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CAPITALISM AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY DESTRUCTION

A statement by Wildcat (c/o Raven Press, 75 Picadilly, Manchester, M1 2 BU. Other contacts: PO Box 294 Newcastle - Staffs ST 5 1 SS; B.M. Wild, London WC 1 N 3 XX).

Analysis and critique by Echanges.

Capitalism and its revolutionary destruction is a pamphlet which has been produced as a first draft to give a brief introduction to the ideas of the Wildcat group in Manchester. The authors don't consider it as a definite statement but rather as a tool for dialogue and discussion.

Though at first sight some statements seem to look like ours, the position of the Wildcat group is far from that if you study it more deeply.

I wonder that even if we agree with some paragraphs in the pamphlet, we fundamentally disagree with most of them. Just like ourselves Wildcat sees

the overthrow of capitalism 'can only be done by the workers themselves'; but we see this overthrow in a completely different way from the British group. The most important part of disagreement is: the British group regards the struggle of the working class as the result of its consciousness. We think that just the opposite is the case.

'Wildcat', so we are told, 'stands for the abolition of capitalism by communist revolution'. If one expresses oneself this way, it means or suggests that there is a kind of revolution which aims to create a communist society. We prefer to talk of a proletarian revolution or of a revolution of the workers. It's true that such a revolution will lead to a communist society, but the workers who bring it about don't have this in mind. The revolutionary measures they take are not the result of specific imagination,

but are the direct and logical result of practical demands which are in close relation with their interests.

The Wildcat pamphlet starts with a paragraph on capitalism. We think it to be very primitive and incomplete but we don't have any serious objections. Then comes a paragraph on Parliament and Rights. 'The working class', Wildcat says:

'has no interest in the continued existence of this society. However it is continually encouraged to see itself as a member of it ... In the early stages of capitalist ascendancy the coming capitalist class attained state power through various political revolutions, universal suffrage, peoples' rights, the rights of man, justice, the democratic state: these were its slogans... The practical needs lying behind them were the freedom of trade; the right to private property and certain political freedoms, which, together with the rights of the isolated individual, were designed to ensure faith in the "people's" state, i.e. in the power of the new ruling class. Obviously it still suits the enemy today if we see ourselves as sharing interests with them... Nobody who coherently grasps the fundamental reality that this is a class society could possibly doubt that the revolutionary destruction of capitalism implies the revolutionary destruction of all parliaments'.

Whatsoever can be said about these words, one thing is certain, whatever may be the reason for those who want to call themselves 'revolutionaries' not to participate in parliamentary work or not to vote one day in an election, workers have other reasons when they don't go to the poll. If they stay home in an election day, they don't do so from a certain revolutionary perspective. They abstain because parliament and parliamentary politicians don't have any more to say to them, because they have understood that none of political parties is defending their interest and that it doesn't make much difference if this party or another is in office. On the other hand, the workers who go to the poll and share parliamentary illusions participate in unofficial strikes or factory occupations. Both categories, those who go to the poll and those who don't, behave in the same way in practice. They do so without a revolutionary theory about parliament and without being conscious that in reality they are attacking the bourgeois order.

Then the pamphlet deals with questions like the end of capitalism and the consequences of the economic crisis. The pamphlet says in a very concise way that the capitalist method of production has changed the world on a very large scale. Under capitalism, it says, the world has progressed from a state of universal scarcity to one of potential abundance, 'but the drive for profit .. prevents the productive forces from being used in a rational way to benefit the whole of humanity. This will be the task of a new society: communism'.

In these few lines there are we believe two fundamental misunderstandings. The first misunderstanding is of the same order as the widespread misunderstanding that poverty and wealth are situations you can observe independently from each other. The reality is different. Poverty is measured by wealth¹. The same is true for terms like scarcity and abundance. General scarcity, if you can imagine such a thing at any stage of social development, can't be observed as such. Scarcity only exists as a contradiction of abundance: scarcity for many, abundance for few. This contradiction doesn't any longer exist as soon as new relations between producers and the means of production have put an end to the abundance for the few which hitherto existed. Then there is neither abundance nor scarcity. So the concept that the new society has to apportion abundance in a rational way is a misunderstanding.

When the pamphlet talks about the economic crisis, it gives only an inadequate description of the phenomenon. It doesn't analyse the meaning of the crisis for capitalist production, i.e. the capitalist process of accumulation.

In the chapter 'Class struggle and the myth of national liberation' Wildcat is criticizing what they call 'various false nationalist solutions to the crisis'. Wildcat says, 'national liberation is not the solution to a crisis', but it seems to believe that it has been in the past. It is said that the so-called national liberation of some third world countries does not mean the solution for the crisis:

'In the 19th century some liberation struggles led to the creation of new nation states which played a dynamic role in the development of world capitalism. This is no longer possible. Today the new rulers may achieve a measure of political independence from the great powers, but they can never free their country from the grip of the world economic crisis. For the working class in these countries "liberation" simply means exchanging one set of bosses from another - the new ones as violently opposed to the working class struggle as the old ones'.

Apart from the fact that in the 19th century most of the imperialist powers were installing there colonies, and national liberation of third world countries could harshly be seen, the most important thing is not mentioned in what is quoted above. Crisis in a country where capitalist development has yet to start has not the same significance as the crisis in a highly

1) In a society in which everybody lives in huts and everybody has to do the same work for its existence, nobody is rich and nobody is poor. As soon as in a society some people can have better housing or even a castle or a palace, one has to distinguish between poor and rich and that is even the case when such a castle has less comfort than a council flat today.

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developed country which is caused by the decline in the rate of profit. For where a national class of employers has conquered power, capitalist development underlies the same conjunctural movement as is characteristic for capitalism. To this extent, this development is just the same as such development in the 19th century. There and now independence never was a measure against crises, but only a measure by the national bourgeoisie to make profit out of the exploitation of the lower class. What a national employer wants is for the surplus value not to go into the pockets of the employers of a foreign power.

We agree with the statement that so-called socialist countries are really state capitalist countries and that on the other side of what is generally called the iron curtain there exists capitalism, and that therefore the ruling class in these countries is a capitalist class. Wildcat is perfectly right in saying that the East-European ruling class is in conflict with the ruling class in the West but is nevertheless part of the same class and is just as hostile towards the working class as the capitalist class in the West. We have no need to disagree with this.

We agree also when Wildcat says that so-called left governments attack the working class just as much as right wing ones and that 'the socialism which the left wing parties claim to stand for is in fact state capitalism and that nationalisation in industry is a state capitalist measure which offers no benefits whatsoever either to the workers employed there or to the working class as a whole'.

Wildcat elaborates this vision in a paragraph on state capitalism with some parts of which we agree, with others not. We agree with the opinion 'that state capitalism has nothing to do with socialism, neither is a step towards it'. But we don't agree when Wildcat says that 'in Russia, after the defeat of the revolution and after the defeat of the working class .. state capitalism provided the means by which this underdeveloped country was able to catch up in capitalist development with the world leaders'. What is at stake here is a false judgment about the Russian revolution. The Russian revolution was a bourgeois revolution which as the result of various historical circumstances had to be performed by the workers and against the will of a weak Russian middle class. The content of this bourgeois revolution was the destruction of what remains from feudal relations and the victory of capitalism which there only could take the form of state capitalism. The introduction of state capitalism did not mean that the revolution was defeated. On the contrary it meant the victory of the revolution in which the workers played a role which was certainly more important than in other bourgeois revolutions but nevertheless has the same meaning.

Ofcourse we agree with Wildcat that the differences between the Russian bloc and the West are only superficial differences and that there as well as here workers have to sell their labour power and that there exists a ruling class which lives off the surplus value. Wildcat distinguishes itself in this

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respect from most of the left and so-called revolutionary groups. In that it clearly perceives the class struggle in the Eastern bloc. Also in that it perceives revolutionary development in the so-called third world countries as in fact bourgeois development, and it sees also that so-called socialist or communist parties in western countries are acting against the interest of the workers. So that workers sooner or later must come into conflict with these parties or left group organizations.

In the second half of the pamphlet there emerge the biggest differences between Wildcat and ourselves. Before we deal with them we want to make some comments on Wildcat's analysis of trade unionism. Wildcat says that the trade union movement supposes the existence of capitalism and that t.u.'s have always been against those actions which seem to threaten the bosses as a whole: a concept which surely requires more detailed examination than Wildcat provides. Wildcat neglects that the t.u. movement under certain circumstances is forced to support that kind of action by pressure from the rank and file. On the other hand Wildcat sees very clearly that the potential of open contradictions between the union and the membership cannot be attributed to the fact that the union has the wrong leaders. Wildcat says that this contradiction is essential to the trade union movement: 'The unions as a whole are now part of the capitalist system'. The only comment we have to make is that they have always been.

The chapter entitled 'The struggle for communism' - a title with which we don't agree for the reasons we developed at the beginning of this article - starts with something we do completely agree with. Wildcat says there that the class struggle of today contains the seeds of future struggles. But Wildcat thinks that the future struggle is 'the struggle for communism' and this is precisely the point. Wildcat not only has a completely different view of the struggles of the future but it also has a different view of the struggle of today. We think that a different view of the struggles of today leads to a different view of the struggles of tomorrow.

Wildcat's description of today's class struggle there is constantly a minority of the workers in this factory or another which has a clear consciousness of the necessity for a break with the trade unions. On the other hand Wildcat describes a majority which finally accepts this necessity. Observations we have made over a long period and certainly in no way superficially, have taught us quite differently. Such a majority or minority 'discovered' by Wildcat, doesn't exist in any clearly observable form. A minority which is clearly conscious of the necessity of a break with the trade unions doesn't exist at all. As Wildcat obviously bases itself on the experience of unofficial strikes, we want to point out that often, even very often, strikers who operate autonomously, have not lost their illusions about trade unionism at all. In those cases there is not a minority before the strike breaks out which doesn't expect anything from the union. The break doesn't arise from the fact that a majority accepts such a sceptical

view, the break is caused because the union doesn't support the workers. Apart from this, every action of workers together supposes a unity. But this is not realised because a majority must be obliged to accept the point of view of a minority. Unity is realised because the workers unite over practical questions, questions related to the daily experience in the factory or in the process of production.

In the Wildcat pamphlet the paragraph on today's struggles ends with the statement that as long as the minority thinks differently from the majority, the minority has to act against the will of the majority. Here we have clearly to do with a false notion. Anybody can have views that differ from the views of others and that often will be the case. But to act in the class struggle workers can only do so together and therefore they cannot do so on the basis of certain points of view, but only on the basis of clear insight in practical problems and tasks.

Wildcat does not see this. For Wildcat class struggle is something that depends on 'the courage and resolution of a small minority of militants' who need 'to organize themselves independently .. and need to link up with other similar minorities .. and revolutionary political organizations'. Immediately after this Wildcat says that workers 'however are right to have a sceptical attitude towards such groups'. In spite of this very justified remark, Wildcat doesn't by any means understand that collaboration with such groups ends the unity of the workers and therefore means the unevitable end of the struggle. Wildcat very well understands that the class struggle in for instance East-Germany in 1953, Hungary '56, France '68 (Wildcat refers to the occupations in Spain of the late '70's, in Poland etc.) has taught us something about future organization with which workers can take decisions on behalf of their own interest. Wildcat understands also that this organization, setup during the struggle and for practical purposes, cannot be artificially kept alive. If there is such an attempt, Wildcat says, this organization became an empty shell.

But apart from this sort of opinion which we share, Wildcat again develops the point of view that in those organizations which are the expression of autonomous action, a minority should be a driving power which certainly will come into conflict with the majority of such workers' counsels or strike committees. If so, the minority must not give way and certainly not compromise because, as Wildcat says, 'if revolution is to succeed the great mass of the working class must become conscious communist'. Our point of view is different: consciousness is not the precondition of the struggle but its result, its product. It is the hard necessity of praxis which forces the workers to act in this way or another, and that results in social changes which in their turn lead to changes in consciousness.

Wildcat says that in the new society 'people will no longer be mere objects in the production process'. We think that's O.k. but we want to add some-

thing that is lacking in the pamphlet: people cease to be objects in the process of production as soon as they don't any longer need to sell their labour power. And they have no need to sell their labour power the moment that they control the means of production. This means a complete change of of the hitherto existent economical system. The proletarian revolution is a social economic revolution. For this reason we disagree with Wildcat's statement that 'the organization of communist society will be based on the collective administration of things'. Such a statement fails to appreciate the essence of workers' power.

Ofcourse Wildcat is right in that the proletarian revolution is the abolition of the state, which never has been anything other than the organization of the ruling class. But the ruling class will not disappear by means of a collective administration, but only by the transfer of the means of production into the hands of the producers. As long as this is not the case there will be a ruling class, albeit a different ruling class from the one we face now, and as long as there is a ruling class, society will have the form of the state and not of a society of free and equal producers. Alas, on precisely this fundamental question is the Wildcat pamphlet extremely vague. We believe this vagueness stems from Wildcat's opinions on the role of consciousness. Concerning this role, one reads in the last chapter of the pamphlet that 'as long as communist ideas are only held by small minorities, communists are forced to organize in political groups'. Here we encounter exactly the sort of groups of which Wildcat said earlier that workers were right to have a sceptical attitude towards them. We have here to do with a contradiction which arises not by chance but as a consequence of Wildcat's opinions.

C.B. november '86.

The strikes in the docks of Rotterdam.

In the beginning of this year once again there has been a bitter fight between the dockers and the transfer-companies in Rotterdam. The strikes in the general cargo-sector were the most extended ones, but in the container-sector, too, at European Container Terminal, in the transfer of coal and ironore, at Swarttouw and at EMO, and in the transfer of corn, at among others GEM, dockers went on strike several times. In this article we will pay most of our attention to the general sector.

During these last years the companies that are active in this sector of the transfer of products, have had to deal with a decreasing market, mainly as a result of the increase of transport in containers. In order to increase profitability and to regain a larger share of the remaining market in this general sector - which had partly been taken over by Antwerp and Hamburg - the companies wanted to restructure their companies thoroughly. Part of this plan, a merging of three big companies, has for the time being not taken place. Another part of this project involves the dockers.

The dispute of the beginning of this year mainly dealt with their terms of employment. Like in very many other parts of industry it is necessary for the management of course, to increase the flexibility of the workforce. You see more and more part-time-workers, workers who only have to show up when there is work and who are on the dole the rest of the time, further extension of shift-work etc. In the general transfer-sector in Rotterdam the companies wanted to adapt the terms of employment of the dockers to the 'needs of modern times'; and besides that they also wanted to sack 350 of them: if they would need extra workers when there is a lot of work they can always hire people on a temporary base.

In general these were the plans of the companies, but of course they realised that the dockers would not give in without resistance. To make sure that the uninevitable fight would turn out favourable for the companies and that there would be no unsatisfactory compromises, they prepared themselves very thoroughly. Schoufour, the man in the background at the SVZ (the organization of the companies in the harbour of Rotterdam) explained their strategy as follows: "(...) I have made it very clear that I'm sick of all this half-hearted behaviour and that in six months we would face the same problem once again, unless we stick to our position. We'll play fair, I said, and we'll play carefully, but you (the companies in the general transfer-sector, D&G) have to promise that you are willing to enter a long and difficult period."

When Schoufour said this in a Dutch newspaper on the 23rd of January, the strikes had already started. Right after the plans of the companies had become public the dockers wanted to take action. The transport-union had barely been able to prevent a wild-cat action on January 12. One of the negotiators of the SVZ knew how to estimate this behavior of the transport-union when he made the compliment: "So far the union has had a firm grip on the rank and file." The spontaneous strike of one hour by the day-shift at Seaport Terminals, one of the big companies, on January the 14th did not disturb this situation. "That the dockers did not follow our orders to stay at work only shows how angry they are", said one of the union-leaders.

On January 19 the transport-union organised a general strike in the general transfer-sector in which, quite opposite to most of the previous strikes, a lot of white-collars also joined them. After this date the union organised 'surprise-strikes': every day an action-committee, consisting of union-leaders and shop-stewards, held a meeting to decide at which company there would be a strike. This resulted in damaging the companies at relatively low costs for the union. Another important advantage of this strategy was that in this way the union could control the workers pretty well which also strengthened its position at the negotiation-table. During the whole period in which strikes took place there has hardly been any initiative on the side of the dockers themselves. Most of the time they followed the proposals for action by the union, although in the background the threat, for the union, of actions by the workers beyond this point was always noticeable. There have been several strikes that were not organised by the union. On January 21 for example 200 workers of one company went on strike on their own initiative: "they could not be controlled", commented the transport-union. The night-shifts of several general transfer-companies went on strike on the 26th of January because they had to do work that had remained after a strike of the day-shift and which therefore was considered to be blacked. This action was not planned by the union either.

It is hard to say how the conflict would have developed if the dockers would have taken the initiative more into their own hands, but the history of the independent class-struggle by the workers since the Second World War has shown that this kind of action is far more threatening to the ruling classes. But the fact remains, and that is what counts, that the actions were completely dominated by the union. The companies could, as they had planned beforehand, stick to their demands and simply wait until the transport-union would give in more and more.

The transport-union had to show to be a good tight-rope walker, for "every compromise could be 'sold' to the very critical dockers only with great efforts", like one of the newspapers wrote on the 31st of January. Paul Rosenmöller, the president of the Rotterdam-branch of the transport-union was the right man in the right place for this goal. He has studied sociology until 1978, but then decided to quit university. Over and over again intellectuals seem to feel the need to mingle with the struggles of the workers and to 'educate' them; they "choose for the workers", as

Rosenmöller put it. In the first years of his working-time in the harbour he was member of a small avant-garde party, the Group of Marxists-Leninists, and heavily criticised the transport-union. After a couple of years he came to 'reason' and got a job as a union-official. Of course we hold nothing personal against Rosenmöller, but he is a typical representative of the people who by mingling with the workers-struggle cause it more damage than that they are of any use to it. Since they only know the life that workers live, as a result of their social status, from books, they can make this romantic "choice for the workers". What kind of bullshit is it to say, like Rosenmöller did. "I like to play the role of an activist, if I have to. That's something you've got inside you. Standing in front of a crowd and holding a speech gives a certain thrill and sense of tension and I like to work under pressure." We are willing to believe that, but it is a completely different kind of tension or pressure that a worker on an assembly line feels; he doesn't get a kick out of that, he does not choose for it. Those things are reserved for the Rosenmöllers who after a shorter or longer period of time usually make another choice, namely for a social career in which their resistance to stress comes in very handy.

In the course of the dispute there have been several rounds of negotiation and every time the transport-union moved a bit further into the direction of the companies. On the 4th of February for example the union turned out to be prepared to accept a certain amount of flexibility: it was accepted that the companies would decide on five obligatory days off when there would be not much work in the harbour and the dockers could be forced to work in other harbours as well. The companies made public that these concessions were not enough and that "structural changes" were necessary. Starting February the 10th they also wanted to talk about the labour contracts and make substantial changes in them which were disadvantageous to the workers. The union reacted to this with a 24-hour-strike. The CNV-transport-union, which is of a christian background (while the FNV-union has a labour-background) was willing to talk about the labour contracts rightaway. This CNV-union did not take part in the strikes anyway and in order to prevent that members of this union would become scabs they received "strike-victim-aid" from the union, every time there was a strike on their company.

After the minister of Social Affairs had threatened to stop paying a subsidy to the transfer-companies starting from July 1st if the union and the companies had not reached an agreement by latest March 2nd and after he had declared, too, that the labour contracts should be taken into consideration at the negotiation-tables, the FNV-union was on its own.

When the CNV-union declared to continue if necessary the negotiations alone, Rosenmöller decided to follow: on the 23rd of February negotiations were resumed without "prior conditions". The next move of the companies was to present a 'final' offer to the unions on February 26th; there could be no more negotiating on this offer. Apparently they thought that the time was right to deal out a final blow. After another 24-hours-strike the FNV called for help from the House of Commons: except for a lot of gentle talking the result of course was nil. The political parties were far too clever to choose sides.

Eventually the end of the actions came from an event in a completely different area. The works councils of four of the big companies had taken these companies to court, demanding that the names of the dockers who were to be fired, should not be made public. This in order to maintain the solidarity amongst the workers. When the court accepted this demand on March 12th and stated that publishing the names was not allowed until May 7th, a breathing space had occurred in which new negotiations were possible.

The determined behavior of the dockers had forced the FNV-union to pose very determined itself, too. In the course of the negotiations it moved towards the companies more and more, but these stood firm on their ground and held on to their demands. As a consequence the union could do nothing else but continue the strike-actions. The verdict of the court therefore came as a gift from heaven.

On March the 13th Rosenmöller called upon the workers to cease all actions. In doing so he proved to be a true union-official when he said that the half-time result of the match against the companies was a 1 - 0 for the dockers. For him it probably is some sort of football-match, for he does not feel the class-struggle himself in his own life. His method to raffle criticism is typical for a union-official, too. He for instance called the critics of one of the leaders of former strikes in the harbour "day-dreaming". It was quite clear: union-official Rosenmöller had gained a result and discussions with the rank and file only cause trouble. What was he to say for example to the remarks of one of the dockers that now the companies "had the time to think of how to fire the workers while we are quiet"?

After a period in which nothing really happened it was announced in the beginning of April that there would be new negotiations, but they were broken off again after a little while because the companies refused to give in one inch. What will happen in the near future is hard to say but it is very unlikely that the companies will accept some sort of compromise.

Except for strikes in the general transfer-sector there have also been strikes in other sectors of the harbour that we want to pay some attention to here as well.

At European Container Terminal the management announced that it would lay off 250 workers unless the workforce would accept considerable changes for the worse in the labour contracts. A spontaneous strike starting on February 12th was made official by the union after several days. The management reacted to the 'surprise-strikes' by threatening not to pay any wages anymore to workers who were willing to work but who were idle as a result of the actions. As a consequence of the strikes a lot of ships had turned to other harbours, which virtually stopped all activities at ECT. The threat of the management therefore was very drastic. In this case, too, the CNV-union saved the face of the FNV-union by declaring to negotiate on the labour contracts without the FNV if necessary. In order not to leave the interests of its members to the CNV-union, the FNV decided to take part in the negotiations on February 23rd. One of the first things that was agreed upon was that there would be no more actions. After about one and a half month, on April 10th, the unions and the management of ECT agreed on a new labour contract: the lay offs were cancelled, but there would be no raise in wages, while there was a considerable cut on the X-mas bonuses.

In the transfer of corn the management wanted to fire workers, too. The negotiations on a new labour contract weren't going very well while this threat was on the table and on March 13th there were some spontaneous strikes. From the beginning of April the FNV-union also organised 'surprise-strikes' in this sector. The CNV-union came to an agreement with the management on a new labour contract, but this was turned down by the workers, who for the majority are member of the FNV-union. After some time some changes were made in this contract and the FNV-union then also accepted it.

Finally, we wish to make some remarks on the events in the transfer of coal and ironore. When one of the big companies, EMO, delayed the negotiations on the new labour contract there were two spontaneous strikes of several hours against the wish of the union on January 21st. On the next days the workers went on strike a couple of times, too. When the management on the 22nd of January did not show up in a meeting where the negotiations were to take place, the union pretended to be deeply insulted: "This is poison for the social peace in the harbour". In accordance with the usual comedy the management and the unions play in these occasions, representatives of the companies called this an exaggeration. On the 11th of March a new labour contract was signed at one of the big companies and the others joined a couple of days later.

It does not happen very often that there are actions in all different sectors of the harbour at the same time. But the unions have refrained from everything to let the actions be supportive to each other. As usual they used strikes and the threat of strikes in the negotiation-game and made sure that the workers as a group with comparable interests did not develop their social power. Threats of firing people and changes for the worse in labour contracts were the stakes on the part of the companies and especially the general transfer-sector-companies fought at daggers drawn. What the final outcome of the dispute in this last sector will be is impossible to say; a relative favourable outcome for the dockers is questionable though, (from the dutch group and bulletin 'Action and Thought' - april 87- N.V.)

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Fifth Estate

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Spring 1987- Anarchy and the Left- Journal notes on Art - Discussion on Zerzan's article 'The Case against Culture' -Earth Diet , Earth Culture - How much of the life's planet does your Cadillac cost ? -Aberration ; the automobile - Exchange of letters on 'Rebel violence versus hierarchical violence' , the english pamphlet reviewed in next issue .

Across Frontiers

PO Box 2382 - Berkeley - Ca 94702

quarterly review with texts and analysis on the socialist and democratic opposition in Eastern countries,
fall 1986-Work and safety in Ukrainian Nuclear Power Industry- 'We have to hold on ' ; a conversation with Zbigniew Bujak -Chernobyl in Poland
Spring 1987 -Poland ; 'You have to be on the side of the weak ' a conversation with Martek Edelman- 'Even the future is not what it used to be ' ;Politics and new social movements in Yougoslavia- Democratic opposition in East Germany.

In these Times

1300 West Belmont Avenue - Chicago , Ill.60657

9/4/86 -two articles on ther economy and politics of Southern Winsconsin, a coverage of what is called 'the rust belt' , the trouble heartland of the US industry and the consequence for workers(with two examples ; Harley-Dadidson - motor-bikes -and Allis-Chalmers (tractors and farm equipment)
25/2/87-Growing older and poorer in the US - Greyhounds ;taking workers for a ride ?-Unions look for new strategies -Mexico ;student revolt shakes a nation - China; Deng's reforms as they are viewed in Japan-China's socialism is breeaking new grounds- Poles seek expanded contacts with the West .
31/3/87-Striking victory in Watsonville (California) - Books review: Jews in America to-day by Lenni Brenner (Fogging the antisemitism)- The reckoning by David Halberstan (the economy driven to the ground)

News and letters

59 Ernest van Buren -Rm 707 ,Chicago , 11065

n°2- 13/2/87 -Reagan's America ;racism , pauperization .

n°3- 27/2/87 -Employed and unemployed young workers speak out .

n°4- 13/3/87 -Working women fight reaganism with organisation , strikes,ideas

n°5- 27/3/87 - Another meatpackers'strike ; Cudahy

n°6- 10/4/87 -Militarized science - From IBP to Hormel; meatpackers fight companies , union bureaucrats ,

n°7- 24/4/87- New immigration laws spread fear ;solidarity across border needed- Labor marches with Cudahy strikers

Daily Barbarian c/o Urbane Gorilla- Po Box 02455 -Detroit - Mi 48202

Autumn 1986 ;the incinerator of Detroit , a factory for dioxyne- The reality of the Rambo myth .

Labour Notes

Po Box 20001 - Detroit Mich,48220

march 87-Unions prepare the deal with new immigration law - California Service Employees Local placed in trusteeship after strike (7 weeks last fall) .

april 87 - Not a single defector in 18 months ; victory in Watsonville (Watsonville Canning) (a new three years contract)-Dissent groups at California GM-Toyota plant (on the Fremont factory where business tries to 'for a new spirit of cooperation between labor and management)- Hormel strike ;still 850 Hormel meatpackers out of work ;rally ,meetings conferences to try to build a rank and file meatpackers movement .

Red Rosa-Rosa Luxemburg ,a life -Elzbieta Ettinger -Beacon Press
review in New York Review - 24/3/87 (copy at Echanges)

The Militant

410 West Street , Nex York , NY 10014

GM hit by 4-day strike for violation contract ,Midwest meatpackers explain strikes -What are main problems of filippinos peasants-Watsonville ; how the strikers won .

After fifty years : the spanish civil war - Murray Bookchin-New Politics - New series - n°1 - 1986

A good article on the revolution and war in Spain and an attempt to explain what Bookchin defines as 'one of the most unexplicable chapters of radical history ' and ' the growing conscience of radical movement as a whole ' (copy at Echanges)

UNITED KINGDOM

Internationalist Perspective

BM Box 1748 - Montclair , NJ 07042 ,USA or BM Box 8154 - London WC 1 N 3 XX - UK
n°5 -january-april 1987 - Yes struggle outside the unions is possible - The french railmen show the way to self organisation - Resolution on the class-struggle - Everywhere the same misery- Revolutionary intervention in the belgian strikes - USA,IRAN ;the imperialist stakes in the Middle East - Debates in the revolutionary milieu ; letter to the Argentine - Kammunist Kranti and the decadence of capitalism .

n° 6 - april- june 1987 -Workers struggle internationally (mainly on the french railworkers strike and the student movement)- Class struggle in the US ; lessons Hormel - Economy ; plunging into the crisis - A debate on Revolutionary intervention- How to define the working class terrain (correspondence) - Class consciousness in the proletarian revolution; 2) the process of the development of class consciousness

Counter Information

c/o 43 Candlemaker Row (Pigeonhole 31) Edinburgh - Scotland)

n° 14 - April -may 87 -Action for slavery ;Job training scheme - Caterpillar and other strikes -News from Greece , Spain ,South Africa , Italy- Wapping comes to the Midlands - Leaflets from Claimants Union , from Libertarian movement in Chile

Solidarity

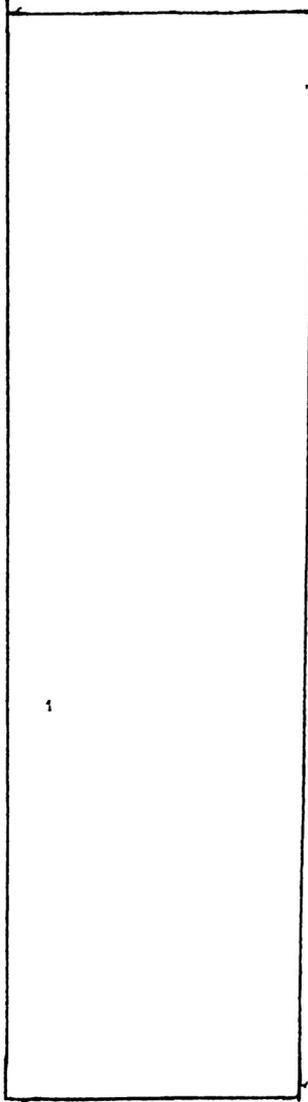
A journal of Libertarian Socialism-c;o 123 Lathom Road -London E6

n° 14 -Summer 1987-Cherished myths of radical actions ; a very good article of Ken WELLER on books and film on mutinies in the English army during the first world war ,A TV drama 'The Monocled Mutineer ' centered on Etaples mutiny of september 1917 illustrates very well the usual approach of History by the media .What we see is no aberration , but rather the systematic of sometimes unconscious , downplaying or writing out autonomous role of the working class combined with a strong emphasis on the essential role of an elite...This problem however goes deeper than mere television programme or even literature .We can see the same approach in labour history...The ideological chain into which 'The Monocled Mutineer' is bound stretches yet further ...The ideology of the traditional socialist movement has come to reflect the individual and corporate interest of the actual or potential state parasitocracy and as such has not the slightest connection with egalitarian socialism or freedom .This review is followed by ' a frank and comradely exchange of views ' between historical adviser and the dramatist of the series- Book review :Three books about sex ;The front line - Nicky Roberts (about her years as a Soho stripper) -Sleeping with soldiers -Rosemary Daniell- What a man's Gotta Do (Anthony Dazniell)- Class war on the Home Front , Revolutionary Opposition to the First World War -(Wildcat)- Coldwar fictions; a letter from Castoriadis to a German magazine about his analysis of the Soviet Union- Another letter about Class War (see previous issue).

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