

# DISCUSSION BULLETIN

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## BULLETIN MATTERS

With DB30 we complete five years of publication, a cooperative accomplishment we can all take pride in. Two or three years ago on this anniversary, Bulletin Matters carried an inventory of the number, authors, and groupings in our political sector that the letters and articles we published represented. To demonstrate our usefulness as a forum in that way today would be far too space and time consuming. It is sufficient to say that we continue to serve as a forum for supporters of "non-market/third force/leftwing/revolutionary/world/syndicalist/socialist industrial unionist/anti-statist/libertarian/councilist" [choose any of the preceding



2

adjectives] "socialism/communism" [choose your noun].

This triumph of shoestring journalism lies in the faithfulness of its participants--the readers and writers, about half of whose subscriptions expire with this issue. Please check whether the number on your mailing label is 30. If so, it is time to renew. A form is enclosed.

This issue carries an article on a little-known group in labor history, the DeLeonist-inspired Detroit IWW; continues the debate between supporters of the IWW and the Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA) on revolutionary unionism; carries a response by Internationalism (ICC) to a letter published in DB27 and a response to Internationalism's article in DB29; and includes an article by a new correspondent on workers councils together with a list of publications received and comments thereon.

Frank Girard  
for the DB Committee

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#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Factsheet Five #28., 68pp. Readers interested in this directory of hundreds of small magazines should send \$2 per issue to Mike Gunderloy, 8 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY 12144. Mike also tells us that the libertarian On Central America pamphlet mentioned in DB29 can be obtained from the above address for \$.50 per copy.

Elements of Refusal. John Zerzan, 1988, Left Bank Books. 283 pp. \$8.95 plus \$1.50 postage from Left Bank Distribution, 5241 University Way, N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. DB29 carried information on Questioning Technology [\$11.95 + \$1.50 postage from the above address] of which Zerzan was one of the editors. Instead of compiling other people's essays as in the latter, Zerzan has collected 20 of his own in Elements of Refusal. As the title suggests, these all concern human resistance--in this case to what Zerzan regards as the dehumanizing march of technology.

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

Communist Organizations & Class Consciousness by International Communist Current (ICC). 128pp. #3 from Internationalism, P.O. Box 288, New York, NY 10018. This is the pamphlet mentioned in Internationalism's letter (p. 18). It sees the revolutionary party

(Cont'd on p. 23)

## A Page from Labor History

### The Detroit IWW, or, the Workers International Industrial Union

The Detroit IWW, formed by supporters of political action after the 1908 split in the Industrial Workers of the World, was renamed the Workers International Industrial Union (WIIU) in 1915. The Socialist Labor Party's (SLP) Daniel DeLeon had led the 1450 member union, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, into the IWW at its 1905 founding convention. As chair of its Constitution Committee, DeLeon made sure that the preamble to the IWW constitution advocated that workers "come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through economic organization of the working class, without affiliation to any political party." In 1906, the preamble was amended to leave no doubt that the IWW was not "endorsing any political party or desiring the endorsement of any political party."

The IWW claimed the support of over 150,000 after it got off the ground and many industrial unionists anticipated that it would surpass the 700,000 member mark that the Knights of Labor had set in 1886. But, with the early departure of its largest member union, the Western Federation of Miners, and the loss of support by many Socialist Party members, the IWW was soon decimated to only 14,000 dues payers.

When the fourth convention opened in 1908, the membership had undergone a dramatic transformation. Many of those remaining as well as the bulk of new members from the west coast had decided that the "political clause" authored by DeLeon would allow the SLP to control the IWW. Supporters of Vincent St. John and William Trautmann barred Daniel DeLeon from being seated as a delegate. Under anarcho-syndicalist control, the "Chicago IWW," as it was now called, eliminated the political clause from the preamble.

Twenty-one outraged supporters of political action reconvened in Paterson, New Jersey in September, 1908, denounced the anarcho-syndicalists for "seating fictitious delegates while refusing seats to duly elected ones," and proclaimed themselves the true IWW. The original New York General Headquarters was changed to Detroit within a few months, resulting in their being known as the "Detroit IWW."

The fledgling union printed its activities in the SLP's People until it could publish its own Industrial Union News in 1912. Starting with 22 locals, the Detroit IWW was strongest on the East Coast, though its 5 member Executive Board included representatives from Denver and Detroit. Both factions were tremendously weakened from the 1908 split, with the Detroit group maintaining a size roughly one third of the Chicago faction: about 3,500 in 1910 and peaking at 11,000 in 1912. Denouncing each other with the same vigor they used against the capitalists did not help either organization.

With its emphasis on political education, the Detroit IWW was less prone to strikes than the Chicago group. But its history contradicts the misconception that it existed only on paper. The early years of the Detroit IWW saw wage increases won for workers at the Michigan Malleable Iron Co. and strikes by structural iron painters in New York City and by machinists in Canton, Ohio. Its most extensive activity was in organizing strikes by Paterson, New Jersey

silk workers in 1911-12, though the bulk of those strikers were heavily influenced by Bill Haywood and others of the Chicago IWW. The last publicized flurry of Detroit IWW activity came in 1913 with strikes by Connecticut textile workers, Philadelphia mechanics, Baltimore cigarmakers, and San Francisco tailors.

In 1915, the union condemned the Chicago group for "disgracing" the IWW name with criminal activity and changed its own name to the Workers International Industrial Union. Throughout their parallel existences, the Chicago group had supported sabotage while the Detroiters rejected it as incompatible with preparing the working class to run industry. Detroit organizer Rudolph Katz argued that the Chicago group spurned political action because they saw the ballot as a "gift from capitalism" while the Detroiters saw it as a "conquest of civilization." The hallmark of the Detroit IWW/WIIU was its insistence that the independent socialist vote was an indispensable avenue of political education.

Though the Detroit IWW is identified with the name of Daniel DeLeon, he actually did not favor its creation and unenthusiastically went along with it only because of his insistence that revolutionary discipline meant following the vote of the majority. The union's founding principles did win the public approval of Eugene Debs, who thought the 1908 split was a "terrible blunder" and would have preferred a united movement including both IWWs and industrial unions such as the WFM and even the conservative United Mine Workers. It was not unheard of for members to switch from one organization to the other: Frank Bohn, former SLP National Secretary and STLA representative to the conference calling for the IWW founding convention, ended up with the Chicago faction; while, William Trautmann, responsible for denying DeLeon his seat in 1908, criticized the "anti-political politicians" of the Chicago IWW in 1913 and joined the Detroit group.

Before the WIIU disbanded in 1924, it had organized affiliates as distant as South Africa. In 1918, the Canadian government felt threatened enough to make both the IWW and WIIU illegal. The Detroit-affiliated Industrial Workers of Great Britain, which attracted more Irish, Scottish and Welsh than English members, was involved in major strikes in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The "political" IWWs were stronger than their anarcho-syndicalist rivals in Australia as well as Great Britain.

In hindsight, we can see that the WIIU could have greatly benefited from DeLeon's active involvement. More important, industrial unionism throughout the world would have been strengthened immeasurably if the two IWWs had focussed more on their common struggle for a classless society than on each others weaknesses.

Don Fitz, St. Louis MO, August, 1987

Interested readers might want to look at the following: Paul Brissenden, The IWW: A Study of American Syndicalism (New York, 1919); Olive M. Johnson, "The SLP: 1890-1930, Part II, in Four Decades of the Socialist Labor Party (New York, 1930); Patrick Renshaw, The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States. (Garden City, NY, 1967)

## WHAT IS "REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM"?

How could a revolutionary union movement come into existence in the USA nowadays? What makes this difficult is that it is often hard for people to combine these terms, "revolutionary" and "union," looking at the real situation in the USA in recent years. What is "revolutionary"? When is an organization a "union"? In his reply in the last DB, Jeff Stein uses the phrase "revolutionary unions" -- but what does this phrase mean? This is something that needs to be explored.

One advantage to looking at revolution in terms of a mass movement based in workers struggles is that it makes it easier to see how a revolution could have a democratic outcome, as opposed to the depressing story of authoritarian regimes brought to power by revolutions in this century. If a revolution is directed by mass organizations run democratically by workers, the central role of these organizations based in the places of work gives a better chance of ending up with a society that is democratic, in which workers are in the driver's seat.

But, as I argued previously, this means that the working class must develop a movement in which rank and file workers are in direct control, not dominated by professional bureaucracies, as in the presently existing unions of the AFL-CIO type. The very emergence of such organizations on a widespread scale is a sign that revolution is becoming a possibility. Bureaucratic unions are not likely to make a revolution, because the REASON such unions are top-down is that it better facilitates deals with the bosses needed for organizational survival WITHIN capitalism. Such deals mean doing what the bosses want...and that means screwing the workers. It's easier to do that insofar as the union is controlled by a paid bureaucracy insulated from control by the ranks.

But if just a few people are prepared to work for a new, self-managed type of workers organization, or to call for "revolutionary unions," this will not bring them into being. As I understand the term, a "union" is a mass organization based in the struggles of workers against employers. How can there be a "revolutionary union" movement without a mass movement, without organized groups in the various shops and industries? For example, if we look at the IWW, what we see is an organization that has not been based on shop groups since at least the early '50s; rather, the members join it because of an individual choice, out of ideological agreement with the revolutionary goals of the IWW, not because of an organized presence in their industry.

So, the IWW is not in reality a "revolutionary union" but a political group, an advocacy group. To some extent IWW members may be motivated to deny this out of a misguided "apolitical" ideology that opposes not only electoral politics and partyism but any sort of political advocacy organization. (By "partyism" I mean the idea that a political party is the means through which society is to be transformed, typically by conceiving of this in terms of putting a

particular leadership into control of the state.) I hasten to add that there is nothing wrong with the IWW being a political advocacy group; and I am glad that the IWW keeps alive the ideas of workers direct action and workers management of production, which are a part of the revolutionary heritage of the working class in this country.

We get closer to the heart of the problem, I think, when we consider that a union, or a rank and file organization, is of value to workers only as a vehicle for collective activity and cooperation. I think, therefore, that you will only begin to see the emergence of significant mass organization outside the AFL-CIO-type unions, mass organization more directly self-managed by the rank and file, when American workers are motivated to form, and actively participate in, such organization. But this implies that significant numbers of workers want to pursue goals and methods of action that are not compatible with the present AFL-CIO-type unions. How can you have a "revolutionary unionism" unless there are activities of a revolutionary nature that significant numbers of workers are prepared to engage in? This is the fundamental dilemma that confronts Stein (and not him alone): How can there be revolutionary unionism without significant numbers of workers actively wishing to move in that direction?

Granted that someone may first propose the idea of forming a new organization in a particular situation, but without mass support -- an actual workplace movement -- for this new direction, you won't have "revolutionary unionism." The AFL and the CIO were not "pre-conceived" in the sense of not having a mass base, of being organized initially by a small band of political cadre. On the contrary, each came out of a period when "masses were in motion," when new unions were being built directly by workers, periods characterized by mass struggles that were often violent.

The CIO came about when the more far-sighted bureaucrats in the AFL realized that a new workers movement was brewing independent of the AFL and that if they didn't hurry up to define the nature of the new movement from above, it would be defined from below in ways not to their liking. The sit-down strike at Hormel in 1933, the city-wide general strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco in 1934, the MESA mass sabotage action in Detroit in 1933 -- these were mass events, the unfolding of mass movement-building. Numerous already existing mass unions -- some in the AFL, some independent -- flocked to the CIO banner once it broke from the AFL.

Also, Stein forgets what the origins of the IWW were. It was not originated by a handful of ideologues getting together and deciding to form a new movement out of nothing. The IWW was the organizational culmination of a movement that had been brewing for some years within the shell of the AFL, as thousands of American workers, especially in the Western states, were moving towards socialist ideas and direct action methods. The main body of workers who came to the IWW in 1905 were from the American Labor Union, which was already claiming tens of thousands of members. The ALU

originated as a rebel, socialist-leaning breakaway from the AFL.

There had been a pre-existing unofficial network of militant AFL local unions in the Western part of the U.S., called the "Western Labor Union." The conflict between this rank and file movement WITHIN the AFL and the top leadership of the AFL was the cause of the split that led to the formation of the ALU (and thence the IWW). So, if it is impossible for rank and file movements within the AFL to lead to revolutionary unionism, as Stein seems to maintain, then how could the IWW have come about?

Nor did the CNT in Spain originate from a small group of anarchists getting together to decide to form a "revolutionary union" without any pre-existing mass basis. On the contrary, the CNT was formed in 1910 at a conference called by Workers Solidarity, a mass union body in Catalonia that had already been formed at the turn of the century. When Workers Solidarity was first formed it was not anarchist, for, like the IWW, it had both anarchists and marxists within it. That's why Workers Solidarity initially stated that it was "neutral between the two main schools of socialism" (i.e. anarchism and marxism). Moreover, there had been decades of experience of anarchists active in mass unions in Spain prior to the formation of Workers Solidarity. The point is that the CNT came about because there was a growing mass movement that needed a new national organization, not because a handful of anarchist ideologues decided to set it up.

Where I agree with Stein is that there must be something that distinguishes "revolutionary unionism" from "trade union reformism" IN PRACTICE TODAY. In other words, as I argued previously, it must be possible for workers to act in ways that are revolutionary PRIOR to a so-called "revolutionary situation," where the downfall of the government and the system is posed as an immediate possibility. If there are not actions of a revolutionary nature that workers can do today, long before the class is ready to completely overthrow the bosses, then, indeed, how could one distinguish "trade union reformism" from "revolutionary unionism"?

How can there be "revolutionary" actions when the situation is not yet ripe for overthrowing capitalism? To find the criterion of what is "revolutionary" we have to look at the institutional constraints on workers today -- "no strike" clauses in contracts, bans on secondary action, a bureaucratized collective bargaining system, control of the official labor movement by distant professional bureaucracies, an entrenched pattern of sectionalism that means each group of workers fights alone. All of these things have the effect of containing workers' conception of what is feasible to adjustments WITHIN the prevailing wage-labor/capital relationship.

Action that tends to break out of these constraints, on the other hand, would be "revolutionary" in that it only becomes realistic to talk about changing how society is structured once workers begin to act in real solidarity across sectional boundaries, across divisions of sex, race and ethnicity, and begin to take actions that challenge sacred "management rights." That's because

this development of class-wide action is necessary to have the POWER to change society. Once workers see this sort of power brewing in the real world around them, this makes possible a widespread change in consciousness: revolutionary ideas begin to sound a lot less "utopian". The mass sitdown strikes and community-wide general strikes of the '30s were "revolutionary" in this sense even if an immediate overthrow of the government wasn't on the minds of most participants and wasn't feasible in the short-run at that time.

The sorts of activities advocated in the USA program -- such as sitdown strikes, running strikes through direct assemblies and rank and file negotiating committees, community-wide general strikes -- are thus "revolutionary" actions that may happen long before the working class has yet developed the clear sense of its power and need to completely change society. To me, "the revolution" is precisely this historical period from the beginnings of increasing solidarity and emergence of new forms of organization suited to direct rank and file control of struggles, all the way to the point where workers have developed the movement, self-confidence and consciousness to finally effect a change of system.

So, Stein is wrong when he says we have no way of distinguishing "trade union reformism" from "revolutionary unionism." The two must be distinguished IN PRACTICE. Moreover, insofar as we have advocated participation in, and encouragement of, rank and file movements within the AFL-CIO-type unions, we have always insisted upon their independence from the trade union hierarchy, and believed that in developing a practice of direct rank and file control and activity, they would represent an "embryonic revolutionary unionism". But to fully realize this potential, the rank and file movement would have to develop into a movement that could supplant the AFL-CIO-type "internationals".

The USA's advocacy of new, self-managed unions is no more "lukewarm" than our advocacy of rank and file groups independent of the bureaucrats. We have a two-pronged approach because the workplace situation where an AFL-CIO-type union is entrenched is not the same as where there is no union. Whether we talk about building rank and file movements that develop within the framework of the AFL-CIO-type unions, or building new self-managed unions in workplaces where no unions exist, the point is that workers need to develop organizations that are directly self-managed by the rank and file because the top-down AFL-CIO-type union structures are not adequate vehicles for workers struggle. But we cannot expect self-managed organization to become widespread unless significant numbers of workers are motivated to form such organizations, which won't happen unless they wish to pursue a course of action that requires a new type of organization.

The extent to which workers organizations are "revolutionary" depends upon what activity they are vehicles for. Just being a rank and file organization inside an AFL-CIO union doesn't make that organization "reformist" in itself, contrary to what Stein says. Stein fails to distinguish rank and file groups that chiefly pursue changing leadership in the hierarchy versus those that focus on encouraging



direct participation and activity of workers themselves.

If it is a question of what form of organization the class must develop to realize its revolutionary potential, I'd say it is the self-governing assembly of the workforce, with revocable, temporary, rotated delegation of responsibilities. An on-going movement based on such assemblies, without paid officials or other controls on decision-making external to the rank and file workers themselves, would be my ideal of a "revolutionary union." I believe that workers CAN begin to approximate to this form of organization in struggles today, and that this is what we should advocate.

Encouraging direct rank-and-file control of struggles through a variety of means, such as building rank and file movements in workplaces where the AFL-CIO-type unions are entrenched and helping to organize self-managed unions independent of the AFL-CIO-type unions, and encouraging worker direct action and solidarity -- those are elements of USA's strategy for "laying the foundations for a revolutionary labor movement." Stein may disagree with this approach, but what's the alternative?

Since, as far as we know, no "revolutionary unions" presently exist in the U.S., what exactly does Stein's group propose that "rebel workers" do? Glibly tossing around the phrase "revolutionary union" doesn't help much. As Jeff says, talk is cheap. So, what is Jeff's group doing to "lay the foundations for a revolutionary labor movement"? Though he uses the phrases "revolutionary unionism" and "trade union reformism", Stein has not told us what he means by these phrases or how one could tell the difference.

We must have a way of telling the difference that is based on practice. We can't go just on the basis of what people say. Sometimes, as I argued earlier, workers are doing actions that are in truth revolutionary even though they wouldn't use that terminology. And, on the other side of the coin, an organization is not a "revolutionary union" just because that is what it calls itself. For example, at various times since the death of Franco the social-democratic UGT and Communist-run CC00 in Spain have called themselves "revolutionary", and they have leaders who would be insulted if it were suggested they were not "revolutionaries." Yet their PRACTICE is not so different from other bureaucratic, class-collaborationist outfits. It is the practice that really counts, not what ideology people mouth.

Stein says those who try to "synthesize anarchism and marxism" are not "genuine" anarchists. It seems as though Jeff wishes to set himself up as the Pope of anarchism, defining who the "heretics" and "faithful" are. However, the idea that marxist economic ideas (as distinguished from M.'s advocacy of electoral politics and a transitional revolutionary state) are consistent with anarcho-syndicalist goals and politics actually has a long history amongst anarchists. Activists in the International Working People's Association of the 1880s -- people like Albert Parsons -- accepted Marx's economic ideas (especially those expressed in pamphlets Marx wrote for the International, such as "Wage Labor and Capital" and

"Value, Price and Profit") and believed this was consistent with their anarchist goals and politics. Now, is Stein going to say that the Haymarket Martyrs, who died for their anarchism, were not "genuine" anarchists?

-- Tom Wetzel

Dear Comrades

You know, what (I think) really bothers Jeff Stein and other four people who form the Libertarian Labor Review is that there is another grouping that promotes anarcho-syndicalism. I'm a member of the WSA and I'm not jealous of the term anarcho-syndicalist. What really counts is which anarcho-syndicalist strategy is going to achieve the desired ends. Jeff Stein really doesn't understand the WSA's approach to worker organization and education, he just doesn't get it.

What accounts for Stein's nasty style is that he can't abide having another group competing for the dignity of "Anarcho-syndicalist". So he preaches to convinced revolutionaries about how evil the WSA is. The question is, who (that counts) gives a damn? Convinced revolutionaries at this time are so few that we're not going to make a revolution. Revolutionaries have to take their case to the folks who do count and who will make the revolution. IT is the primary concern of the WSA to educate workers in the ways of anarchist action.

In my understanding of things, an idea has to be brought to those folks who will benefit from it. This necessarily means that anarchists are going to have to work with workers' perceptions as they are. That's the starting place. We anarchists have to be confident that there is a libertarian tactic for the particular situation. IT's our faith that people will prefer self-managed struggle, regardless of its form, to business union or state solutions. I agree with Jeff Stein in his position that we shouldn't wait to lay the foundations for revolutionary labor organizations. THE WSA, by working with the situation as it is, is beginning this work.

THE WSA is not interested in reforming any unions, not even the IWW. THE WSA does not wish to take over any particular union bureaucracy. On the other hand there is nothing to be gained from abstaining from the workers' organization, shitty though it may be. ANY mass economic organization in North America is going to be politically pluralistic. I would hope that anarcho-syndicalists would be in the position of offering their solutions as fellow-workers-in-struggle rather than as outsiders selling newspapers to the pickets. I believe as Stein does that workers will consciously decide to change society, but I think that this consciousness has to develop through collective experience in struggle. Anarcho-syndicalists should be with the workers every step of the way. The political consciousness of libertarians will evolve along with that of the working class in general.

Revolutionary unions will be founded by workers who have come to a revolutionary consciousness through their experiences and/or have come to prefer revolutionary methods to those of bourgeois methods. I think it's pure folly to formulate a mode of organization for the revolution before the workers have concluded a revolution is necessary. FOR us libertarian

communists to develop revolutionary unions and then offer them to the yet unconvinced is an imposition to say the least. What task confronts libertarian unionists is to offer a mode of action in opposition to the union bureaucracies and the boss.

Indeed, the revolutionary bodies of the future will be preconceived. So, I think that what anarcho-syndicalists must do is develop that revolutionary conception among the workers. That accomplished, the workers will organize accordingly.

At any rate, it is my hope that readers of the DB will in the future try to deal with WSA's ideas on their merit rather than try to draw up scandalous geneologies for them or uncharitably misrepresent them. I'm open to any ideas that will put forward the movement towards a free society.

yours in solidarity

box 56  
Sioux Rapids, IA 50585

*Jake Edwards*  
Jake Edwards

Dear Frank.

Three articles/letters in the D.B. accusing me of inaccuracies need to be answered. My letter on the WSA/LIR debate was an attempt to sort out the grain from the chaff in their polemics. Several of the allegations had appeared self-contradictory, trivial or irrelevant. Several of the responses had concentrated on such trivialities. I tried to take from allegations already made in D.B. those points that needed to be answered & hadn't been. Requesting the makers to substantiate the charges, the accused to deny them. Though I have seen some material not published in D.B. elaborating charges against the W.S.A., I am not convinced either way.

Bob Rossi's letter in fact conceded a very small kernel of truth, & a large area of exaggeration on the part of LIR, in the charges made against the W.S.A. While Tom Wetzel denies the kernel of truth, and pretends that the charges are mine, not ones already made in D.B. I would probably be convinced by Bob Rossi's letter, - which more or less confirmed my earlier suspicions, - if it were not for Wetzel's argument which runs directly contrary to Rossi.

Wetzel likens my questions to "have I started beating my wife". If it had been alleged in D.B. that I do beat my wife & that also I eat peas with a spoon; and if I had been at pains to refute the allegation that I so eat peas, without mentioning whether or not I beat my wife; then I hope I would think it fair that someone else would say "hey, you haven't answered the important question, let me repeat and rephrase it, have you ..."  
(In fact my wife is a much stronger character than I, & is probably physically stronger too; in case anyone is interested.)

Mark Shipway's letter hardly deserves an answer. In all his allegations that I fail to substantiate my points he produces no evidence. He denies George Plume's role. Why then was George Plume tried for treason because of material published in Solidarity? (Not written by George.)

There were only two people tried at the end of the war on capital charges for subversion from the Left, (this obviously excludes those like Lord HawHaw who broadcast for the Nazis, and those who tried to recruit for the Legion of St George,) the reports of the trials are available in major libraries. It is therefore a fairly easily checked statement that George Plume was tried, the prosecution asking for the death penalty, & was found guilty, though not executed, merely imprisoned, for treason, on the basis of material published in Solidarity, of which according to both the prosecution and the accused the accused was editor.

In the pamphlet Wildcat claims McDougall was editor of Solidarity throughout; the authors would have only needed to refer to Bob Jones's obituary for McDougall to have found that this was not true. The obituary - initially published by Freedom Press - is to be found in History Workshop no 13. I fear it is 36 years since I read the transcripts of George Plume (Harper)'s trial & so cannot give the reference nos for these; and since it is 26 years since George Plume died, & many of those who knew him during the war, and confirmed his account have also died in the intervening years; however "chummy" it may seem for anything beyond what emerged in the trial, Shipway will have to accept second hand "hearsay" evidence. (Which is why in fact I was careful not to elaborate. George was very bitter, and we all tend to exaggerate the importance of our own roll, and so I carefully refrained from relying on evidence he had supplied. When I first met George - probably 1957, i.e. about 5 years after reading, while at college, the account of his trial, (& because he didn't use the name Harper, I didn't at first realize that it was the same person)) - Harry Mister, - General Manager of Peace News, from 1936 to 1969 or 70, - told me George was prone to exaggerate, so that I shouldn't believe the details, but the fundamental account was true. I subsequently heard the same from Wilfred Wigham, General Secretary of the ILP; from Jack Robinson, who ran Freedom Bookshop; from Alex Alexander of the ILP; from Joe Thomas, war-time London Secretary of Common Wealth, later secretary of the Oehlerite Workers' League, later still a council communist; & from Sammy Cash, formerly of the SPGB; all of whom knew him through the war.) Having, however, seen Wildcat continue to treat George as a non-person, it is only fair to give his account of what happened. If Shipway wishes to check George's accuracy, I would point out that one anarchist who was active through the war, and is notable for his dislike of pacifists like me, has referred in his biography to George as being one of closest associates in the late fifties. Shipway is welcome to consult Meltzer's opinion. According to George he was elected precisely because he was not a leading theoretician, or in any other way dominant within the WRL, because it was anxious to dispel the allegation that the group centred round a single charismatic leader. He, George, having been Brockway's secretary, & having before that - in the YCL - had experience of paper layout; had been for some time doing the actual paste-up work for the paper. Editing was done by group meeting. So the nominal editor was in fact merely there to fit government wartime regulations. As it happened he neither saw, nor fully endorsed, the articles for which he was later tried, before he found himself placing them on the page. When it came to the trial, however, neither the authors, nor the group were prepared to show solidarity and associate themselves with him in the dock. Looking back he felt he'd been the fall-guy. Others had used him to make 'oh-so-revolutionary' statements, for which they were

not themselves prepared to risk the consequences.

I do not know if George's account is or is not fair. I do know that he spent time in prison for subversion. I do know that this was for material published in Solidarity and that in the charge he was cited as editor. In view of the fact that George, the Government, & the Court all thought he was editor; it would seem to be up to Shipway to prove that they were wrong, not for me to prove that they were right.

Noone said that Wildcat should have gone into minute detail on the history of the APCF; I said that the detail they gave gave a misleading impression. I would refer D.B. readers to an history of the APCF circulated by Bob Jones, (6 Lillian St., Bradford,) for a more accurate account.

~~While the post-1917 context for council communism could be discerned; this was itself put within the wider context of a council communist heritage down to the War. I would doubt if the Wildcat statement that "all council communists ... accepted the need for a transitional state" is even true for the 1920s, but as I haven't access here to evidence to the contrary, I relied only on my memory and first hand knowledge of post-war French councilist groups. Given that Wildcat stated "all council communists, including the APCF..." and given that they were at the time writing an history of the APCF, which explicitly states that it was during the war that the APCF decided that it stood for the unity of all council communists, showing that it had not previously stressed that label for itself; Shipway's claim that the 1920s context was clear is nonsense.~~

Shipway is quite right; I did not - & do not - claim to know very much about the APCF; but that little would seem to be rather more than does Wildcat. (Incidentally for the source on the merger between the Freedom Group & the APCF, and the significance of Humphreys & his press in this, I rely mainly on Ken Hawkes, (sec.etary of the AFB 1944-53, secretary of the syndicalist workers' federation 53-69.) Unfortunately Ken has dropped out of politics and does not like his address being given to researchers; Ken's account however squared with George's which was also in accord with that of John Lall, even though according to the last's account the two groups retained their independence, the Freedom Group resuming a somewhat shadowy autonomous existence at the end of the war.) I had, of course, read something of its foundation - while studying Sylvia Pankhurst - in my college days; but I left college unaware that it was the same APCF that figured so largely in Guy Aldred's auto-biography; & also unaware of the connection with the George Plume Harper trial; I gathered from George & others material that linked these, but I would not for one moment suggest that I was competent to publish a pamphlet on the matter, or help with the writing of a scholarly work on the subject. It needs however less knowledge to recognize elementary mistakes or distortions.

College Farm House  
Wellington, Salop.

best  
Laurens

Fellow Workers:

Ah. Yet a another issue of the Grand Rapids DB. When speaking on "political" matters I've often been asked if I honestly feel that a free, true Socialist order can be established on this earth in my lifetime. When asked this so many times before I've always whole-heartedly said "Yes." Why would I work for something that neither I, nor anyone I love would see? I am not an Anarchist because I love "the world". The victory of actual Communism would not only be a rational and practical thing for the entire human race, it would also be in my personal best interest as an individual. Today, as bills flow in and I'm broke again I struggle to hold on to what I don't like to call a dream because I find its basis so simple and its practice so practical. What I want to say here in this letter is this; I've read a decent amount of history and theory, now as I wish to do so much more I'm finding that there is a lack of individuals who actually wish to do something constructive. I meet "Anarchists" who ignore class-struggle and fear to death organization and after having these immature allergic reactions they ask "What can we do?" And the various Socialist sects are n't any better. No, for all the smug-ness in the promotion of Socialism by De Leonists, the S.L.P. and its "more libertarian" off-spring (W.D., N.U.P. ect.) have done very little in the way of forming "S.I.U.s" in reality. And let's not forget our Syndicalist brothers and sisters in the I.W.W. who say "Join the O.B.U." (and save the world), as if the whole working class is gonna do that out of the blue. It seems to me that the majority of "us" isolate ourselves in political parties; papers and discussion bulletins that few of our everyday co-workers ever see. The W.S.A. and others have thrown about an idea about a "common program initiative" for libertarian Socialists. I've never heard much mention of this within this DB. Isn't that strange? Whats the purpose of this effort of words here any how? So what is it you fellow DB readers do in your hometowns? What do you DO? What does this young militant intend to do? I do not intend to advocate my life away. I will get with others who want to do constructive good in the revolutionary direction or I'll shut up and go away. Thus far my plan runs as so: Seek out rank&file militants who are sick of corrupt pro-capitalist unionism and un-organized workers who are sick of exploitation and also wise to corrupt unionism and work towards the formation of a local "syndicalist alliance". This group could promote all-around class solidarity, and work at the formation of break-away, democratic unions under rank control, I see this plan, these measures, as the first steps to putting unions back on the revolutionary field. I'm going to try to do this here on the local level in the hopes that others will start on it in other areas. I'm young and totally without experiance in forming a real working class body of militants, but I will try. I will admit that without support one person can only go so far and I might just be doomed from the start, but if that be the case than we all are "doomed". We can all say a

great deal: we can call ourselves Socialist or Anarcho-Syndicalists or whatever, but what are we willing to DO? Am I asking to much?

RIK WINSLOW, member W.S.A.-I.W.A./PO BOX 41363, Sacramento, CA.

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95841

premise: english is not my native language. So the readers will excuse my difficulties of translation.

#### BASIC IDEAS FOR THE COUNCILS' COMMUNISM

##### **CAPITALISM = GLOBAL WAR**

Capitalism has times of health and prosperity, its interests agree with the labour, the tradeunionist negotiation gets good results.

Times of illness and crisis follow. The negotiation becomes problematic, in the end impossible. Capitalism shows its very nature: the war. War against the labour, repressing and compressing it. War among western capitals, from the commercial to the armed one to conquer the each other markets. These are only the most evident manifestations of the war. But capital is war since from its historical apparition, as seemingly pacific competition but really with heavy social costs.

##### **THE COMMUNISTS IN FRONT OF THE PRESENT**

Rules of the bourgeois game are: negotiation, compromise, involvement, national interclassist solidarity, disarmament of the labour. So its strategical solution of the crisis has success: the imperialist war. It has just triumphed twice in this century.

The consequent lesson don't permit doubts. The tactics of the ruling class cannot function for the ruled one. There is coherence between means and purposes. The communists have only a tactics, only a strategy: war to bearers of war. They leave the traditional ways to make politics to opportunists and betrayers of any kind.

It doesn't mean to follow the hopeless adventurism of someone, however deserving our estimation. The communists mingle with all the other proletarians, share their struggles, victories and defeats. They mark themselves only when they put forward their viewpoint among the other workers, according to the suggestion of the Communist Manifest

Separately they can do only a thing: to theorise on the historical movement of the human liberation. But it is necessary to do it with modesty attributing to this activity a simbolic and not necessary value. It is sufficient the moral gratification to show that the reason is ours. Only in such a way the inquiry is impartial and honest. Generally the revolutionary groups are lacking in it: they distort the theory to adapt it to own ambitions.

##### **THE COMMUNISTS IN FRONT OF THE PAST**

Capitalism is the greatest historic enemy of mankind. All the struggles against it have lost. In its specific extrawestern form there is also the struggle of the American Indians. They are struggles for the communism too and the very

communists must support them.

Nevertheless they are not idealist, but materialist dialecticians. They don't refuse the development produced by the capitalism. Indeed unintentionally it leads to the revolution "It destroys itself" (Communist Manifest).

They have no historical father to claim wholly.

They appropriate the basic theory of Marx and Engels: capitalism is historically necessary as premise of the communism, it is its only reason for existence.

We refuse some opinions of Marx and Engels in the politics of their time. Really they have lent to be instrumentalized by the socialdemocratic leninist counterrevolution. Against them and the craven italian communist party of 1921, they claim the russian revolutionary councils and the dutch - german left communism.

#### PROCESS OF STRUGGLE

Between capital and labour there is an objectively determined relation, an automatic evolution. The economic movement of the one produces the movement of the other, sharing the same lot of prosperousness and crisis. In the last one there is no longer the preceding possibility to live together easily. Capital tries to spread against the labour destroying it in the imperialist war. Fortunately the present late capitalism is ripe to disappear. Proletariate has acquired a huge productive force, the necessary one to revolutionize the productive relations, to win the politic power. The communist revolution is the last result of a process of technical - scientific development. For that reason Marx and Engels have properly spoken of scientific communism.

The abovecited assertions make say us: the only real foundation of the communist revolution is the economic one, the whole exploited class. It is self-sufficient and has no need to make lead itself by revolutionary minorities. The last ones exist artificially, not organically within the class.

Denying its democratic guarantees, in this moment the power is repressing with methodical violence any initiative of the communist vanguard. It takes advantage by the isolation of the vanguard from the class and therefore by its weakness. There is no need of new victims, the power has just made too many of them. Therefore they must be avoided how much is possible. In any moment the relation of power must be considered. The vanguardist action must be protected and defended by the class, it has to remain within the class. It is right "one for all", but also "all for one". Someone could see in it the boycott of the struggle, but certainly there is no gain for attempts losing in advance.

#### WAR

It is the very ground of the ruling class to show its force, "it continues the politics with other means" (Von Clausewitz). Also a victorious revolutionary war sanctions the defeat of the exploited: after the military framing there would be the civil one, a society not related with them. By the methods of the bourgeois world it is impossible to free ourselves from it, but it is reproduced. It is as if someone opposes poisons with other poisons.



Today the statal armed force produces disgust. Such a feeling has become absolute and it would concern the so-called armed revolutionary forces too. It shows how much the human emancipation has advanced, how much the same capitalism has deeply transformed the society, how much the current times are different.

If the human liberation doesn't come through the weapons, they could at the most appear episodically and marginally. We have just said the real liberation comes from the productive force of the labour. It cannot come from the past traumatic violence, on the contrary it finishes the violence in the social relations. It doesn't allow to be mistaken for pacifists, so dear to the bourgeois world. The struggle against it must however proceed till the end.

#### STATES, CONTINENTS, WORLD IN THE REVOLUTION

The market abolishes any boundaries, it is world-wide as the war produced by it. Today the market has so grown that every single state has difficulty to compete by its forces only. The national boundaries are on the point of being exceeded in the integration of whole continents. In this sense two tendencies can be defined. On one hand Usa and Japan turn their appetite towards the remaining America and Asia. On other hand Cee fixes its eyes on the remaining Europe (Urss included), on the mediterranean basin and its deep hinterland. Of course every block tries to wedge itself in peripheral territories of the other. From them it would attack the heart of the enemy. So capitalism is preparing the third imperialist war.

But in the same time it is involuntarily preparing the ground of the international revolution. In this new situation old polemics on the state between anarchists and marxists are exceeded. On the other hand the history has contradicted both. Proletarian states cannot exist. By its nature any state is an apparatus of power and oppression on the mass, is a committee to impose interests contrary to the people. Tales of selfmanaged communism are not even possible. They are incompatible with the capitalism and its inclination to the global war to subject.

Capitalism will be ended only when it will be swept away from the last ends of the earth. Communism will be fully accomplished when it will be world-wide. On that size the planning will be established. It will reconcile the available resources with the human needs. It will be obtained through the unceasing democratic relation between centre and base. The centre is presupposed to any organization and to any living organism too (let's think to the brain in relation to the body). The degree of development of the future mankind will be the only guarantee for a correct relation with the centre because it will pursue the interests of base.

#### EASTERN WORLD

It is not socialism neither state capitalism. It is precapitalist state despotism, the centre requires an obliged serfdom from the base. By itself it can never redeem from the exploitation. It will be success only for the western help.

We explain better with an example. Russia is in relation to EEC as the

backward country to the developed city. On Russia we are proud to follow Marx and Engels. On this question so-called integral marxists pretend to follow them. Really it is ascribed to both the revolutionaries what they didn't think and their thought is betrayed. From such a misunderstanding all the bourgeois foolishnesses were born: the so-called russian revolution would have denied Marx.

**NATIONAL EXTRAWESTERN SELDETERMINATION STRUGGLES**

We have quoted the extrawestern productive mode. The conclusion is evident: far from the socialist revolution, the bourgeois one fails too. There are no classes in western sense able to carry out autonomously a revolution. The great economic weakness reduces such nations and national movements to puppets of the western imperialists.

for the councils' communism, Tiziano Galante, via Valgrande 38,  
35040 Sant'Urbano, Padova, Italy

Dear Comrade:

We regret the delay in responding to your reply to our correspondence on the nature of discussion circles. Despite the fact that we clearly had certain misconceptions about the organizational nature of the Discussion Bulletin, we think it would be useful to deepen the discussion of the role of revolutionaries in the class struggle and the organization question.

Though brief, your letter raises or touches on a number of questions. For example, we can identify the following issues:

- the relationship between party and class;
- what is the role of revolutionaries in the class struggle;
- how do revolutionaries contribute to the deepening of class consciousness;
- the problems of substitutionism;
- the historical lessons to be drawn from the experience of the previous Internationals;
- the nature of the so-called Fourth International;
- when is it appropriate to constitute a new international;
- what is the nature of an international revolutionary organization;
- what type of organizations do workers use to wage their struggles;
- what is the difference between a minoritarian organization comprised of revolutionaries and a unitary organization of the working class.

These are all interrelated issues and of crucial importance to the revolutionary movement. The ICC has elaborated on these questions in many texts and has published a pamphlet, "Class Consciousness and the Organization of Revolutionaries," (available for \$3.00) which we have enclosed, and invite you to

review.

In this reply we will limit ourselves to commenting on a two central themes: the role of revolutionaries, and the types of organizations the working class has historically developed to wage its struggle.

In your letter you reject the idea that revolutionaries have the role of pointing out the general line of march to communism as "a Leninist perversion" seemingly with an inevitable link to substitutionism. You also reject the idea that the proletariat has two basic types of organizations which it uses in its struggle against capitalism: a revolutionary political organization and a unitary organization. Unfortunately you do not offer any alternative views on either question, which suggests that perhaps you don't have a clearly developed position. But these are fundamental questions dealing with the very reasons for the existence of revolutionaries, their role in the class struggle and how the working class struggles. Indeed these are the kinds of questions you could open up for full debate in the Discussion Bulletin.

We think you make a serious error in rejecting our position.

First let us make it very clear that we agree completely with your rejection of substitutionism -- the theoretical proposition that the revolutionary party seizes power and rules in the name of the class. The ICC has constantly struggled against this position, which is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology within the working class movement. However, it is a serious mistake to confuse substitutionism with the proposition that revolutionaries have the responsibility to intervene in the class struggle to point out the general line of march to communism. This formulation is not a Leninist perversion; it comes directly from the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels. It is based on a recognition that revolutionary consciousness develops in a heterogeneous manner within the proletariat. Some workers come to understand the nature of the historic tasks of their class before others. They have the responsibility to point out the nature of that struggle to their class brethren.

As Marx put it in the Manifesto, "The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, the most advanced and resolute section of the working -class...which pushes forward all the others: on the other hand, theoretically...clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." Revolutionaries have the responsibility to participate fully in the class struggle to point out the link between the proletariat's nature as an exploited class and as a revolutionary class; between the struggles for the immediate defense of class interests and the historic struggle to destroy capitalism. Again, as Marx put it, "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

This view of the role of revolutionaries, in no way contradicts the admonition that the liberation of the working class is the task of the workers themselves. You also reject

our differentiation between political organizations and the unitary organizations as "divisive and elitist." Again we think you make a serious error.

Historically there has been some confusion on this question within the revolutionary movement, in the sense that there was a tendency to see the party as an organization which would grow until it encompassed all of the proletariat, and would become the state of the transition period. However, there was at the same time a clear recognition that revolutionary militants regrouped themselves in organizations on the basis of a set of political principles, not a sociological basis.

When we say that the proletariat has armed itself with unitary organs and political minoritarian organizations, we are not being divisive or elitist; we are describing an historical reality. In the ascendant period of capitalism, the unitary organ which regrouped all workers on a purely sociological basis were the trade unions. The political organizations were the parties of the Social Democracy. In decadent capitalism, the trade unions have been lost to the proletariat, and integrated into the capitalist state apparatus. Since the beginning of the 20th century the unitary organ is the workers council. The revolutionary parties differ only in that they can no longer have any pretensions of becoming mass organs. The revolutionary organizations are an integral part of their class, but a minority. They intervene in the unitary organs of their class to defend revolutionary positions, to push forward the struggle in the direction of communism.

If you reject our position on the role of revolutionaries and the relationship between unitary organs and political organs, what is your position? What is the function of revolutionaries? What is the purpose of a revolutionary organization? If the working class will not make its revolution through mass workers councils in which revolutionary organizations will participate and actively intervene, what then is the manner in which history demonstrates proletarian revolution will unfold? If revolutionary groups don't understand these questions they will not be able to fulfill the responsibilities for which they have been secreted by the working class.

We look forward to continuing this discussion with you in the future and in learning your comments on our pamphlet.

Revolutionary regards,

-- INTERNATIONALISM, POB 288, NY NY 10018-0288

Dear Comrades,  
Anyone reading the contribution of "Internationalism" in DB 29 would be pardoned for assuming that I had actually written that "the ICC's position on the state in the period of transition is the same as the Trotskyists'". What I in fact wrote in DB26, as anyone can verify by turning to page 17, was that "the ICC is closer to the Trotskyists than to people who stand for the immediate establishment of a classless, moneyless, stateless world society". I will leave it up to DB readers to judge for themselves on the basis of the content, style and tone of the ICC letter whose position theirs is the closer to.

The point at issue is not whether the state should be used by the working class in the course of the socialist revolution, nor whether before being used it would first have to be adapted by lopping off its worst features --as a "Marxist" I accept both these propositions-- but for how long the state would have to continue to exist after its capture by a socialist-minded working class majority.

My contention --that of the SPGB-- is that it can be dispensed with very quickly, indeed that it is only required for the single political act of abolishing classes through the establishment of the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production. The ICC takes a quite different view: that the "state withers away over time as the material conditions of communism develop in the transition period" and clearly views this as a protracted process lasting at least a generation, i.e. for a period of at least thirty years.

Theirs is a curious position as it implies that the material conditions for communism (or socialism), i.e. the existence on a world scale of productive forces capable of providing for the needs of every person on the planet, do not yet exist. But these conditions do exist, and have done so for at least a hundred years, so that there is no longer any need for a protracted transition period between the capture of political power and the establishment of socialism: the one can follow the other almost immediately. Which is why it is legitimate to talk, as I did in my letter to DB 26, of the possibility of the immediate (well, quasi-immediate) establishment of socialism/communism as a classless, moneyless, stateless society. Or perhaps the ICC denies that the material conditions for socialism now exist? If so, let them produce the evidence so that we can have a fruitful discussion of the

issue in the columns of the DB.

I repeat, we can abolish class society, the wages system, exchange relationships and of course the coercive state almost immediately after the capture of political power by a socialist-minded working class. There is no need for a protracted "transition period" of a generation or more, as the ICC claim, during which the state and exchange relationships would have to survive.

--Adam BUICK, Appt A18, 2 rue Jean Engling, L-1466 Luxemburg, Europe.

Dear Comrades,

When Albert Einstein formulated the theory of relativity, he went beyond the laws of motion laid down by Isaac Newton. He got people to think of motion in the fourth dimension and the relationship of things to other things. In the same sense current Marxism must be brought up to date for it to regain the vitality it had at the time of Marx, Engels, and De Leon. We must correctly define the social systems of the Soviet Union and Red China or the world will continue to struggle in the quicksand of confusion. It is not enough to state that those states are not what Marx wanted because those countries are less likely to self destruct than many other countries and because people are desperately seeking solutions to capitalism's unsolvable problems. In Russia the revolution to capitalism during World War I was cut short by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution. The feudal system of the Czar was merely taken over by radical bureaucrats to renew the drained vitality of a feudal system that was defeated in war. For us to recognize that feudalism is struggling against capitalism today will put us in the position of Marx and Engels who fought feudalism on principle. For us not to oppose the inroads Russian feudalism is making in Central America, Angola, South Africa, etc. is to put us in their camp and prevent Socialism from being a vital force in a world on the verge of revolution.

Fraternally yours,  
Monroe Prussack

Dear Readers,

This past May 1st I was at a meeting to reorganize DeLeonism. It was held in a suburb of the blighted city of Camden, New Jersey across the river from Philadelphia. You could have counted on your fingers and toes the number in attendance and had some digits left over. However, some of us traveled great distances to be at the meeting that had great promise, we hoped. A sense of duty to my principles brought me to the meeting, and when people affiliated with the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) dominated the meeting, I lost whatever hope of solidarity I had before I arrived. It is my firm belief that acceptance of Lenin by the SLP has been responsible for the undemocratic behavior of the SLP under the leadership of Petersen. Not to have criticized the seizure of absolute power by the Bolshevik Party at the expense of all other

people's organizations made it logically right for the SLP to regiment its rank and file members too. It is my belief that the power of a socialist organization comes from individual responsibility and resourcefulness which stem from democracy with no pretense of elitism.

Thanks to the religious author of The Power of Positive Thinking I was able to put my mind in the mood to work with DeLeonists whom I don't regard too highly because that is what we have. My study of Marxism taught me to regard religion as a popular way to interpret society, which is made up of people and the world. From a religious point of view I can see socialism as heaven on earth. When a convincing religious leader tells us to see potential perfection in all people because of Christ, I apply that advice to all people because they will make up the Socialist Commonwealth of the future. In fact as a socialist I believe with more conviction than religious non-socialists that people are capable of true greatness because under socialism will sustained love for all by all be possible. We should thank the civilization of capitalist society for giving us the basis to work for a socialist society. Out of contempt for bourgeois democracy marxists are capable of embracing elitism. The regard for man that capitalism gives us is not the highest, but it is something, and from that we have something to base our socialist organization--not Leninism or elitism.

Fraternally yours,  
Monroe Prussack

(Cont'd from p.2)

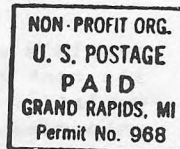
as the messenger bringing class consciousness to the working class but avoids what it regards as a Kautskyist/Leninist deviation which argues that the gospel of class consciousness is carried to our class by bourgeois intellectuals and technicians--like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky etc. It avoids this heresy by arguing that the working class "secretes" from its midst a "vanguard" of clearminded revolutionists who organize into a vanguard party. This party then carries the socialist/communist program to our class.

Much of the pamphlet criticizes concepts of party organization by other left communist groupings since 1917. Consequently it provides some information on the history of this element and of the councilist strand of "non-market socialism." It also solves what had been a mystery to me, namely the point at which the ICC sees Leninism as having started on the road to repression and state capitalism. The answer seems to be almost immediately after the seizure of power: "From 1918 on the political power of the working class was being restricted and stifled by the state apparatus at whose head stood the Bolshevik party."

Subversion: 24pp. Issue #1, 40p (\$.75) from Box W, c/o Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester, England M1 2BU. This is the first issue of a new journal published by remnants of Wildcat, which dissolved late last year due to internal difficulties. Subversion claims to include the majority of the old group and advertises the literature it published. Articles in this issue include a fine historical sketch about Sylvia Pankhurst and the Workers Socialist Federation (191721) and "The Fight Back against Benefit Cuts [in Britain]."

DISCUSSION BULLETIN  
IUCE, P.O. Box 1564  
Grand Rapids, MI 49501

Address Correction  
Requested



*AIR MAIL*

Wildcat 11: 12pp. 50p (\$.90) from BM Cat, London WC1 3XX, England. (Do not write Wildcat on the envelope.) Apparently published by a minority of the old Wildcat group, this issue contains articles on capitalism's economic crisis, workers democracy--Wildcat opposes it--and the myth of the third world.

Communist Bulletin (No. 13, Spring 1988) 40pp. 50p (\$.90) from Box BCG, Boomtown Books, 187 King Street, Aberdeen, U.K. Communist Bulletin is published by a splinter group from the ICC in Britain. This issue--the first we've seen--carries an articles on a health workers' strike and a fine six-page analysis of the orisis of capitalism.

Interrogations pour la Communauté Humaine (Questions for the human community) April 1988, 18pp. (\$1.00?) Entirely in French, this issue, as nearly as I can see, covers mainly ecological and counter culture matters and consists largely of reprints including at least one from Fifth Estate in Detroit.

FreeZine Issue 3, May Day, 1988, 18pp. Free from P.O. Box 1485, Troy, NY 12180. FreeZine is an anarchist magazine that "emphasizes the personal as opposed to the impersonal, and...restates traditional dilemmas and situations in direct, personal terms." This issue carries articles on AIDS, Noam Chomsky, perestroika and glasnost, and "Cooperation: a Personal Form of Anarchy."

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