grist for the mill of the leisure industry. How revolutionary! What the WSA calls for is once again not the alleviation of social misery through social-revolution, but the present system's refinement and extension. No wonder they only talk to Trots.

i&a obviously cannot grasp the real subversive content of working class actions it reports upon. For the WSA, wildcats are important in that they are democratic proto-unions, as are the Spanish dockers' commissions. For us, as revolutionaries, what is important about these formulations and actions are not the actions *per se*, but their organization in opposition to social-hierarchies and order. The wildcat of strike-committee *itself* is what is subversive. They are the beginnings, even if only short-lived and ephemeral, of persons taking control of their *lives* and that is what is important, not just the control of industries. It is when movements succumb to reformist leaders such as the WSA to make demands like the shorter work-week, that strikes such as those in Poland turn from revolution to reform. What I am attempting to do with this article is not condemn all WSAers as capitalists. It is true that the i&a editorial board and many of the organization's 'leading militants' are radical-reformists. But it is easy to understand why the WSA would be attractive to some isolated revolutionaries, who while not agreeing entirely with its program, see it as a place for political dialogue and activity.

This is exactly how the IWW appeared to myself and other members of FOCUS some years back. (FOCUS was the 'F.O.R. Organizing Committee in the U.S.', sympathetic to the left-communist group F.O.R. in France and Spain.) We dissolved into the IWW to develop revolutionary tendencies we mistakenly saw there. However, the organization was even more thoroughly reformist than we had thought, racked with crass factional maneuverings and lacking even rudimentary political discussions. The only action consisted of either tailing leftist causes with a somewhat more radical line or organizing workers into capitalism further.

And now the new-born WSA flounders in the same senile fashion as the IWW. No one communicates in their internal bulletin and the majority abstain from

Review of other publications: ideas inaction

The latest issue of ideas and action is, bluntly, a piece of shit. I first attempted to write this article in a 'comradely' manner. But to do any justice to ideas and action, its readers and to revolutionary ideas, I am going to have to be totally honest.

Ideas and action #6 reconfirms the growing comprehension among revolutionaries that orthodox anarchism is not dead, but is thoroughly bourgeois. Throughout this magazine, the radical-reformism of syndicalism is portrayed as the most revolutionary of theories. Instead of learning from, and breaking with, the history of anarcho-syndicalism, i&a wallows in the mistakes of the past. Unable or unwilling to understand society because it means a break with their sainted ideology, the Workers Solidarity Alliance have placed themselves on the capitalist left.

Each article in i&a does deal with an important issue of contemporary society. However, being unable to critique society from an understanding

of power, leaves the WSA calling for merely the democratization of this society. In this issue the WSA argues for: workers' self-management of production-as such, the shorting of the work week so as to promote employment, and the liberation of women from 'sexual repression' - evidently so working class men can get 'laid'! These proposals hardly call for a revolutionary transformation of existing human relations. In fact, these are the slogans of radical social-democracy. Never are the nature of personal relations challenged or work or techno-industrialism questioned. Everything will be the same, only democratically managed and having some of the worst aspects cleaned up

Unlike revolutionary currents such as the ICC (Internationalism), we believe that all questions of social-relations are primary., not just the workplace and political spheres. It is important for all revolutionaries to realize revolution means a total change and redefinition of human interactions between ourselves and the world around us.

And when as revolutionaries we try to understand the world, and communicate our ideas, we need to keep this in mind.

For an issue announced to be about 'sexual issues', i&a #6 is peculiar since nowhere in it is sex really talked about. Women are, "womens' issues" are, but never sex. Like the powerfull of this society, the WSA sees women *pro facto* as sexual objects. An issue dealing with women would be fine, but call it such. An issue about sex and 'personal' relationships is fine, but make it about sex. But because i&a refuses to understand what revolution would entail, this issue becomes dedicated to women as objects- of sublimated male sexual frustration and organizational recruitment. Once again capitalism and its power structure is reaffirmed and eros denied.

Chaz Bufe's article, Life in the Porn Biz is an example of eternalized capitalist morality and psychological projection. Chaz, after his thoroughly dishonest Listen Anarchist! pamphlet,

voting on national referenda. Their main activities are localist or tailings of leftist organized recruitment circuses, such as the maoist RCP's 'No Business as Usual' activities. Former 'Libertarian Workers' Group' big-wig Tony/Bob Rossi admits in a recent issue of the DeLeonist Discussion Bulletin that he has been purged from the WSA. Also given the San Francisco section's support for Processed World and their

manouverings to keep radicals away from No Middle Ground's mailing list, we can see that the WSA is a fundamentally rotten organization. And most likely only marginal.

My comrades and I ask those within the WSA to speak-up and out against the reformism of its leaders. The WSA cannot be saved or changed, but don't let the likes of Wetzal and Bufe have

their cake. Just as too many of us were too quiet on the Processed World/Bob Black affair, let's not choke on inaction against leftism-in-disguise again. Leftism is rampant in the anarchist milieu, but it's weak. So let's kill off i&a, WSA, Processed World, Open Road, & Strike! (did I forget anyone?) quickly and get on with the challenge of redeveloping revolutionary theory.

IDEAS AND ACTION,
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SOLIDARITY, THE MARKET AND MARX

IN 1960 a group of ex-Trotskyists calling themselves "Socialism Re-affirmed" began to publish a journal called Agitator, changed after a few issues to Solidarity. Solidarity modeled itself on another group of ex-Trotskyists in France running a journal Socialisme ou Barbarie. In 1961 Solidarity, Socialisme ou Barbarie and similar groups in Belgium and Italy published a joint manifesto entitled 'Socialism or Barbarism'.

This represented a considerable advance beyond orthodox Trotskyism. The concept of 'Socialism' being established by a vanguard party mobilizing the masses during an economic crisis was abandoned. Instead, declared the manifesto, it "will only be achieved through the autonomous and self-conscious activity of the working masses". Capitalism was said to have acquired the ability to iron out slumps and booms and to ensure a slow but steady rise in living standards. So, in this view, the basic contradiction of capitalism was no longer economic, but was between order-givers and order-takers. The bureaucrats who managed capitalism were always trying to reduce the workers to cogs, to treat them as objects, but the workers were always resisting this. Out of this struggle, said the manifesto, 'socialist' consciousness would arise in the form of a demand for "worker's management of production".

In fact this was how Solidarity (and the others) defined 'socialism'. In one sense they had gone beyond Trotskyism which saw 'socialism' as the management of production by a 'worker's state', i.e. a State controlled by a vanguard party purporting to represent the working class. But in another sense they had not. For 'socialism' was still considered as an era of 'worker's power' between communism and capitalism, as a 'transitional society' in which money, wages, prices, ect. would continue to exist:

"All revenue derived from the exploitation of labor will be abolished. There will be equality of wages and pension until it proves feasible to abolish money" (paragraph 27).

This idea of "equal wages" can be found in Lenin's State and Revolution and in fact Solidarity's conception of 'socialism' is taken from this pamphlet of Lenin's. The main difference being that 'worker's power' was defined in terms of the government being controlled by a central assembly of factory-based Workers Councils rather than by a vanguard party.

At one time Solidarity never hesitated to say that by 'workers power' they meant "a Worker's Council Government", the phrase

used in the 1961 introduction to the "Socialism or Barbarism" manifesto. In the 1969 introduction, however, this was changed to "the rule of the Worker's Councils", reflecting the anarchist influence which Solidarity had in the meantime come under. Dropping the claim to stand for some kind of government did represent an advance in Solidarity's thinking. 'Worker's Power' was now re-defined to mean, in the words of a basic policy statement As We See It issued in 1967, the "democratization of society down to its very roots". Not that this made its conception of 'socialism' any clearer. When in 1972 this statement was amplified in a pamphlet As We Don't See It readers were referred for more details of Solidarity's idea of 'socialism' to another Solidarity pamphlet issued earlier that year called The Worker's Councils.

This pamphlet is an edited translation of an article which originally appeared in issue No.22 of Socialisme ou Barbarie in 1957 under the title "Sur le Contenu du Socialisme" (On The Content of Socialism). It is in fact a blueprint for 'worker's self-management' of a market economy. Cardan (alias Chaulieu: Cornelius Castoriadis - note) who wrote the article is clearly in the same tradition of so-called "market socialism" as Tito, Liberman, Ota Sik, ect. in East Europe, the main difference being that he wants such an economy to be controlled by Workers Councils while

they want it controlled by a bureaucratic state (maybe in conjunction with so-called 'worker's councils').

Nobody who has read the original article can deny that Cardan was an advocate of so-called 'market socialism'. Solidarity themselves clearly found this embarrassing because they have edited out its more crude manifestations. In their introduction they apologise:

"Some will see the text as a major contribution to the perpetuation of wage slavery- because it still talks of "wages" and doesn't call for the immediate abolition of 'money', (although clearly defining the radically different meanings these terms will acquire in the early stages of the self-managed society)" (page 4).

and, again, in a footnote:

"All the preceding talk of 'wages', 'prices', and 'the market' will, for instance, undoubtedly have started a certain groups of readers. We would ask them momentarily to curb their emotional responses and to try to think rationally with us on the matter". (p.36)

But Cardan did not speak only of 'wages', 'prices' and 'the market'. He also spoke of 'profitability' ('rentabilite') and 'rate of interest' ('taux d'interet'). This was evidently too much even for Solidarity's curbed emotion since these words nowhere appear in their edited translation.

It is very revealing to give some examples of the way Solidarity has toned down the 'market socialism' aspects of Cardan's original article:

Original	Solidarity's version
shops selling to consumers (<i>magazines de vente aux consommateurs</i>)	stores distributing to consumers (p.24)
The market for consumers goods (<i>le marche des biens de consommation</i>)	consumers goods (heading p.35)
This implies the existence of a real market for consumer goods (<i>Ce qui implique l'existence d'un marche reel pour les biens de consommation</i>)	This implies the existence of some mechanism whereby consumer demand can genuinely make itself felt (p.35)
Money, prices, wages and value	'money', 'wages', value p.36)

* * * * *

In fact Cardan envisaged a market economy in which everybody would be paid in circulating money an equal wage which to buy goods which would be on sale at a price equal to their value (=amount of socially necessary labor embodied in them). And he has the cheek to claim that Marx also held that under Socialism goods would exchange at their values. Before going on to refute this we must draw attention to two other phrases which occur frequently in the original, namely 'government' and 'parti ouvrier socialiste' (socialist workers party), which are nowhere to be found in Solidarity's version. 'Government' becomes "Council (Of the Central Assembly of Workers Councils)" while 'socialist workers party' becomes "libertarian socialist organization".

But- and this brings us to a discussion of whether or not Marx thought socialism would be a market economy- the best change is towards

the end. The original article says (of 'socialism' as a transitional society between capitalism and communism):

"In their essence these views absolutely coincide with the ideas of Marx and Lenin on the subject. Marx only considered one kind of transitional society between capitalism and communism, which he called indifferently 'dictatorship of the proletariat' or 'lower stage of communism'... Lenin's view, in State and Revolution, were only, in this regard, an explanation and a defence of Marx's view against the reformists of his time." (translated from French) the Solidarity pamphlet this becomes:

"In their essence these views closely co-incide with Marx's ideas on the subject. Marx only considered one kind of transitional society between capitalism and communism, which he

called indifferently 'dictatorship of the proletariat' of 'lower stage of communism'... (p.57).

No mention of Lenin! Which is unfair to Marx since it is with Lenin's views on this point and not with Marx's that Solidarity's position coincides ('absolutely' or 'closely', take your pick!).

For Marx never spoke of socialism as a transitional society between capitalism and communism (indeed he never spoke of a 'transitional society' at all); and he did not use the phrases 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and 'lower stage of communism' indifferently. What he did do was speak of a 'political transition period' between capitalism and 'the lower stage of communism'; it was the words 'socialism' and 'communism' that he used indifferently. 'Socialism' as a transitional society between capitalism and communism (or socialism) characterised by 'workers power' and equal wages, which Solidarity has inherited from its trotskyst past, was one of Lenin's distortions of Marxism.

Marx himself always made it clear that socialism/communism, even in its lower stage, meant the abolition of the market ('commodity production') and, in the Poverty of Philosophy and Value, Price and Profit he specifically singled out the idea of a society of 'equal wages' for derision. For him socialism/communism was a society in which production would be democratically planned by the community (the state as a coercive instrument having disappeared immediately socialism/communism was established) solely and directly to satisfy their needs. Writing in 1875 Marx had to concede that, in the early stages, consumption would have to be rationed (he suggested this be done by means of labor-time vouchers, but specifically said that these would be no more money than a theater ticket was), but eventually all goods and services would be free for everybody to take according to their need. Today, nearly a hundred years later, this stage could be reached very rapidly once socialism/communism had been established.

Solidarity, in advocating a self-managed market economy, is not advocating socialism at all, but some unrealistic blueprint which would never work- either because if the working class had reached the degree of consciousness needed to establish it then they would establish real socialism instead or, if they hadn't, then it would degenerate into some kind of state capitalism. However, it is significant that, as we have shown, Solidarity should feel guilty about advocating a self-managed market economy rather than a moneyless socialist society. In

time they maybe they'll have the intellectual honesty to repudiate their previous views on this, as they have done on the concept of a 'workers council government'.

Some members and ex-members of Solidarity have already come to this and, faced with the dogmatism (rather Cardan worship) of the others on this and other issues, have left. For instance, a document issued by four ex-Solidarity members in Aberdeen entitled Revolutionary Politics and the Present Situation refers to workers' self-management of production as involving "the abolition of the production of exchange values and the production of use values" (instead). Another breakaway group The Oppositionist, in its October 1972 issue, calls for the 'abolition of the wages system':

"The Socialist Revolution is a complex and many sided struggle to eliminate the wages system itself. We do not advocate workers control of production whilst striving to retain the market economy of capitalist production. Without the destruction of the market the ramifications of capitalism would grow stronger not weaker... Workers cannot control production and retain the wages system" (their emphasis).

Another document, issued in London, entitled a Critique of Cardan calls for the abolition of commodity production and wage labor and describes socialism as "a system where men can have full control over social wealth in common, for use, and so control their own natures" and says "it is also about a completely different kind of production; for the sake of useful consumption of the society as a whole, not for the creation of commodities".

Unlike Solidarity these groups are coming to adopt real socialism as their aim, though in fact it was Solidarity's rejection of Marxism rather than its 'market socialism' that caused them to split off.

Solidarity has published a number of texts by Cardan critical of Marxian economics, theory of history, etc. and would now no longer claim to be Marxist. Actually these weren't criticisms of Marxism but rather of the crude economic determinism that passed for Marxism in the Trotskyist and ex-Trotskyist movement. As such they were Cardan's repudiation of his own past.

At the same time Solidarity tended to move away from the view that the struggle for 'socialism' was primarily industrial and came to see it as a many sided struggle to change all aspects- education, sex, as well as work- of social life. Apart from the fact that their aim wasn't socialism, this represented an advance on their

former views which had tended to idealise the factory life as the generator of 'socialist' consciousness. This was mistaken because socialism is not just an economic change; it is a total revolution in social relationships. So that movements outside the factory (such as protests against sex discrimination, war or pollution) have just as much of a chance, with socialist intervention, of generating socialist consciousness as the factory struggle. (1)

Unfortunately, Solidarity's internal critics have not realized this and, regarding this change of emphasis as a part of Solidarity's rejection of Marxism, have reverted to idealising the factory struggle and relegating other struggles to a secondary status. In fact the Liverpool based group Workers Voice (though not in fact a Solidarity breakaway), with its detailed descriptions of particular factory struggles, reads like Solidarity did ten years ago- including the talk of the need for a workers party and for the workers to have their state power. The Aberdeen group's document quoted earlier states that its view the main area of struggle remains the factory, with the implication that it is from this struggle rather than that of "movements outside the factory" (such as those against pollution or for sexual liberation) that socialist consciousness will arise. The supporters of the American journal Internationalism in this country (Great Britain-ed.) take a similar view.

Internationalism also reverts to economic determinism in making the rise of socialist consciousness depend on an economic crisis, though they are reasonably clear what socialism/communism is (even though they do unnecessarily confuse the two):

"While under capitalism use values are only the material form of exchange values, and commodities are produced for sale under socialism production cannot be limited by the requirements of profit, of capital accumulation, but must be determined by the needs of the human community. The consumption of the working class cannot be limited by its wages or the value of its labor power, but will be determined by its needs and the technological capacity of the productive apparatus which it sets in motion. The elimination of wage labor, of production based on the law of value, is not a task for some future or higher stage of socialism, but the immediate task and content of the proletarian dictatorship. It is only on this foundation that the movement towards that higher stage of communism of which Marx speaks, the stage is characterized by the formulation 'to each according to his needs' can begin". (Internationalism 1, Political Perspective, pp9-10)

But all these groups still have the hazy conception of who the working class are, tending to confine it, or at least to make the most important part of it, the industrial proletariat, whereas in fact it is composed of all who depend for a living on selling their ability to work, irrespective of where they work or what work they do.

The basic contradiction of capitalism is that between the socialized production and the class monopoly of the means of production, which manifests itself as working class discontent with its general conditions of life, not just its work experiences, under capitalism. A failure to recognise this is the one

great weakness of these ex-Solidarity groups. If they did, they would also realise that socialism is not just concerned with emancipating workers as workers (ie. wealth-producers) but as human beings (ie. as men and women). It would also give them a clearer conception of socialist society. Socialism aims not to establish "workers power" but the abolition of all classes including the working class. It is thus misleading to speak of socialism as workers ownership and control of production. In socialist society there would simply be people, free and equal men and women forming a classless community. So it would be more accurate to define

socialism/communism in terms of the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production by and in the interest of the whole people.

Nevertheless, the emergence of these groups calling for the abolition of wage labor and of commodity production once again confirms that capitalism throws up socialist ideas.

Adam Bulck

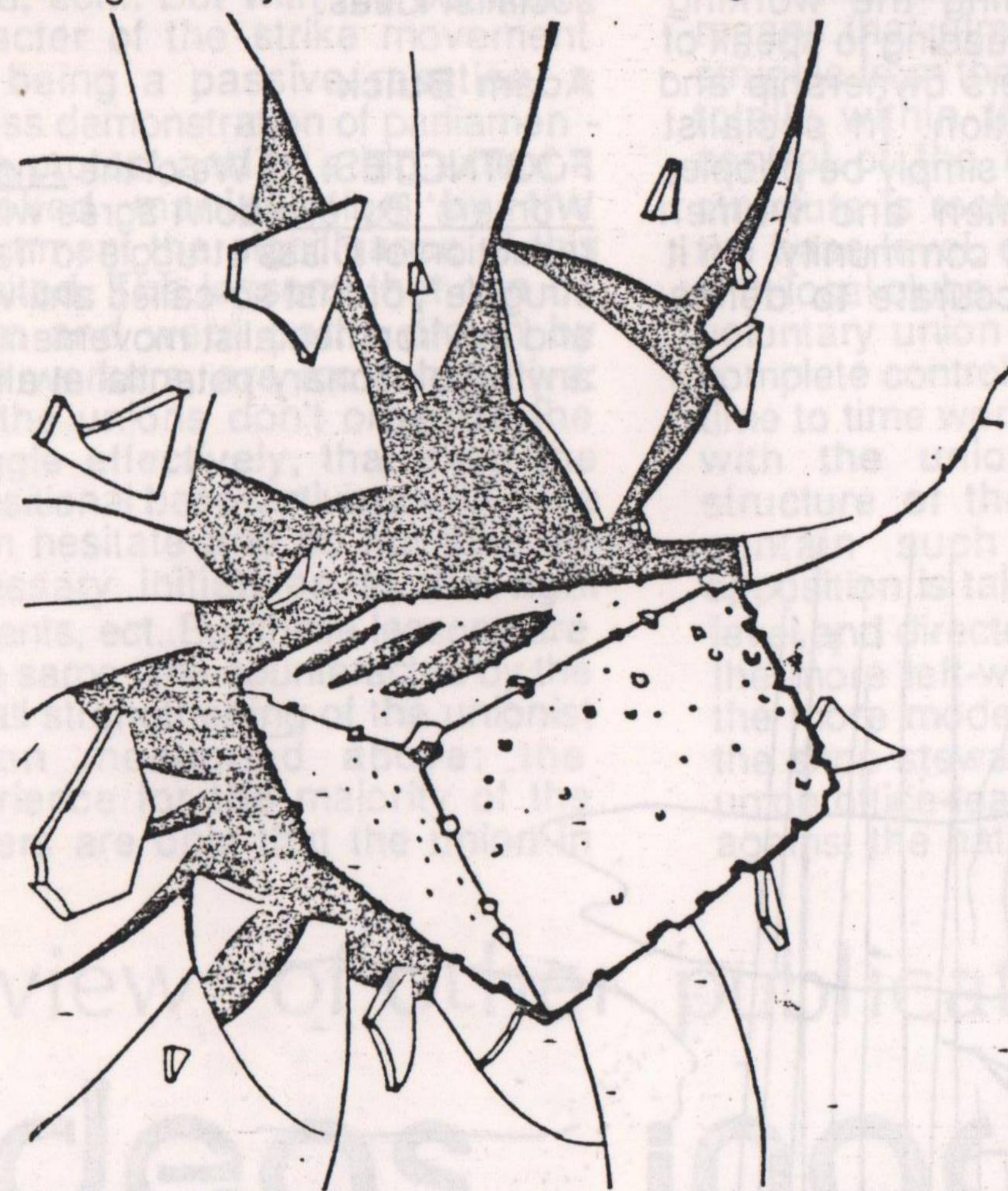
FOOTNOTES: (1) We of the Angry Workers' Bulletin don't agree with this reduction of Class struggle to "factory struggle", or that so-called anti-war and environmentalist movement have any revolutionary potential at all.



Looting...in Berkeley? (8/18/85)

smash into the gap!

The collective "five finger discount" put into action the other Sunday night by close to 100 teenagers on Telegraph Avenue resulted not only in \$2000 worth of clothes being liberated from the Gap (as well as from other stores) but was also a first step towards questioning and destroying the crazy logic of the market economy, the basis of oppression and domination in the modern world, where nothing--even you--exists without being made into a product to be bought and sold.



IN ITALY IN 1977 THEY CALLED LOOTING "PROLETARIAN SHOPPING"! Italian youth, workers and unemployed used it as a conscious tactic for taking back what 's stolen from them by bosses and the economy when they work for wages. They realize that the endless display of consumer goods held out to them just out of reach like the carrot to the donkey is only a trick to get them to play along in a game in which they have nothing to gain and everything to lose. The market system with its commodities for sale is just the flipside of the same abuse and exploitation you get at work, only there you get a chance to be a commodity too by selling yourself to survive.

Taking things without paying for them explodes one part of the equation where your boredom and pain is profit for bosses and merchants. Especially in situations of mass looting of stores and businesses the atomized actions of the lone shoplifter take on aspects of a collective rebellion against a society where things are in the saddle riding people. In taking what they want or need for free, people not only

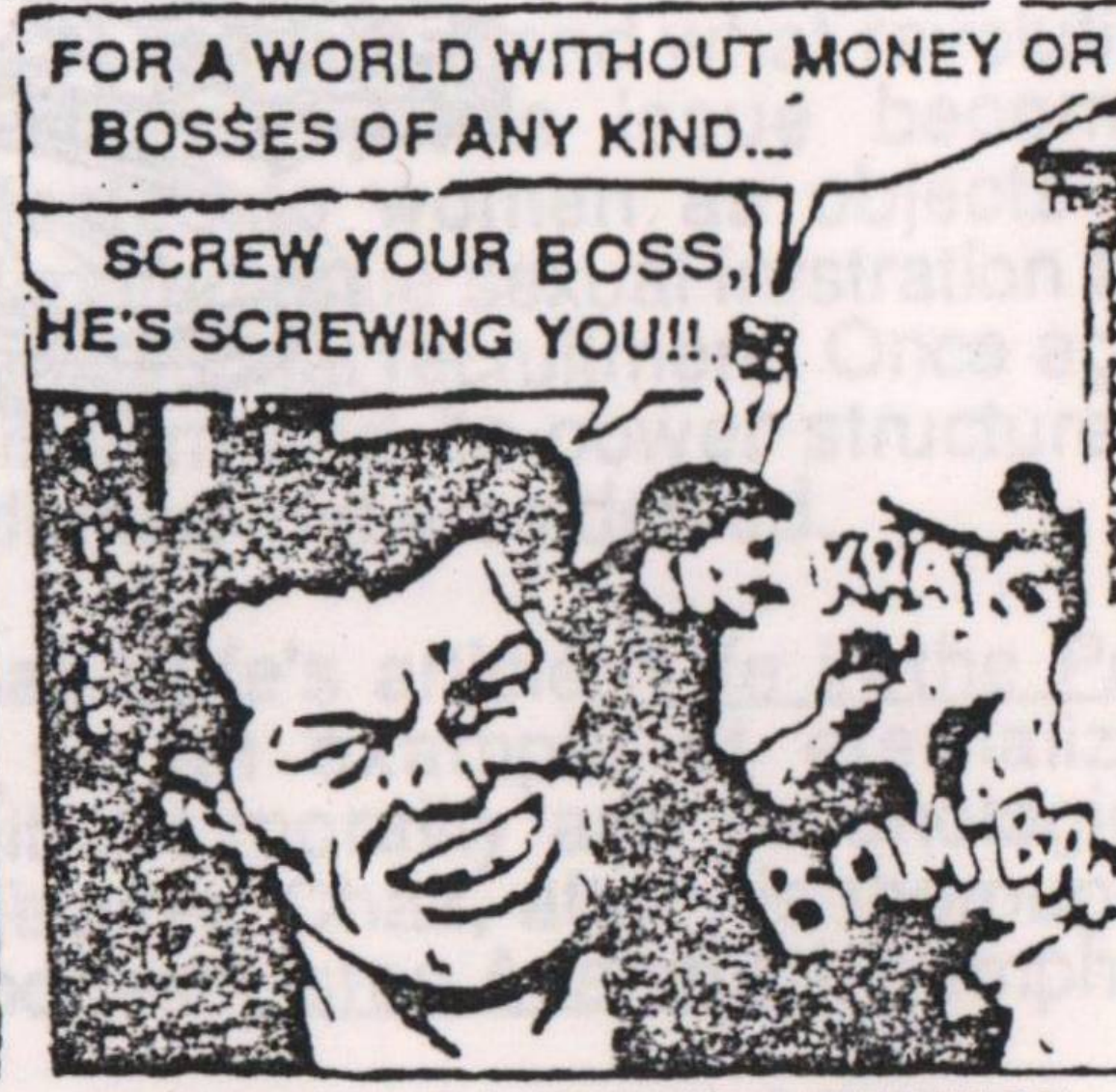
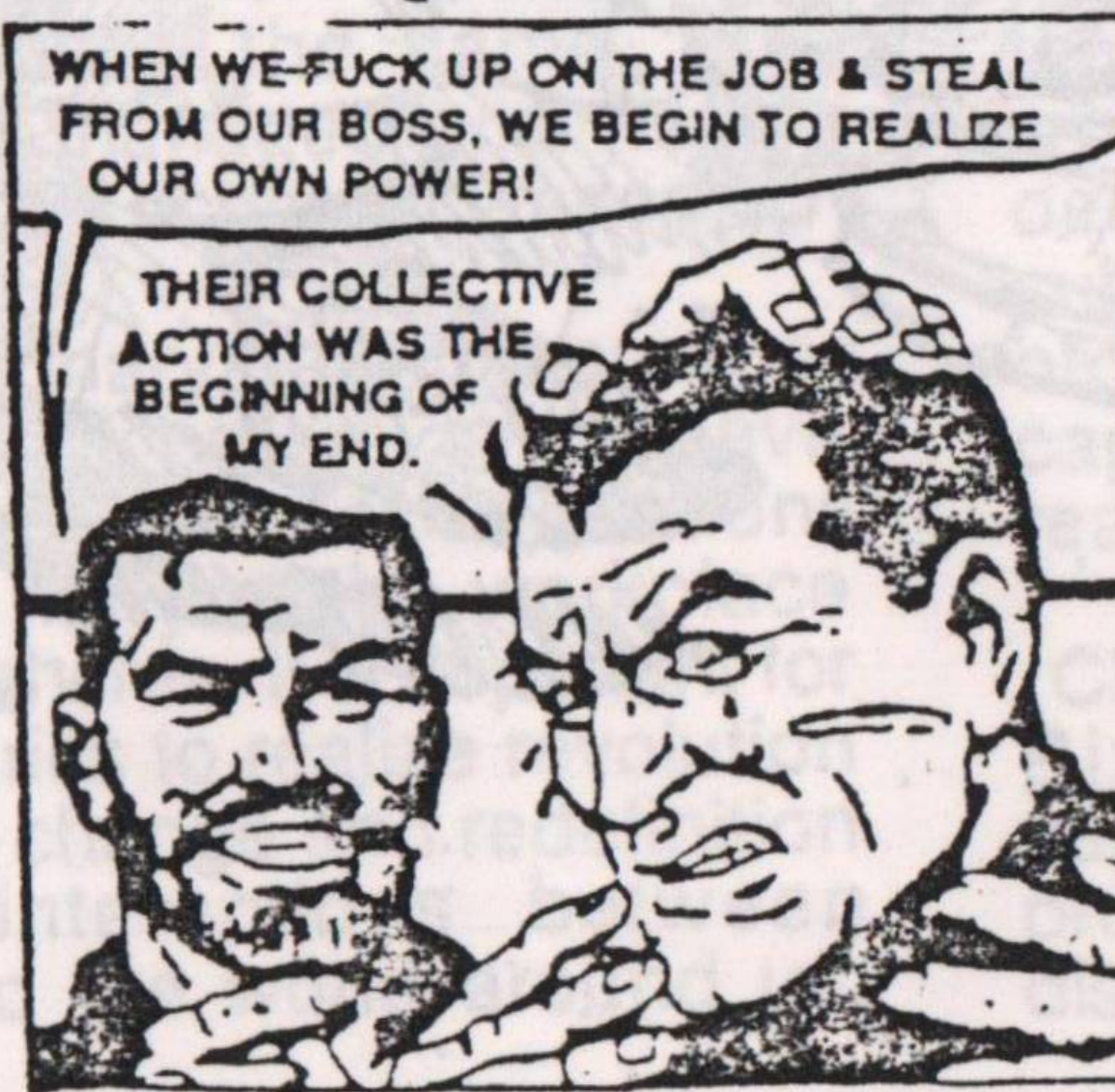
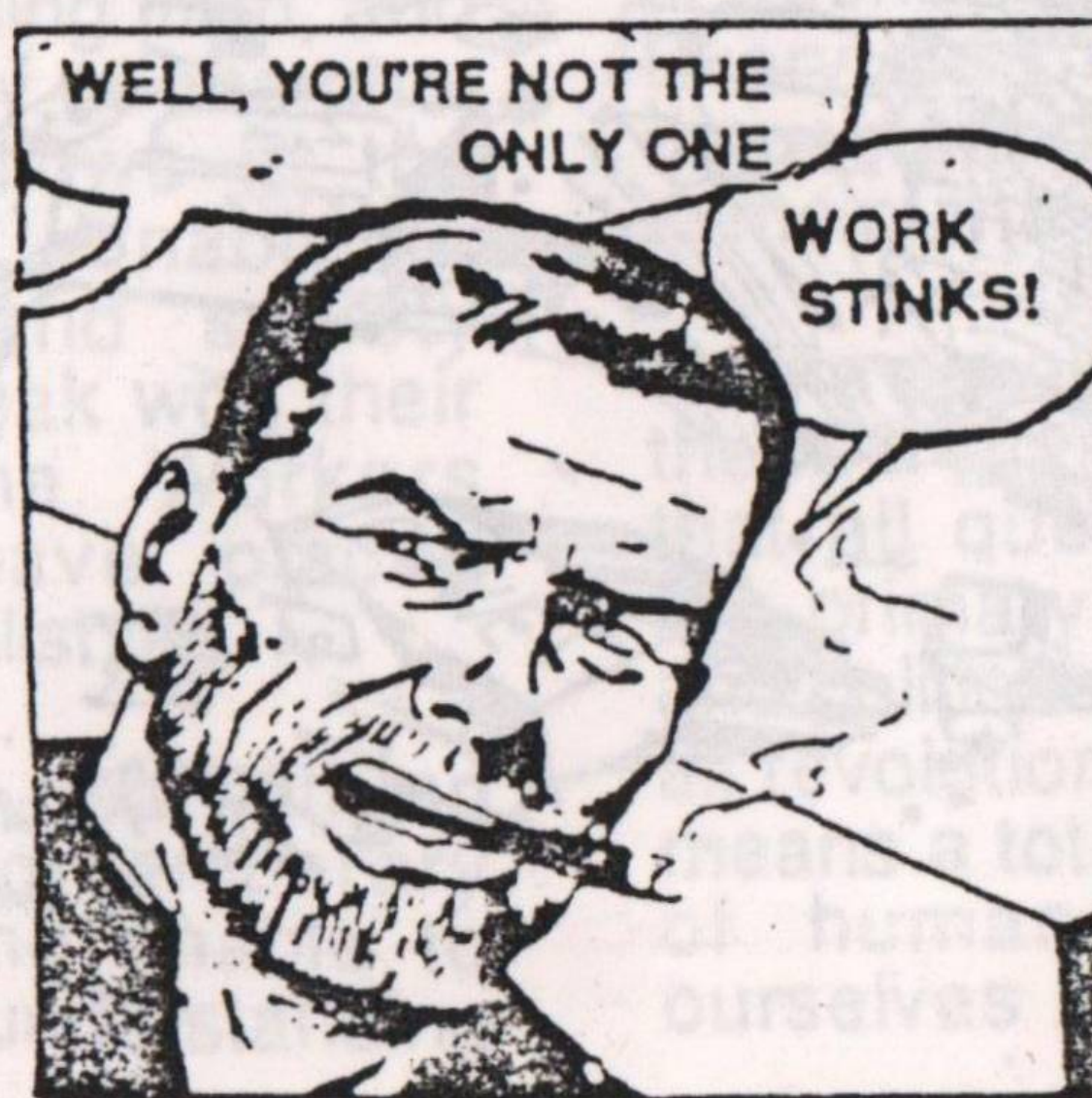
refuse to be subordinated to objects but by redistributing social wealth they begin to smash the artificial set-up that keeps people desiring and working for things that are there but that they can't have.

In the workplace, absenteeism, employee theft and sabotage express on an individual level the same tendency against capitalist society--the dictatorship of the commodity--that appears in a massive form in wildcat general strikes and insurrections, like in Poland in 1970. In Watts in 1965, Detroit in 1967, and all over Britain in 1981 mass looting played a major role in working class uprisings. That one action a few Sunday nights ago was a dozen times more radical than all the harmless liberal university demonstrations asking the U.C. Regents to move their money into a different bank account.

**NEXT TIME GET YARMO ZONE! LOOT THE RECORD STORES!
SACK THE COOKIE SHOPS! DESTROY YOGURT PARK!**

**SHOPLIFTING IS COOL! ABOLISH WAGE
LABOR AND THE MARKET ECONOMY!!!**

**DID YOU
EVER WANT
TO KILL
YOUR BOSS?**



THE THINGS WE GIVE UP IN ORDER TO WORK ARE NEVER RETURNED

SMASH INTO THE GAP! An explanation and some responses. As I explained in this excerpt from a letter mailed out to various people: Our Smash into the Gap! leaflet, seen on the previous page, refers to a very small riot in Berkeley, California on the night of Sunday, August 18th, 1985. After a dance in the student union building on the University of California campus a crowd of several hundred black teenagers bashed up windows of several stores on one of Berkeley's main streets and looted clothes from 'The Gap' clothing store. 'The Gap' is a chain that sells mostly "youth-oriented" clothing in several hundred outlets across the United States. It's sales slogan in television and radio commercials is "...fall into the Gap..", hence the title of our leaflet.

Our purpose in producing this leaflet was not to engage in triumphalist cheer-leading. My friends and I aren't claiming that this incident of people snagging designer jeans was the highest expression of revolutionary anti-capitalist consciousness. Here in the United States the working class is much more racially segregated in small outbreaks of riot and looting than proletarians in Britain appear to be. Nevertheless, the two of us who wrote the leaflet wanted to express approval of the aspects of the event that we sympathized with, and point out what links acts of "proletarian shopping" like this one, attacks on commodity exchange, on capitalist relations at the "point of distribution", to resistance to capital inside the workplace, at the "point of production". We also wanted to draw attention to the link between more atomized expressions of resistance to capital like shoplifting and sabotage and more generalized collective attacks against capitalist production/exchange relations and political power. We stapled copies of the leaflet along Telegraph Avenue, the sight of the looting, and wheat-pasted a

lot of copies on and around the campus of the large local high-school. A friend who goes to school there put copies inside students' lockers and taped up copies in bathrooms at the school as well. Anyway we had ourselves a few laughs putting it out. You can't be a revolutionary if you take yourself too seriously.

the more traditional "ultra-lefts" tend to see confrontations between proletarians and capital only in terms of struggles inside major industrial enterprises. Here in the United States it may be a long while before we see any workplace centered dispute as violent and drawn out as the Miners'

strike in Britain, much less anything comparable to Poland in 1980 and 1981. But we can express a resistance to and analysis of this awful way of "living" outside of workplaces, when we're stuck in the welfare office or unemployment office, or in relation to the function of public transportation, or with the working class people in the armed forces, forced to join by the poverty draft. Or in opposition to high school as a kind of jail that prepares kids for the prison of work.

Keith Sorel

Among the responses I've received....

From the group 'Wildcat', Box 1 c/o Raven Press, 75 Picadilly, Manchester M1 2BU England, letter dated November 11, 1985:

...I thought the two leaflets you sent were very good. It was interesting to read the 'Smash into the Gap' leaflet so soon after the recent riots here, where there was widespread looting (incidentally, not all of this was folk awarding themselves a modest rise in their standard of living- some food stores were looted, and canned food ect. used as ammunition for throwing at the police!

I agree with what you said in your letter about the importance of opposition outside the workplace. The articles in the enclosed issue of Wildcat(#7) on the riots, the anti-smack squads and social security snoopers all bring out this aspect of the working classes fight against the attacks on it being made at the moment. However we as a group feel that working class actions such as riots are bound to be defeated or contained; because of the superior military resources of the state, unless they spread to the workplace. In the present period in British workplace struggles and riots seem to be alternating- the "winter of discontent" of 1978-79, followed by the riots of 1981, followed by the 1984-85 miners' strike, and now the riots in Handsworth, Brixton, and Tottenham (and many other places on a smaller scale). It would be good to answer the question of how actions such as riots could be linked up with workplace struggles in practical terms- this is one question which we will probably be tackling in the next issue of the paper. Related to this is how to get across the idea of getting from the present system, where you can only take what you need at the risk of arrest and imprisonment, to the society we want to see, where you'll be able to take what you want because the whole system of production will be oriented towards need, and because there will be material abundance....

From 'B.M. Combustion, London WC1N 3XX, Great Britain, in a letter received in mid February: "...Your "Smash into the gap" leaflet seemed a bit of a pro-Situ hack job, ("pro-Situ", for those who don't know, is a reference to epigoni of the Situationists, 'people who reproduce the insights of the Situationists in a unoriginal, superficial and vulgar manner-a note from A.W.B. typist) a reflex you can apply to any looting situation; it tends towards an over-defensive attitude of justifying what doesn't need justifying, banal truths, with a bit of "history" slotted in to give it a global context- the U.S.A. in the 1980's, where the class struggle seems to be largely dead, and Berkeley in particular, with its stagnated radical pretentions-and thus you underestimate this event- the looting was a great deal more than "a dozen times more radical than ..harmless liberal university demonstrations..."

MAS for Wildcat

All the best,

La Banquise ("The great ice barrier") B.P. 214, 75623 Paris. Cedex 13, France wrote as well, in a letter dated Feb.7, 1986, saying: Dear Keith, we were quite pleased to read the two leaflets you sent us. I don't know if you can read French, but these two leaflets are basically on the same line as what we try to do in the magazine "LA BANQUISE". The one on the army('Mutiny Week') we thought, is particularly relevant. My feelings when I read Smash into the Gap were that it's slightly over-optimistic, but then you put the point quite clear in your letter. There is indeed a large difference between rioting and looting as it happened that night, which is closer to a symptom, a sign, and the English riots in 1981, which were closer to "proletarian" collective action going beyond the limit of taking things back from capital. There is a very good English pamphlet called: "Like a Summer with a Thousand Julys". The address (for the pamphlet) is: BM BLOB, LONDON WC 1N 3XX, Great Britain. In fact the pamphlet tells more about the general situation in England, but there's a fair amount of information on the riots themselves. I believe that these riots were much more important for the communist movement than the Miners' strike or the Polish strikes in 1980, not because I underestimate workers' struggles, but because in both cases (Britain and Poland) the workers never stopped acting only as workers within the boundaries of the production level (When they did go any further, in Poland, they were part of a national movement)(i.e: a nationalist movement). I know these views often seem "unorthodox". We tried to develop them in an article in the first issue of our magazine.....yours, Gilles..

IN REFERENCE TO THE PUBLICATION PROCESSED WORLD AND THE ATTITUDE OF ANGRY WAGE-SLAVES TOWARDS PROCESSED WORLD

To Internationalism, the section in the United States of the 'International Communist Current'

We noted that in Internationalism #47 you included a brief statement "No to Gangsterism" in relation to the Processed World. Bob Black controversy. We accept your claim that "The I.C.C. is not in a position to judge the validity of the various charges being hurled back and forth in this dispute. However, we must assert unequivocally, that gangsterism and hooliganism have no place in the workers' movement (Tampa's accent). Political debate cannot be conducted through violence or threats, but through the confrontation of ideas in face to face debate." But then from your broad description of the main features of this contest--"exposure of true identities associated with certain political pen names to the police, employers and the general public, death threats, a reported arson attempt and calling the police", we must maintain vehemently that Internationalism has not yet acquainted itself at all with the real substrate of this admittedly low affair and has, more or less, already swallowed the "line" put out by the "anti-authoritarian" establishment--the purveyors of the San Francisco modernist Ideology, including the so-called "Workers Solidarity Alliance"(1).

The real center of this dispute is the following: is Processed World and all of its attendant "anti-authoritarian" organs and supporters a part of the genuine but small revolutionary milieu here in North America?...or merely another leftist organization with all of the bourgeois disguise and subterfuge that such gauchist-capitalism always entails? From the very inception of the Processed World project, the Tampa Workers Affinity Group has independently and consistently identified it as the latter.

What are some of the criteria of revolutionary politics, the statement of basic principals of the I.C.C., and concurred with by the entire international revolutionary milieu? Major among these are: destruction of the capitalist state and the law of value, for the internationalization of workers' councils, against "self-management" and the nationalized economy, against "national liberation", Leftist parties, trade unions, electoral politics and frontism

between the working class and factions of capitalist politics. These are indeed the fundamental premises, the starting point for any legitimate revolutionary praxis.

However, in thirteen glossy issues of the magazine Processed World one is at a loss to find a substantive, coherent statement on any of these questions. Just the exact opposite! Where it might sometimes murmur to the effect that "Wouldn't it be nice if there weren't salaried work" and other such vagaries, specifically meant for the manipulation of doey-eyed liberals, the core members of Processed World, each with a long academic certificate in marxology, have hedged, waffled, and violated every principle of revolutionary politics. Where there is deceit, there is always the bourgeoisie.

This is how the flap began: free-lance anarchist writer Bob Black called upon the P.W. staff to explain who it was and why it was. Their response? To attempt to systematically suppress his article "Circle-A Deceit" which revealed that Processed World was not composed of simple, downtrodden, "dissident office workers", but of Berkeley modernists spouting a Gorzian-Cardanite(2) ideology through which they sought to take charge of the local "anti-authoritarian" movement".

As to the issue of "pen names", this is a diversionary canard and moot point. Most "contributors" to P.W. (including the most "radical" at the outset before they were purged) used their real names, the inner core members were not permanent office workers at all but came from families of wealth and fame. Most importantly, nothing anyone, anyone has ever written in Processed World would attract a police gnat: their cutesy sociology poses no danger to Capital or the State. Just browse through any issue of the magazine and you'll find it to be like an adaptation of Cultural Quarterly, Ltd.

With Processed World, what began as a light-weight modernist scam took on greater and greater leftist dimensions, starkly revealing the dialectical connection between the two. This same tension eventually ferreted out the leftist nature of almost all "anti-authoritarian" and "anarchist" circles as well. And it is not mere coincidence that the "success" of the Processed World journal was commensurate with the rise of the "Yuppie strata" and the growth of social democratic/left wing of capitalism opposition groups in America in general. As bourgeois achievement and niche-climbing mark the goals of Yuppiedom, so the

P.W. top staff, as an extreme left version of the Yuppie phenomenon, were determined to dilute all semibalances of generic revolutionary politics, (which many of them understood perfectly well) and lord it over the "anti-authoritarian" milieu with Kautskyite cleverness, Eluardian aesthetics and computer elegance. No chance you'd find them handing out leaflets to sweaty workers, or hawking newspapers like the Sparts or the 'Socialist Labor Party'. For Processed World, the slick marketing of their magazine is everything; anti-state communism is nothing.

The P.W. clique is basically a bourgeois gang sui generis hell bent on attaining Power (its own) within the circles of the "cultural" avant guard-aging hippies, punks, ect. All of their "politics" is simply a means to that end. It is, moreover, a business racket (Typesetting, Inc.) using its material resources-- office space, composer-typesetter, word-processor, copier, ect.-- to exercise further ideological control over the San Francisco and national "far left".

As to Bob Black's ante to P.W. for an explanation of its real internal operations and political intentions, the staff core immediately responded with the suppressive and sponed tactics well-known to Stalinism: "Don't print anything by Bob Black; he's a troublemaker, a sexist and a lunatic" (cf. "Trotskyite-fascist wrecker in the service of Hitler and the Mikado".) It was Processed World's violent censorship and reaction which triggered the round of punch/counter-punch. And it was the P.W. gang who:

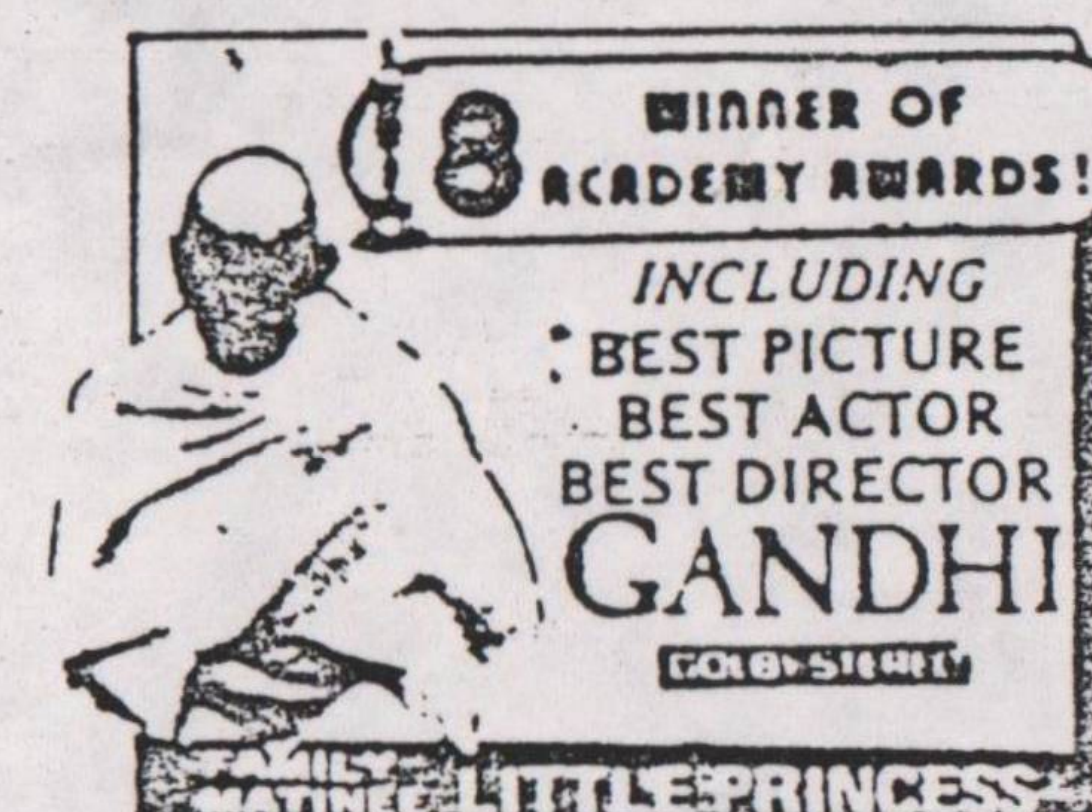
1. Broke into Bob Black's apartment looking for evidence of any documentation of its' actual practices,
2. Ripped down all of Black's posters dealing with any subject in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco,
3. Publically called Black "a police agent",
4. Attempted to and did assault Black on the street,
5. Made a terror call to Black's parents out of state, (A.W.B. typists note: Black's parents were telephoned in the middle of the night and informed by an anonymous caller that Black had been injured and was in a hospital somewhere in the Bay Area. Black's father has a pacemaker. This scare could have killed him.)
6. Served Black with a subpoena at his teaching job,
7. Obtained a court injunction against Black's going near the P.W. office,
8. Made repeated threatening calls to Black's friends or any sympathizer, and
9. Launched a continent-wide smear campaign against Black as a "psycho", never bothering to confront his charges except to lightly dismiss

them as "ridiculous and hallucinations". Sure Black fought back, and fought back alone with the best that he could muster. And why not? True libertarian communists are combative; we are not Nazarenes like bourgeois pacifists.

But where is the political proof, you say, that Processed World is in fact a leftist organization? "The working class is the only class capable of carrying out the communist revolution against capitalism" declaims the platform of the International Communist Current. Look hard through all thirteen issues of P.W. to find anything even remotely resembling this rudimentary tenet of revolutionary class politics. On specific questions? Trade-unionism? They published formal statements by Solidarnosc, and their general "position" is the nebulous "unions are not enough" line, although P.W. supports "self-managed" rank and file unionism, and frozen assemblyism. (For this reason and others, the San Francisco chapter of the "Workers Solidarity Alliance" is fully within their orbit.) National Liberation? One of the inner core members of P.W. used her family inheritance to travel to Nicaragua in 1983...and endorsed the "Sandinista Revolution" with her real name in the now defunct, self-contradictory journal No Middle Ground (And why not? From Atlanta to Toronto, the overwhelming portion of the "anti-authoritarian movement" avidly supports the Ortega junta.) Frontism? P.W. members like Tom Athanasiou travel in pacifist, "no nukes" circles such as the Abalone Alliance while calling for "community control" over tactical nuclear weapons, or People's Star Wars Defense as Bob Black deftly puts it. They also lent officespace to and actively campaigned for the Maoist-controlled "No Business As Usual" demonstration in San Francisco in April of 1985. "self-management"? One of The Holy Family members fanagled a grant from the Quaker-pacifist magazine The Progressive to travel to England and report about the coal miners' strike. His conclusion: The workers just didn't "demand enough", and would have done well to set up work-cooperatives in wake of the redundancies! And all of this is the mere surface of the modernist/leftist iceberg known as Processed World.

And, incidentally, besides purging the magazine of all its remaining internal ex-situationist and "anarchist" critics, during the row about "Maxine Holz's"/Caitlin Manning's enthusiasm for the F.S.L.N., the key (and probably only) revolutionary member of the group around The Daily Battle newspaper, the same individual who refuted the leftist lies about "Revolutionary Nicaragua" in the

article "Socialism in Quotation Marks" in the third issue of No Middle Ground (and one of the tiny few people in the "libertarian milieu" who adheres to the notion of a revolutionary organization in the tradition of the K.A.P.D. and a friend of the T.W.A.G.) was barred access to the No Middle Ground office. Strangely enough, the office happened to have been leased by the Processed World crew! Who are the real shits?



Tampa also sent a thirteen-page answer to Caitlin Manning's garbage on Nicaragua to No Middle Ground, which was suppressed by the majority pro-P.W. staffers. Soon afterward, No Middle Ground itself collapsed due to its own antinimous existence. The true political colors of every group and individual involved with the Nicaragua debate were exhibited, and Processed World's counter-revolutionary nature showed worse than even Black or the Tampa Workers Affinity Group had forseen.

In a recent issue of World Revolution#87(produced by the section of the International Communist Current in Britain) writing on the Bordigist(3) amalgam, the "International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party" and its affair with the so-called "Communist Party of Iran", the author of the World Revolution article states: "Leftism is not a form of opportunism... Leftism is the politics of the extreme wing of the bourgeoisie. Towards leftism, our only attitude can be to denounce all its expressions as part of the enemy class. We do not encourage debate and discussions within leftist groups." Processed World is precisely just such a Leftist organization whose real purpose is domination over the amorphous, confusional "anti-authoritarian movement" and whomever else they can get their manipulative fingers on. This group and its San Francisco Ideology is in essence one of the main obstacles to the development of a genuine revolutionary milieu here in North America, both Marxist and/or Anarchist. So for our part, we have always maintained, paraphrasing Durruti, that Processed World is not to be discussed--- it is to be destroyed. That is why the Tampa Workers Affinity Group has supported Bob Black from the outset.

Of course, we have our own political differences with Black-- specifically his rejection of "Marxism" which is for him always blurred into leftism, and his refusal of considerations of formal revolutionary association. But given the pusillanimous reality of North American "far left" politics, who can sincerely blaim him for these resistances at clarity? Anyway, whatever differences we have with Black fade into nothing so far as the P.W. racket is concerned, as we both uphold the revolutionary watchword: Processed World must be destroyed.

For anti-state communism,
Diego
(for the Tampa Workers Affinity Group)

FOOTNOTES: 1. the 'Workers Solidarity Alliance' referred to above is the official anarcho-syndicalist franchise in the United States, sanctioned as such by the so-called 'International Workers Association' in Madrid. This grouping publishes the magazine/tabloid Ideas and Action, critiqued in this issue.

2. "...Gorzian/Cardanite..." Two leading contemporary modernist apologists for bourgeois civilization. Andre Gorz is a former leading thinker of the Moscow-franchise "Communist" Party of France. His most famous work, Farewell to the Working Class, equates proletarians working without getting paid for it with the abolition of wage-labor. Paul Cardan is one of the pen-names of Cornelius Castoriadis. Castoriadis was one of the main animators of the group 'Socialisme ou Barbarie' in France in the post-World War Two period. A critique of his conception of the content of socialism is contained in the article Solidarity, the Market and Marx, published in this issue of the Angry Workers Bulletin.

3. "Bordigist" is a somewhat pejorative term referring to the more conservative inheritors of the Italian Communist Left. The term comes from the name of Amadeo Bordiga, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Italy and one of the leading figures of the Italian Left Communists. The "International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party" (funny name, isn't it?) is an attempt at a marriage between two groups that strictly trace their origins to the Italian ultra-left, the 'Communist Workers Organization' in Britain and the 'Partido Comunista Internacionalista/Battaglia Comunista' in Milan, Italy.

**We're all created equal.
After that, baby, you're on your own.**



Today everyone gets a chance to dominate somebody else. That's equality of opportunity.

But to move and shake the destiny of the world—that belongs to only a few of us.

To succeed, you better start hustling now. We start you out in the family, so right away you learn isolation, and that to disobey brings pain.

You may feel terror at your powerlessness. Use it to determine that you'll be the one who wields power someday.

Chances are you'll lose a teen-age friend or

two to suicide—some kids just can't adapt to the bleakness around them (just as emotional disorders seem to be claiming more and more adults).

You'll probably realize that your acquisitions don't make up for the sacrifices necessary to get them. But when you accept that life has to be confined ultimately to consumer choices, you'll be fine.

Mindful of your own superiority, you'll go on minding your superiors—that's the attitude of professionals.

As you grow older, you fully appreciate

CAPITAL

We need you to succeed.

Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous P.O. Box 11111 Eugene, OR 97440

the absurdity of our power, and the contempt we feel for those who submit to it (a contempt only Sade has done full justice to).

Extraordinary cunning is required at the pinnacle of success. Using the specialists of reform and revolution to keep class struggles under control was easy once. But the deepening refusal to be represented by any kind of politician threatens as never before the reproduction of repression.

Quite simply, if you fail now, we're finished.

RUSSIA 1917

(The following article was written by the folks at A Communist Effort in London, England for a conference of revolutionary groups in England on the historical significance of the Russian Revolution)

1. In Defence of Council Communism

There are so many ideological views conflicting about Russia 1917-1985 that revolutionaries should almost be able to see the nature of modern ideology and non-dialectical critique without even considering what actually happened! But this is not, of course, the case. How much more useful it is if revolutionaries analyse historically what did happen, and at the same time try to understand the social function of all the lies about it...

In recent years, left-Leninists have attempted to put the boot in against council communism, in order to try to demarcate and strengthen their ideology, and in order to try to assimilate the publicity of partisans of authentic communist revolution with a swamp where it is most difficult to sweep through all the lies of the counter-revolution.

By saying this, in no way do I associate myself with everybody who the left-Leninists lump together in this "swamp". Far from it. Left-Leninist methods are a variation of the Stalinist "amalgam technique", where the fundamentals of communist theory and practice (including anti-Bolshevism) are "amalgated with" and supposedly "disproved by" anything from the self-managementism of "Solidarity" to the factoryism of Rühle,^(a) from the illuminatism of the post-1945 Pannekoek to the ideology of "commodity abundance" so dear to pro-Situs, from libertarianism to Mattick's crisis theory, from modernism *a la* Camatte to modernism *a la* Castoriadis... To make it clear from the beginning, I write this from a communist perspective, and am in favor neither of "self-management" nor factoryism,

nor libertarianism, nor federalism, nor the anti-interventionist ideology of orthodox councilism, nor individualism, nor "autonomism" (cultural or marginalist).

The most ridiculous allegations (if they can be called by such a "serious" word) are that communists' opposition to Bolshevism depends on (1) Lenin being a "patriarch" (!) ; (2) the ideas of the Bolsheviks, seen as in themselves the motor of counter-revolution; or (3) "one sentence" in "What is to be done?" (about the "inability" of proletarians to become revolutionarily conscious by themselves) (!!), seen by left-Leninists as "taken out of context" (!!). No doubt some idiot will soon say that our opposition to Bolshevism and all its' inheritors depends on Lenin's acceptance of German gold, or on the so-called "escape" of the Tsarevich and Anastasia! Revolutionaries, though, have nothing but contempt for such bourgeois views of history, based on "evil Macchiavellian geniuses". This is one aspect which I develop below in part 2.

The movement for communism has always been at war with its own representation (for example, one-third of the Communist Manifesto is about opposing recuperation). This is not surprising seeing that the dominant ideas are the ideas of the dominant class, and seeing that ideas about the proletariat are necessary to capitalism, as long as they rest on the lie that its needs can be achieved within existing conditions. Those who do not understand this ought to wise up about the last sixty years and ought to understand that it's not just a question of having "bureaucratic leaders".

It is impossible to see Russia in 1917 in isolation. In particular, it has to be seen:

1. In light of the class struggle elsewhere, of which the most advanced area was Germany.
2. In light of the generalized conflict between social democracy and the proletariat.
3. In light of the First World War, some aspects of which are still, 70 years later, waiting to be intelligently analysed by revolutionaries. (1)

It is necessary to see that in Russia and the rest of the old world, the movement for the power of workers' councils in the first quarter of this century did not prove strong enough to defeat the strengths of the counter-revolution. It is necessary to see what worked in favor of the power of authentically revolutionary soviets, and what didn't.

The First World War, Revolutionary Opposition to Social-Democracy: Reality and Representation.

All revolutionaries- and all but the least sophisticated pseudo-revolutionaries- think that some of those who split away from orthodox social-democratic parties before and during the First World War were able to play a vigorous part in the development of the revolutionary movement towards communism. What I aim to show below is that: (A) there was a tendency everywhere for a representation of opposition to social-democracy to crop-up, which was still essentially social-democratic and was fought by a revolutionary opposition to social-democracy, which was founded on an entirely different basis: proletarian autonomy. (B) Orthodox Bolshevism (from Lenin to the "Comintern") was founded on the Russian equivalent of Kautskyism which took on different political forms from the USPD up to a point, owing to the differences between German conditions and Russian conditions: whereas dissident Bolshevism (the Russian "Left Communists", Democratic Centralists Workers' Opposition,...) merely consisted of policy recommendations for Russian capitalism (styles of management; foreign policy; democracy; accountability; relations between unions and State;...).

All who consider it important to stress that some Russian cities were quite extensively industrialized when war broke out should remember that Russian capital started to lose the war from the very day on which it was declared by Germany. A map of the progression of the Eastern Front from

1914 to 1917 shows the front line edging Eastwards continuously through Russian Poland. Tsarist troops were only fleetingly able, throughout the whole of the war, to achieve a foothold in a small part of North-East Germany, from which they were forced to retreat completely by February 1915. {2}

2.

The revolutionary wave of February 1917 was sparked off by women proletarians in Petrograd who had taken to the streets in defiance of the Tsarist State and of a Bolshevik directive to wait until the official May Day demonstration. Essentially the main workers' demands and hopes centered around an end to the slaughter of the war, and a beginning to some sort of workers' power, which was seen from various different angles: from accountable management through to workers' power over their own wage-slavery, to a representation of workers' power by centralist or federalist bureaucrats-and no doubt many workers looked for a real and total workers' power... This wave reached a preliminary peak in July, after the Russian bourgeoisie began to send more proletarians to the battlefield, which was a necessary Entente strategy because the intensifying atrocities on the Western front were beginning to incite discontent. The Bolsheviks held back this wave of proletarian struggle; Tomsy was to say "The regiments which have come out have acted in an uncomradely manner, not having invited the Central Committee of our party to consider the question of a demonstration."

3.

The Bolshevik Party, in the few months leading up to October of 1917, was able-under pressure from its boss, Lenin- to throw off more "centrist" tactics resting on a critical support for Kerensky, and was able to envisage the realization of the task for which the Bolsheviks had groomed themselves since they split the Russian social-democratic party in 1903: seizure of power over the proletariat.

4. E. Mav's entire text (The Russian Revolution and the Permanent Need for the Soviets, October 1984) is written from the viewpoint of seeing the capitalist counter-revolution in Russia as a process of a degeneration of the State formed in the October Revolution of 1917. The change in Bolshevik policy is seen as equivalent to the counter-revolution, caused by external isolation and by social-democratic "remnants" of which the Bolsheviks never exorcised themselves. This forgets that nothing can ever be revolutionary in the anti-capitalist sense except that which tends towards conscious and total proletarian power: i.e. the dictatorship of the whole class.

5. E. Mav sees all the tendencies of the Zimmerwald left (Luxemburg, Lenin, Pannekoek, Ruhle, Gorter,...) as communist because they all supported the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war". Fortunately, there are abundant facts through which we can test this hypothesis.

For the International Socialists of Germany (ISD, mainly based in Bremen, Berlin and Brunswick, and opposed Luxemburg's ideas before the German Revolution of 'reconquering' the SPD), this slogan meant the same as "Turn the imperialist war between the states into international class war." We shall see the difference between the Bolsheviks and the German communists. It wasn't long before they conflicted in-practice.

6. Whatever Luxemburg's mistakes during the war (eg. "The worst workers' party is better than none"), there is no doubt that she took part in the revolutionary class war in Berlin 1919, and had by then gone over to a position of total hostility to the SPD. What we must now look at is the theoretical (and therefore practical) differences between the German-Dutch communist left and Bolshevism, beginning before the war.

The difference between communist opposition to social-democracy and Bolshevik "opposition to social-democracy" has one of its first and clearest expressions before the outbreak of imperialist war.

In 1912, Pannekoek wrote what was to be one of the most thoroughgoing attacks on social-democracy in the history of the movement: "Mass Action and Revolution". {3} His critique was remarkable for what it didn't say as much as for what it said. In no way did he blame social-democracy on "the treachery of leaders" or on "renegades", as Lenin would latter do*.

* Incidentally, the fundamental basis of Lenin's "critique" of orthodox social-democracy is that it "proved inadequate" on August 4, 1914. This was not the date on which the war broke out, but the date on which the SPD parliamentary party unanimously approved the war budget of German imperialism. Liebnicht later voted against it, to be followed in March 1915 by Ruhle. The point is that Lenin in no way opposed the pre-1914 situation of social-democracy: submission of the point of view of proletarian revolution to capital, even if this capital was not yet decadent on a world scale.

In a word, Pannekoek saw a reformist working class, and then saw that revolution depended on the consciousness and organization of the masses in struggle. He appropriated and developed Rosa Luxemburg's anti-programmic view of revolution.

"The proletariat's organization- its most important source of strength- must not be confused with the present day form of its organizations and associations, where it is shaped by conditions within the framework of the still vigorous bourgeois order. The nature of the organization is something spiritual [*geist*?, ACE] - no less than the whole transformation of the proletarian mentality." Quoted in S. Bricianer's Pannekoek and the Workers' Councils

This emphasis on the proletarian consciousness and mass organizations formed in the process of the struggle is already opposite of blaming the domination of the proletariat by reformism and reformist leaders. The controversy" between Kautsky and Pannekoek in 1912-13 must be seen in the light of Kautsky's denial that "mass action" could be anything more than "organized mob violence", and in light of Pannekoek's position as an open partisan neither of the labor aristocracy nor of mob disorganization, but of a "third possibility": "an extra-parliamentary political intervention by organized workers... acting directly at the political level instead of leaving this completely to their delegates."

Bricianer mentions that Lenin, in his copy of Pannekoek's text, wrote the word "Never Not", meaning "untrue!", against the piece underlined above.

Five years later, in 1917, Lenin was to recognize implicitly the importance of Pannekoek's landmark text in his own The State and Revolution. It is difficult to analyse this latter text without seeing that large parts of it were contradicted, even in Leninist terms, by later Bolshevik practice. But Lenin's message was that the Kerenskyist state (the Kerensky government that took power in Russia in February 1917 after the fall of the Czar, Angry Workers' Bulletin note) should be overthrown, and the so-called "lack of precision and concreteness-not to speak of the other defects" of Pannekoek's text should be forgotten. To give Lenin his due regard, Left-Wing Communism- An Infantile Disorder (a veritable handbook of the counter-revolution) was not long in being published, and indeed it was a more honest attack on Pannekoek's communist position. It did not take long (i.e. after 1912) for the conflict between the revolutionary opposition to social democracy on the one hand, and Bolshevism on the other, to become more and more open.

Bolshevism was non-Kautskyist in that the Bolshevik party had little or no interest after April of 1917 in backing Kerensky, whereas Kautsky's party on the whole gave support to the U.S.P.D. (Independent Social Democratic Party, A.W.B. note) There were also occasions such as Bavaria in 1919 where parts of the U.S.P.D. violently opposed the S.P.D. But Bolshevism was Kautskyist to the core in that it saw revolution as the act of a conspiratorial elite substituting itself for the masses, to which mass-action-for-itself would be an irrelevance. This was the Russian equivalent of all the parliamentarist "consciousness-injectors" of the U.S.P.D.

7.

"The historical moment when Bolshevism triumphed for itself in Russia and when social democracy fought victoriously for the old world marks the inauguration of the state of affairs which is at the heart of the domination of the modern spectacle: the representation of the working class radically opposes itself to the working class."

"During twenty years of unresolved theoretical debate, the varied tendencies of Russian social democracy had examined all the conditions for the liquidation of Czarism: the weakness of the bourgeoisie, the weight of the

peasant majority and the decisive role of a concentrated and combative but hardly numerous proletariat. The debate was resolved in practice by means of a factor which had not been present in the hypothesis; a revolutionary bureaucracy which directed the proletariat, seized state power, and gave society a new class domination. Strictly bourgeois revolution had been impossible; the "democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants" was meaningless; the proletarian power of the Soviets could not maintain itself simultaneously against the class of small landowners, against the national and international White reaction, and against its own representation externalized and alienated in the form of a workers' party (my emphasis-A.C.E.) of absolute masters of state, economy, expression, and soon of thought." (Guy Debord, Society of the Spectacle, paras. 101 & 103.)

8.

The process of bureaucrats substituting themselves for the power of revolutionary Workers Councils occurred almost everywhere in the great uprisings of 1917-1921. In Russia this meant a new state; in Germany-on a national level- it meant a legalistic framework of a "National Congress of Councils" which expelled the revolutionaries (Spartikists and International Communists) and democratically elected the bourgeois murderers Ebert and Scheidemann to be "People's Commisars". This latter body was dominated by the S.P.D. and U.S.P.D. and was unequivocally denounced by the I.K.D. and the Spartikists, for whom "All power to the Soviets" presupposed mass action and mass creative consciousness. Later, Ruhle was to denounce- from his own personal experience- the "show councils" in both Russia and Germany. The difference was that in Russia the right-wing social democrats were already in the government during the war (which they were losing) and the last hope for capitalism, in view of the Soviet movement (which was a movement for proletarian power which started before October and ended after it), was that a putschist party would come to power, especially seeing that Russian Czarist political structures had not allowed this party to play the usual parliamentary role in the pre-Kerensky years. {4}

9.

After October of 1917, the immediate aim of the Bolsheviks was not revolutionary class war, but social and imperialist peace.

"The revolution has won. All power has passed to the Soviets... New laws will be proclaimed in a few days dealing with workers' problems. One of the most important will deal with workers' control of production and with the return of industry to normal conditions. Strikes and demonstrations are harmful in Petrograd. We ask you to put an end to all strikes on economic and political issues, to resume work and to carry it out in a perfectly orderly manner... Every man to his place. The best way to support the Soviet government is to go back to work."

(A proclamation by Bolshevik spokesmen at the second All-Russian soviet congress)

In September, Lenin had written:

"Socialism is nothing other than the stage following immediately after State capitalist monopoly... State monopoly capitalism is the most complete material preparation for socialism, the antichamber of socialism". (The Imminent Catastrophy and the Means to Bring it About)

He went on to say "When the proletariat... has learnt to organize large-scale production on the level of the state, on the basis of state capitalism,... the consolidation of socialism will be assured."

So much for the internal and national consolidation of capitalist social peace. The Bolsheviks did not wait long before trying to consolidate imperialist peace on a European level. On November 20, 1917 (Old Russian Calendar, four weeks after the October events), the Bolsheviks opened preliminary armistice talks with the Central Powers- the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. An armistice was agreed, (although this is not yet the same as peace) on December 2, 1917. New talks, this time around the issue of a full peace, were opened five days later at Brest-Litovsk. As these talks dragged on throughout January and February, and as strike waves broke out in Germany, the tendencies in evidence were:

--Lenin (in the minority): for immediate unconditional acceptance of German terms, especially in view of the renewed German advance which began on February 5, 1918 --- IMPERIALIST PEACE

--Trotsky (also in the minority): for a continuation of the war, with Russia remaining as an Entente power--- IMPERIALIST WAR

--Left Social Revolutionaries: for a "sacred alliance" of all classes in a nationalistic war against Germany. (When later to be espoused by some forces in Germany vis-a-vis France, this was called a "NATIONAL-BOLSHEVIK position.")

--Mensheviks: open continuation of the war, as before. --Left Bolsheviks (a majority of the Bolshevik Party, who mostly ceded to Lenin's wishes for fear of a split): for a revolutionary international civil war.

The left Bolsheviks, despite everything, were able to make a searing critique of the other tendencies in their party: they associated Lenin's position with

"a refusal of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of peace" and Trotsky's with "a refusal of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of war."

Before and after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, eventually signed in March 1918, the Bolsheviks were becoming a more and more active force in the counter-revolution. It is important to see that Germany at this time was experiencing strike waves which were of enormous historical significance- they were, along with the events leading up to the October Revolution in Russia, the first mass proletarian confrontations against the social democracy and its parties- they were by their very nature as wartime strikes wildcat.

and against the "sacred alliance" of the bosses and trade-unions.

As far as Lenin's position on the war goes, it conveniently changed from "revolutionary defeatism" and "transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war" (1915-1916) to "democratic peace" (April 1917), to "unconditional peace" (November 1917), to "defence of the fatherland" (February 1918, "A hard but necessary lesson")

"Since 25 October 1917, we have been partisans of defense of the nation;

since this day, we have been for the defence of the fatherland.

(We've) ... proven in practice that we have broken with imperialism. We denounced and divulged the infamous and bloody plots of the imperialisms. We have overthrown our bourgeoisie. We have given freedom to the peoples that we oppressed. (ie: whom Russian Imperialism oppressed- A.C.E. note)

the peoples that we oppressed. (i.e.: whom Russian Imperialism oppressed-A.C.E. note) We have given land to the people and brought in workers' control... We declare a merciless war on all the revolutionary phraseology about revolutionary war." (Lenin, February 1918)

Clearly, this honest "war on revolutionary war" (and ipso facto on the communist revolution), went along with a progressive rationalization of management. In summing up Bolshevik achievements since October 1917, Lenin was very lucid: substitution of the party for the proletariat; land to the peasants; defence of the nation; right of self-determination; workers' control; State ownership.

It cannot be said too often that all those who "excuse" this national policy opposed to international revolutionary war on grounds of "pragmatism" are opposing -- or they think they are opposing--the interests of the Russian revolution to the interests of the world revolution. They have stopped being internationalists, if they ever were internationalists in the first place. In practice what was being opposed to the international consolidation and extension of soviet power was the development of capitalist rationalization in Russia.

Proletarians have no country, and in decadent capitalism all consolidation of nation-states (and anything national) is counter-revolutionary.

11.

The left Bolsheviks, despite being right about the need for class war on an international level, otherwise merely differed with Lenin and the Leninist fraction over management strategies. Where Lenin was for one-man management and "the submission of the will of thousands of people to the will of a single person", they were for accountability of managers {5} Where Lenin was originally for partial State ownership, they were for total state ownership and for getting rid of most of the former owners. (Cf. the later glorification of so-called "War Communism" by most left Bolsheviks. Where Lenin was for "nationalization from above", they were for "nationalization from below" and "workers' control"

Later, the Democratic Centralists of 1919-1920 were to campaign for party democracy, which, as Ciliga was to point out, meant opposing "ascendant" Leninism to "decadent" Leninism. And in 1921, Kollontai's "Workers' Opposition", which supported the suppression of Kronstadt, represented the interests of union bureaucrats while not forgetting to call for the party to remain "the controller of the real policy of the soviets." {6}

As most of the information in E.Mav's text shows, the burning questions amongst the Bolsheviks from 1918 onwards concerned: accountability or non-accountability of factory directors; the mathematical make-up of boards of directors (in other words what proportion of union bureaucrats, state bureaucrats, and old owners); what treaties to make with foreign capitalist states (ex-Alliance, ex-Entente),....

Essentially, the proletariat's resistance to capitalism was easily crushed in Russia: the proletarian revolution which rolled along throughout 1917 without ever unifying itself for itself, and without centralizing its control over the economy, left few visible traces by 1918. The Bolsheviks and their State played the largest part in defeating it, in destroying whatever tendencies there were towards the power of really revolutionary workers councils.

12.

The success of proletarian revolution depends on:

---COMMUNIZATION, as opposed to mere "worker's management" (as advocated by the libertarian socialist group 'Solidarity' in Britain or practiced in the LIP watch factory strike in France in the early 1970's,...), "workers' control" (as advocated by the Left-Bolsheviks or Russian anarcho-syndicalists,...), or "workers' participation" (the platform of nearly all political parties, from fascism through to the program of virtually every left-wing social-democratic union formation in the world today), or mere occupation of terrain, (as in May of 1968 in Paris or the riots in Brixton in England in 1981,...) Communization means the concrete supersession of wage-labor and the commodity economy, including when these are mediated through labor-time certificates.

---Organization of the immediate political tasks of the international extension of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through international civil war.

The counter-revolution had many arguments about the differences and relations between "economic power" and "political power", where "economic power" was considered as the "management" of the factories, and "political power" was considered as the state.

The point for the revolution will be to extend a unified and total proletarian power to all corners of the globe, which is inseparable from the communization of all social relations (production and everything else),

and inseparable from revolutionary war. Thus the political side and the economic side will be unified not through any management techniques, nor on the basis of mere occupation of the factories, but on the basis of the seizure and transformation of everything. This will include the necessary seizure of the means of production, and a political phase (the lower phase of communism) where aspects of the old world will still exist (i.e. bourgeois power in some areas) and will need to be suppressed. {8.}

13.

THE PARTY: E. Mav thinks that there is a necessity for a party to "play a leading role in the revolutionary process through its historic programmatic clarity" and "which must struggle to win a clear majority in the class for its views". The idea of mass revolutionary consciousness being related to the acceptance of the views of a "programmatically clear" party is the same as the idea of the so-called need for "possessor's of the class's consciousness", whose heads are seen as a privileged place of the maturation of the class's consciousness. But mass revolutionary consciousness is not acceptance of a program; it is practical or it is nothing. Mass revolutionary consciousness goes along with mass revolutionary practice: it is what it does {7.} and its reference point is its own struggle. It needs no leaders to "win it over to the party's point of view". The emphasis on proletarian autonomy was what Pannekoek was trying to get across in 1912.

This does not in any way deny the necessity for proletarians who consider themselves revolutionary to intervene in the class struggle, i.e. in the joint maturation of its theory and its practice. They are neither leaders or followers and it is obvious that their action will be more effective if it is organized internationally.

Revolutionary theory comes from the proletarian condition; it is therefore immanent (although not in a vulgar-deterministic way) in that condition. It comes from the totality of dispossession, as part of the movement for the collective total reappropriation of the planet by the dispossessed: the proletariat, whose power alone can abolish classes.

THE STATE: E.Mav defines the state as the means by which a class holding "political power" "suppresses" the other classes. Elsewhere he speaks of the state as an arbitrator of "intra-class disputes". The first definition is inadequate because no power is merely political

and because classes have suppressed other classes by means other than the state (eg. trade unions). If it is assumed that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the whole class and that this class will have to centralize by means of revocable delegates in order to ensure that optimum communication, distribution, and production in all senses is organized on a world scale, then the second definition is meaningless because arguments will be settled by means of the authority of the majority, which is different from "arbitration" Social organization will obviously be a means both of effecting the pleasure of individuals of a world human community and of confronting differences.

What I'm saying is that the State means something else. The best definition would be: the separation and institutionalization of executive powers away from decisive and deliberative powers. This social separation has nothing to do with the communist project. L.L.M.'s programme of a "State on the model of the Paris Commune" is indeed a feat of remarkable historical stagnation. {9} Marx was right to say that the Commune provided a glimpse of the "at last discovered historical form under which the emancipation of labor might be realized", but this form has been seen in a much more developed level in the revolutionary workers' councils of 1917-1921. The Commune taught Marx the necessity of the immediate smashing of the bourgeois state (a quarter of a century beforehand he had already called for the abolition of the State); but what have the intervening 115 years taught today's communists? That in ascendant capitalism it was possible in certain circumstances for proletarians to struggle for a national State in which to struggle for reforms, and even to engage in momentary alliances with petty-bourgeois elements (inside the Commune, for example), whereas in the period of capitalist decadence (understood on a world scale), sooner or later it's all or nothing, and the revolution is the opposite of all fronts, (i.e. 'popular fronts' between the proletariat and other classes, A.W.E. note) and all compromised organizational solutions.

All States are now the enemy of what will be the necessity for any area of the power of the proletariat-for-itself (by this is meant "the proletariat acting in such a way as to abolish itself through its own power"): namely the international extension of communization which can know no treaties, negotiations, armistices or peace with any capitalist power.

Footnotes.

{a} Here the author refers to the following notion of the left communist revolutionary Otto Ruhle:

"Only in the factory is the worker of today a real proletarian, and as such a revolutionary within the meaning of the proletarian-socialist revolution. Outside the factory he is a petty-bourgeois, involved in a petty-bourgeois milieu and middle-class habits of life, dominated by petty-bourgeois ideology."

Otto Ruhle (1874-1943) was one of the major figures of the left communist movement in Germany after World War One. A schoolteacher by profession, in March 1915 he was the second social democratic deputy in the Reichstag, the German Parliament, to refuse to vote for war credits to the German war effort, the first deputy to do this having been Karl Liebknecht. Ruhle was a founding member of the Spartacus League and later left the Spartacus group to become a spokesperson for the 'International Socialists of Germany' (ISD) in the Dresden area. He played a leading role in the overthrow of the ruling princely House of Saxony. After the formation of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) the pro-Moscow leaders of the Communist Party expelled 45ths of the party membership, and the expelled majority of the party formed the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, the K.A.P.D. Ruhle and other revolutionaries from the Dresden area participated in the formation of the K.A.P.D. under the condition that the K.A.P.D. quickly dissolve itself into the revolutionary factory organizations, the General Workers' Union of Germany, (A.A.U.D.) Ruhle was sent by the K.A.P.D. to the Soviet Union in October 1920 to represent the K.A.P.D. at the Second Congress of the so-called Communist International. After travelling through Russia, Ruhle refused to attend the Second Congress, rejecting the Comintern's 'twenty-one conditions' of membership and returned to Germany, denouncing the Bolshevik dictatorship as an anti-working class, state capitalist regime. For refusing to attend the Congress he was expelled from the K.A.P.D., and most of the Dresden section of the K.A.P.D. left the party to form the 'General Workers' - Union-Integrated Organization', the A.A.U.D.-E, in October 1921. (Angry Workers' Bulletin footnote)

1. Eg. the aftermath of the downfall of the Hapsburg dynastic Empire in Central Europe.

2. See map on page 10 of G. Sabatier's "Traite de Brest-Litovsk 1918. Coup d'arret a la revolution". Enquire at: Revolution Social, B.P. 30316, 75767 Paris Cedex 16

3. Extensively quoted in S. Bricianer, Pannekoek and the Workers' Councils

4. I am aware of the danger of oversimplistic political comparisons between Germany and Russia, but would the Social Democrats, the S.P.D., have retained power in Germany in January 1919 if they had replaced the monarchy at the same time as Kerensky had replaced the Czar? No - they would have been utterly discredited. The sequence of events was as follows:

after two years of growing wildcat strikes, Germany was losing the war, and the military High Command (and the de facto dictator: Ludendorff) were forced to call off the war. This they did by shifting the blame onto a newly created parliamentary government which they had set up for this purpose. When the High Command later changed its mind, the S.P.D. - which had revelled in the imperialist massacres - was able to pose as a party of peacemongers and was therefore in a better position to smash the revolution. Although of course they had to murder revolutionary workers by the tens of thousands, their position of being technically against the High Command meant that many workers were still submissive to them. In Russia the Kerensky government was totally discredited by October 1917 - that's where the Bolsheviki come in as a governmental party, as the U.S.P.D. might well have done had things gone differently in Germany.

5. See Maurice Brinton, The Bolsheviki and Workers' Control, a book which equates communism with workers' management of production.

6. See Les Branches d'Octobre by L'Insecurite Social, B.P.243-75564 Paris Cedex 12

7. By saying this, I'm not peddling spontaneism. Consciousness (of history, tasks, enemies, capitalist development,...) cannot be separated from its use, and its development and realization.

8. By "aspects" I mean "areas"... I'm not suggesting for one moment that "bourgeois right" and money would exist in any way whatsoever during this "lower phase". Whether or not this was true at the time of the Critique of the Gotha Program it's certainly not true now.

9. L.L.M., in Hong Kong, publishes International Correspondence (P.O.Box 44007, Shaukeiwan Post Office, Hong Kong) from the perspective of academic left-Leninist ideology. The text of E.Mav mentioned above is an internal text of the communist group Wildcat in Manchester, England.



"For Land and Liberty" St. Petersburg, 1905.

A Communist Effort, available from Box A.C.E., 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 England.

AID FOR CLASS WAR PRISONERS IN POLAND

Robert Chechlacz and Tomasz Lupanow are two class war prisoners being held in Nysa jail in Poland. They were part of a small group in Grodzisk, Poland which, two months after martial law was declared in December 1981, planned armed actions to free prisoners held in Bialoleka jail, and also against a police station used by the State militia. A Sergeant in the militia was shot when his weapons were being taken from him, and he died two days later in the hospital.

Three months before martial law was declared in Poland, 150 people were aided in an escape from Bydgoszcz jail. After martial law, many working class people, like some of the shipyard workers in Szczecin, took up arms. The group in Grodzisk, like other groups of working-class people in Poland, made efforts to seize weapons in preparation for what they hoped would soon become an armed insurrection against the Polish State. It is in this context that the actions of Robert Chechlacz and Tomasz Lupanow must be seen. Their actions had nothing to do with "terrorism". They were involved in forceful actions that grew out of the context of the violence of the repression of the working class movement in Poland and were necessary attempts by working class people to prepare for the use of armed violence against the Polish bosses and their state. Robert and Tomasz had no contact with the apparatus of the Solidarnosc trade union. They have not been included in the amnesties of union bureaucrats and opposition politicians like Jacek Kuron issued by the government. We were initially informed of the plight of Robert and Tomasz by a leaflet from France signed by a "Committee for the Defense of Legality". It seems pretty obvious that the actions of armed workers' groups in Poland went far beyond anything as polite as a "defense of legality". On a very obvious level working class people who were willing to mug a policeman to take his firearms in preparation for a violent insurrection against their oppressors, who were willing to put themselves in that extreme situation of risk and personal danger had realized the brutal nature of the law and the legality they lived under and acted as best they could to wage war against it and destroy it.

Money can be sent to the prisoners' families in Grodzisk in Poland via an aid group in France whose address is: Le Aims de Robert et Tomek, B.P. 4, 93 301 Aubervilliers Cedex, France. It would also be useful for persons sympathetic to Robert and Tomek to initiate a publicity campaign against the Embassies and consulates of the Polish government, in the form of noisy demonstrations, telephone harrassment, and any other ways of attempting to make the state-capitalists realize that people know about Robert and Tomek and want them out of jail. (information from this article came from Wildcat #8. Their address is given in the response to the Smash into the Gap leaflet.)