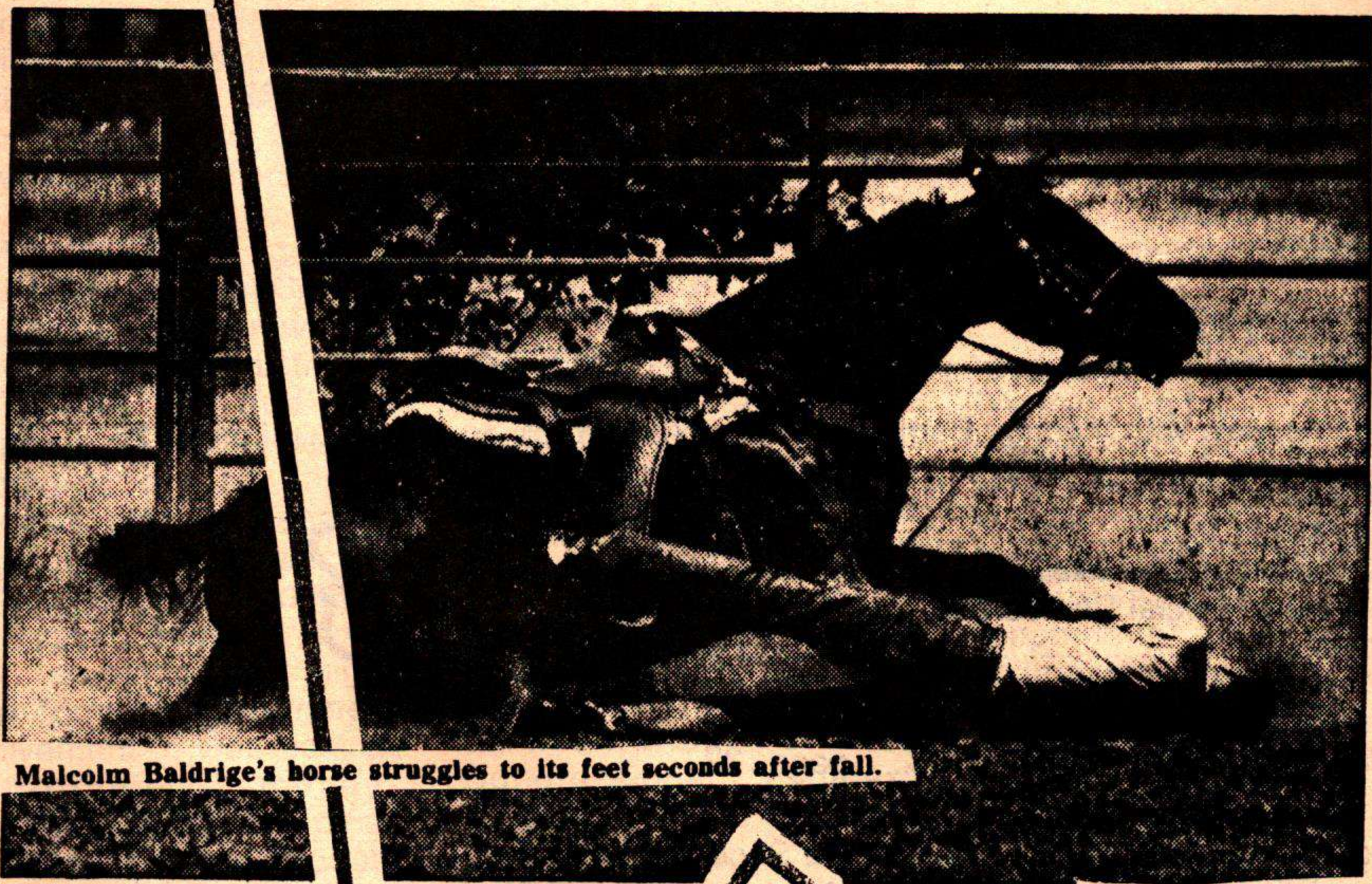


# angry workers' bulletin n° 2

Administration takes tumble again

oops) Another One



Malcolm Baldrige's horse struggles to its feet seconds after fall.

Bites the Dust

Horse's Motive Still Unclear  
Meese Suspects Terrorist Plot  
Seeks Death Penalty

FLASH!!  
CRASH--  
DETAILS IN AWB#3  
UNLESS PRE-EMPTED BY  
WORLD REVOLUTION!!

2,200

2,100

2,000

1,900

1,800

1,700



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Hello--

It has been a year-and-a-half since publication of Angry Workers Bulletin#1. We are pleased to get it to you. The third issue of the Angry Workers Bulletin is already taking shape and will appear sometime next Spring. With that date in mind, we would appreciate letters, essays, brief reports on local/regional events by February 1988 from those interested. Also, since we are only able to print an extremely limited number of copies of each issue, we request that readers pass along their copies to others, or, if feasible, make xerox-copies of the issue or of particular articles and make them available to friends, co-workers, neighbors.

As the cover graphic illustrates, the Iran/Contra-gate fiasco has thrown the current U.S. administration for a bad fall and into disarray. There was the discovery of the highly secretive offer of weapons to Iran, (wholly contradicting the "anti-terrorist" baloney of the Reagan Administration), and revelations of high-level "private" government involvement in war-making, drug-running, money-laundering and every other white-collar crime (rudely interrupting the righteous "anti-drug" crisis program then in progress. As R. Hatch writes about the anti-drug campaign in "Drugs, Politics and Disinformation", Covert Action Information Bulletin#28: "The truth is there was no 'crisis', and the panic was manufactured primarily for political gain."). This exposed the world to a

spectacle which, denials of politicians and the news media aside, is quite simply an expression of the intensifying battle within the U.S. ruling class over measures to shore up control and slow the collapse of the U.S. They want to avoid the "Britainization" of the United States as a declining world-power.

The illegal funding and arming of the Nicaraguan Contras (we are not referring here to left-wing counter-revolutionaries like the Sandinistas) by "private" government(-supported) sponsors, using profits from the sale of arms to Iran, linked two extremely crucial areas of foreign policy concern for the U.S. ruling class. The Reagan Administration felt compelled to seek its aims covertly. This might appear, as the ruling groups hope it will, to indicate that there are qualitative differences in the strategies of the Republicans and Democrats. But, if the reader followed the Iran/Contra hearings and commentaries, or the Congressional "debates" about sending the Navy into the Persian Gulf, or the further aid to the Contra forces, you would most likely see that there is no significant disagreement over the general aims within the government over the results desired in the Middle East or Central America. Paramount is the defense of U.S. imperial/multi-national interests and domination versus their "Communist" rivals (like the



Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Cuba or Angola); in other words, against further development of "equally"-independent competing national capitals or the "Communist" exploitation of "underdeveloped" nation-states, which U.S. Democracy itself needs to exploit.

The purported "opposition" between the Democrats and Republicans proves to be simply questions of tactics. In their constantly changing lash-ups, compromises and manipulations, the "opponents" often do not unite and divide along Party lines. Nonetheless, the crisis for the ruling class, in Central America, for example, is so severe that factions of the government are drawing out apparently counter-posed, partisan alternatives (i.e: Reagan, North, Casey, Helms etc., vs. Dellums, Dodd, Kennedy, Wright etc). But the issue still fails to be explicable as "Democrats vs. Republicans", because there are Republicans and Democrats on both sides of the alternatives: support for



either the Contras or Sandinistas as the appropriate means to defend U.S. interests. The "progressive" Democrats are presented by most leftists as a lesser-evil to the "reactionary" Republicans. But it is only fair to note that the "reactionary Reaganites" backing of the Aquino government in the Philippines after the "People's Revolution" is exactly the policy the Democrats are advocating for their crisis in Central America.

In the Middle East, as well, the Reagan Administration has ended up pursuing a policy similar to the Carter Administration, a policy which, for electoral-stupification reasons, the Reaganoids had roundly denounced as equivocating and cowardly at the time of the First Hostage Crisis of '79-'80. In a de-classified document reprinted in Covert Action Information Bulletin #28 it appears that: "On February 20 [1986], a U.S. Government official met with...[deleted]...the first direct U.S.-Iranian [governmental] contact in five years. At this meeting, the U.S. side made an effort to re-focus Iranian attention on the threat posed by the Soviet Union and the need to establish a longer term relationship...based on more than arms transactions." (p. 22). Not any strategic differences between the two main parties of U.S. Capital. Hardly any tactical ones, either. No doubt, those "evil-empire" state-capitalist competitors, the Soviets, were whispering similar

things to the mullahs shortly before the U.S.S.R. and Iran signed their recent agreement for improved and increased trade relations.

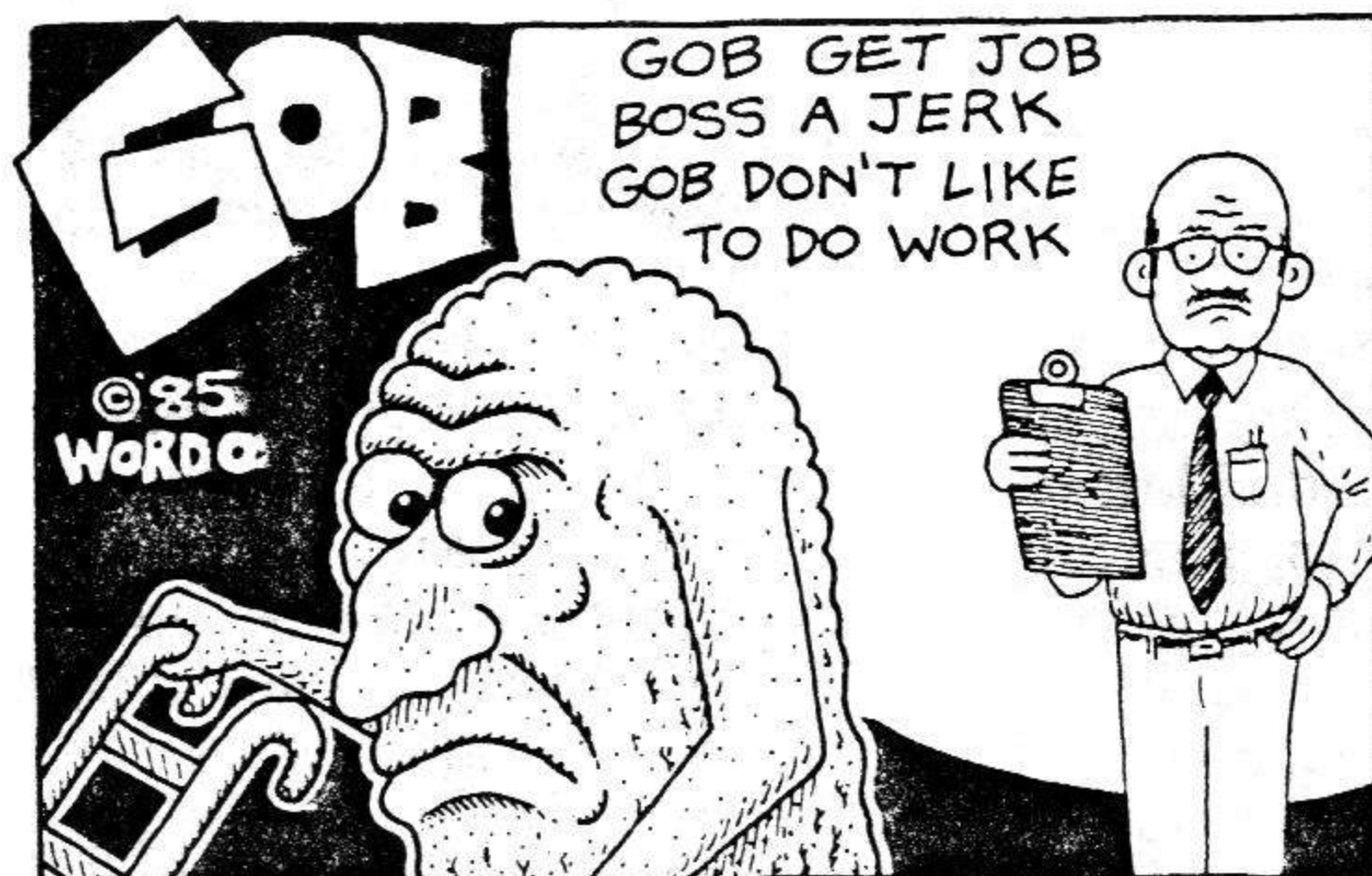
Ultimately, what we are getting is the whining self-pity and devious subterfuges of "our side" in a bitter struggle with the other "big guy", not as whiney, though perhaps a little more self-assured in its deviousness. Those in positions of power, particularly in other upwardly-mobile nations like West Germany and China, know all this. The fact is that if it wasn't for some ancient mullah exploiting the hypocrisy of the Reagan Administration we might never have heard about it--because the Democrats (at least the ranking party members) were probably as aware as anybody of the 'secret' Iran initiative and the 'covert' private-governmental Contra aid. The deals had only been 'secret' to the public, no matter how much people like Senator Inuoye were kept in the dark about the particulars of these particular dealings. The news was probably leaked by Ayatollah Hussein Montazeri to a Lebanese journalist named Hassan Sabra as a political ploy against 'moderately pro-U.S.' Speaker Rafsanjani in the Iranian government's own internal power-struggle.



The Iran/Contra scandal has been neatly tied up in the issues of "constitutionality", "advise and consent" and patriotic "defense of democratic principles". Never was it argued that the initiatives were not reasonable possibilities. But the means and personnel for implementation were discuss-ed and selected *without* the approval of the legislative branch, outside the legal framework of the U.S. Constitution, whose prime purpose is to insure the general involvement of the capitalist class as a whole in policy-making and governance.

Every effort was and still is being made to keep the story penned into the most superficial and personalistic criteria feasible. Like an executive editor of an electronic National Enquirer, the State produced a dramatic parade of betrayed innocents, attempted suicides, convenient deaths, fighting leathernecks and sultry secretaries. The Congressional report of the Iran/Contra hearings apparently intend to indict Casey, Poindexter and North as the culpable agents--looks like they hope the "plausible deniability" of a dead man and two dummies will protect the system. The Iran/Contra-gate fiasco (and the backstabbing spree amongst the Democrats, lately) has served to strengthen a crisis of governmental legitimacy among a population experiencing a deepening decline of living standards





as they power the current "boom"-period for Capital. This "boom" for the bosses is badly affecting sections of the middle class as well as working class and poor people, both women and men, and all races (see for example, \*Michael Harrington, "White, Male and Poor"). There has never been any reason to demonize Reagan, or give him credit for powers that he has never had. With the exception of the invasion of Grenada, the American government has faced an almost uninterrupted string of foreign policy defeats since the Indochinese debacle. America is an imperialist power in a state of decline. The U.S. economy is increasingly colonized by foreign competitors and the population of urban poor is large and growing. In this situation beyond its control, the Reagan Administration has been forced to sell weapons to Iran, to one of the regimes that the Administration hates more than almost any other regime in the world. All this dishonesty to try and absorb or re-capture John and Suzy Q. Public's waning interest and growing cynicism in the charade of

\* San Francisco Chronicle, 3-15-81

elections, taxes and patriotic duty. They know better than the public at large that participation in elections has been steadily falling since the early '70's and is now down to near only 40% participation in the Presidential offering. In the most recent California State elections, voter turnout was lower than it has been in any other election in the twentieth century. All sections of the U.S. ruling-class are still haunted by the defeat in Viet Nam, the massive domestic crises and rebellions during the war period and the the fear of its recurrence. And for good reason. The government's awareness of the decline in public faith in the most fundamental institutions of American political life is also seen in the implementation over the past decade of strategies for rapid deployment of elite forces and low-intensity warfare through proxy armies like the Nicaraguan Contras, strategies first formulated by the Kennedy Administration (see for example, War Without End by Michael Klare).

The government and the media were apparently unable to sustain interest in

manly patriotism or red-white-and-blue constitutionalism (and there are a lot of petty capitalists stuck with loads of unsold Ollie North memorabilia!). As usual anyway, the government and media, in the spirit of advertising and the tabloids, said "Quick cut! Let's change the subject! Upbeat! Re-Assuring! "No Nukes" in Europe (a lie); the promise of Peace and Democracy in Central America (a deception); support for Democracy and protest against Violence in South Korea (hypocritical); or a new crisis in the Persian Gulf. Forget about the bumbling Reagan's attempt at a second "hostage-victory" to win some points in the popularity polls; forget the selling of weapons to Iran while at the same time giving top-secret reconnaissance photos to Iraq, the better to bomb Tehran and sustain the continuing carnage on both sides. Rest assured, fellow Americans, that this was all being done to insure peace between insane Arabs and Persian barbarians. It did not succeed, so we are compelled to send in the Navy to protect our





shipping and oil from Iranian assault following an attack on the Frigate U.S.S. Stark by an Iraqi fighter-bomber, even though it is not our shipping or our oil, it's our... but forget that, anyway. Most of all, please forget. Trust us! We are having a crisis and we need you to make it your own!

The pathetic character of this Crisis Manufacture and Management, Inc., would be laughable if these maniacs did not actually manipulate social history, psychic distress, information, money and the military with the aim of continuing to dominate the world the way the United States did in the years following World War Two.

The fear of losing their ba... (...er.. uh...pardon us) their dominant position is expressed in the domestic and foreign policy arenas, respectively: for example,

under the bland name of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, both main political parties of the ruling class prepare for the possibility of martial law as the last step in insuring domestic tranquility--and "democracy", of course-- in the event of large scale war or massive social unrest; on the other hand, Gary Hart, neo-liberal and non-candidate for the 1988-Democratic Presidential nomination, came out and directly stated that Reagan was the inferior of the Soviet Union's Gorbachev, and that, if Reagan policies continued unabated, the U.S. would find itself a second-rate power behind the world's new dominant super-power--the Soviet Union.

It is not far-fetched to expect the next world war might begin in the Middle East, or specifically in the Persian Gulf. The regional war has been sponsored for years by nations in and outside the region who are individually, as well as by bloc, desperately seeking the privileges of ascendancy in dealing with the local despots and the oil wealth of the region. For the U.S. to lose its dominant political-economic position in this region would be, in the deranged minds of the bourgeois, like signing their own death warrant.

In the attempt to avoid such an eventuality, the rulers of this country already risk the lives of *others*, and soon even *others of "us"* (danger-pay for sailors in the Gulf) in

open war to keep *themselves* from "dying" as a class.

Their "booms" and "crises" are not ours. Why not make the bourgeois addicts of Capital end their dependencies *on us* cold-turkey? Even though they will feel, as individuals like they are dying, for the most part it will be their class and this hellish civilization that will be dying! It's time we lived for ourselves, and create an actually libertarian and egalitarian society, the wanting of which our dreams and ideals express, the lack of which our nightmares and fears possess.





# letters

Feb. 20, 1987

Dear Chris,

It was good to get your letter of the 8th, and enclosed materials. I must admit, however, that the Angry Worker left me somewhat baffled, as its approach seems to pick up certain matters in mid-conversation, apparently presuming the reader is pre-oriented to the particular politics involved, even to the level of personalities. EG: who the fuck is Bob Black??? I could follow -sort of- the dynamic of what was/is occurring around him and Processed World, but the presentation made in the journal was, to say the least, eclectic.

To take another tack: ex-anarchists who have re-discovered Marx, but hate leftists, both historically and topically (my reconstruction)? My situation is one of finding myself often agreeing with what I take to be your conclusions without understanding how you arrived at them; consequently, I'm left with a certain tension, wondering whether perhaps I've not also misunderstood at least some aspects of the conclusions as well. Methinks possibly a lot of readers are in the same boat.

My advice is to slow down a bit. Take the time/space to lay out your thinking clearly on each point you make, even (maybe especially) when the whole thing seems self-evident to you. Be careful about taking all these passing shots via labeling-- "Gorzian", "anarcho-syndicalist", etc.--as you'll just end up leaving lots of folks wondering what this is all about. I mean I've read Gorz, Castoriadis, et al, and still found a lot of AW hard to follow; for someone who's never even heard the names, never mind having read the work, it would be impossible. Eh?

Okay. So much for the unsolicited advice. Have been

passing AW around to others in the community...

As for Marxism and Native Americans, which is a collection highly critical of Marxism, it was in many ways a (and for many reasons) a rather crippled effort. I enclose a smaller exchange, produced locally.. (Economism versus Culture, by Ward Churchill and Elizabeth Lloyd)...I think you'll agree with the anti-economistic critique extended therein.

Okay. I've gotta go. Hope this finds you in good health and all is well. Take care. Stay in touch.

Relations, Ward Churchill

(We will be printing in AWB#3 "Indian Lands-Sacred or Sacrificed?", by Ward Churchill. He is active in the American Indian Movement and can be contacted c/o

Educational Development Program, University of Colorado, Boulder, Campus Box 146 Boulder, Colorado 80309)

Winter Solstice 1986  
Dear Folks at AWB:

Thought that I might send you some reflections....My economic roots are lower middle-class....At one point I became associated with anarchists and for the last two years have worked with anti-statists in various projects. At this time, however, I find myself at a juncture and seem to be confused about the choices. When I first became involved with the anarchists in Montreal, the saying was: "Marx has been dead for 100 yrs, so let's bury him". Their assertion was that Marxism had no valuable theoretical contributions left to offer to a real revolutionary critique of human societies. I tried to read the works of Karl, but I had

scarcely read two or three chapters when apart from being completely overwhelmed by the thought that there were about 30 more volumes to read after this one, I found myself utterly unstimulated and uninspired.

Marxism was just another ideology. A model that its theoreticians (like theologians) sought to apply to the human cosmos by whatever means necessary, both practically and theoretically. In any case, I decided that if boredom is counter-revolutionary, then reading Karl and Friedrich was probably an outright reactionary thing to do. My basic theory is that domination is the source of all misery, joylessness, oppression, poverty, boredom and wretchedness. Domination itself seems to be a result of capitalist, industrial/technological, patriarchal civilization, which is why I want to abolish this type of civilization. My problem is, who do I work with, if indeed there is only one type of group to work with? I guess that the most obvious thing not to do is work with any group or individual that

consciously/theoretically/ideologically supports domination in any form. This automatically excludes most leftists, from social-democrats to Stalinists. In my opinion, it also excludes any group that offers statist solutions to problems that find their origins in the existence of the state and therefore, domination. This would seem to include many, if not most, of the anti-authoritarians and anarchists in Canada and the U.S. as they have openly defended the Sandinistas as well as many M-L national-liberation groups. This support...has forced me to reconsider my "ideological affiliation", though I don't really want to be an extension of any "ism".

In any case, anarchism, especially anarcho-syndicalism, seems ossified, used-up and uninspiring. As for the ultra-leftists (AWB?), they



seem to rely too heavily on Marxism as a model of the world, a model that I have basically rejected. The Marxists and many of the ultra-leftists seem lifeless and overly-academic. They are dualists, materialists, religious and narrow in the sense that other forms of domination (apart from class) like sexism, racism, don't seem to be integral to their critique. There is rarely a critique of nature, for instance, and even...believe that humans will only be able to really be free when material needs have been satisfied for everyone, and that this can only be done by controlling domesticating/taming the environment. The Marxist-inspired groups have inherited an analysis that is fundamentally a western, male, white and educated point of view....To me it seems that AWB wants to reform an ideology instead of dispensing with it. Who cares what a "Gorzian" is, anyway?

I guess ultimately I feel close to all non-conformists, pagans, witches, visionaries, misfits, nature-worshippers, rebels and find the possibility of a tribal-based, non-industrial, non-technological communal planet hopeful and most attractive. Somewhere between anarchism, ultra-leftism, post-situationism and primitivism, there is a non-ideology that is well-suited to my model of the world.

I found AWB ... the best of the class-war type papers that I've read in a long time and certainly is refreshing after ideas and action. Perhaps, however, you shouldn't have asked your readership to trash Open Road and Strike! without criticizing them somewhere in your paper as you did with Processed World and ideas and action. I enjoyed AWB and look forward to the next one, although I still feel more than a little uncomfortable with expressions like "class dictatorship".

For the death of all tyrants, both inside and outside ourselves, WM

I think it was Bordiga who wrote that only Revolution is at once theory/practice. Sounds good to me!

WM may be reached by interested readers at

PO. Box 15642,  
Vancouver, B.C., Canada U6B 5B4

12.11.86

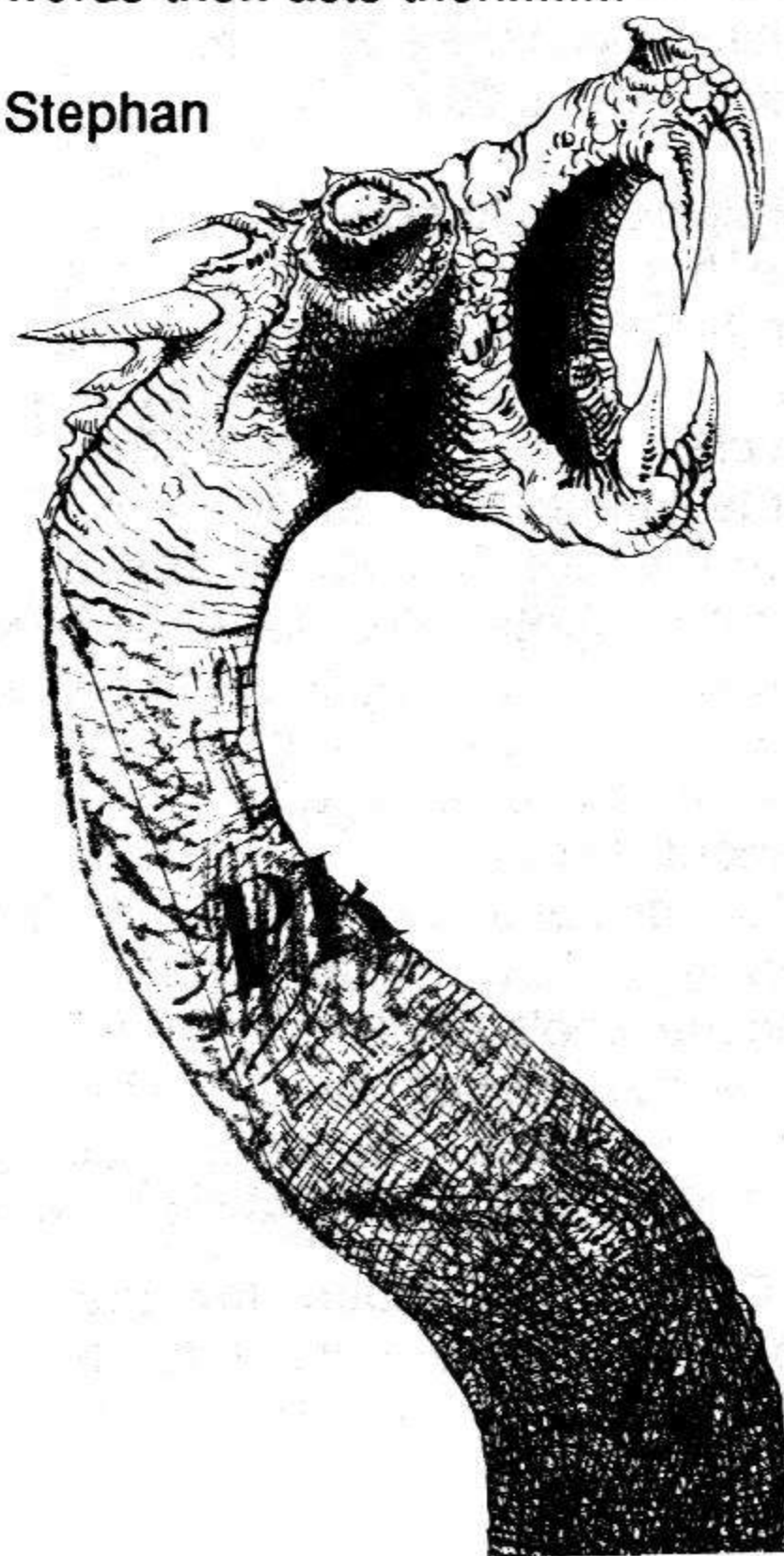
Rome

dear Chris and Co.,

i hope you're well, dealing with the pain in creative health- defending ways enjoying painted images of eternity and onwardness...the great american communicator is biting the celluloid dust of his blood-splattered show of television lies. of course for the u.s.a. elite this sacrifice of hollywood cowboy reinforces faltering confidence in american political institutions...at least that's what is hoped, i feel. besides the general misery of the poor in the u.s.a. the tragedy of these american years is the gangster glaring repression of central american efforts to live a life free from the violent economic-military oppress-ions....here, in Roma, life is fraught with difficulties yet I try & often do enjoy daily life...there are periods of fat cows and other periods of very skinny cows. Maria and i are doing workshops teaching Living Theatre street political social cosmic freedom agitation dialogue plays in Italy France Germany Austria & perhaps we're going to Spain in the spring...& i continue with guitar song blues...however the money comes it's all begging to me, whatever the amount & circumstances....Satya the boy is 9 years old today. i hope he continues to grow up kind-hearted beautiful enjoying the mystery trip & helping out his fellow human beings if he has the power to do so...he seems to be very sensitive to the ecological issue....likes to play and watch t.v. when we earn a little margin money we study and prepare future work....what's a strike? what's autogestion? answer these questions with people and organize a magical revolution...a planetary epochal change....Maria & i finished in november a 3- week workshop teaching bio-mechanical street-play called "the strike-support oratorium", a collective creation of the 1973 Living Theatre, with 20+ people in bologna concluding in two well done performances in the main piazzas of that city...the play has three parts: the procession, the barricades and the dialogue with

the audience...a strong provocation to think & reconsider the possibilities of social action around basic economic questions...i hope this group of enthusiastic young people, more women than men, continue to do this play when occasions come....i'm probably doing too many things in a day...the situation is a little chaotic & future very vague...maybe this & maybe that but we're following an artline combining means and ends and breaths and ecstatic signs signaling through flames of human suffering which we try to study and overcome, transmute energy and manifestations...i wish i could spend more time writing...but i'm still reading and slow in writing tho' i feel i ought to put a few pages together & tell into a book...you know, an old-age pension-book....tell me more about "angry workers group"....do you know "tribal warning theatre"?....perhaps the time has come to organize the 3rd international general strike for peace...peace between anyone & everybody/anybody, between real people...that's a revolution of freedom...real peace...no war...no coerciverelations...freedom...voluntary associations...now continues culture revolution work...create situations which encourage people to join the revolution in their heads then words then acts then.....

Stephan





## The Watsonville Cannery Strike:

"The happy task of this article is to explain a major working class victory." Or so writes Frank Bardacke, former Watsonville cannery worker and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) activist, in an article about the Watsonville Cannery strike (in the magazine Against the Current #9). Well, it may indeed be the happy task of his article to explain a "major working class victory", but there wasn't one, unfortunately. we'll try to explain why there wasn't one,

On March 11th, 1987, the year and a half long strike by frozen food cannery workers in Watsonville, California was concluded with the new owners of the canning factory, Norcal Company. It reportedly started on September 11th, 1985 as a strike by 1800 mainly Hispanic workers, mostly women, against Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Company and Richard Shaw Canning Co. The strikers went out against a contract which contained 54 takebacks and reductions of wage levels in all job categories. Wages of line workers were to be reduced from \$6.66 to \$5.05 an hour, forklift drivers from \$7.75 to \$5.75, and mechanics from \$11.00 to \$7.00 an hour. Furthermore, newly hired line workers would have been hired at an impossibly meager \$4.25 an hour under a two-tier system. Seniority was to be abolished along with all medical benefits. In the end, in March '87, the final contract recognized seniority and blocked imposition of the two-tier system. Wage levels were still cut across the board, with line workers to receive \$5.85 an hour. Even for this it took a

If a trade union falls in the forest  
and nobody is there to hear it,  
does it make a sound?

spontaneous, four-day wildcat strike against the company, against the union (and with the silent neutrality of the strike committee) to get the Norcal Co. to re-instate medical coverage starting three months after hiring. (A highly visible and openly religious penitential procession called on the power of the Almighty, without apparent results.)

### Let's Back-Up A Minute

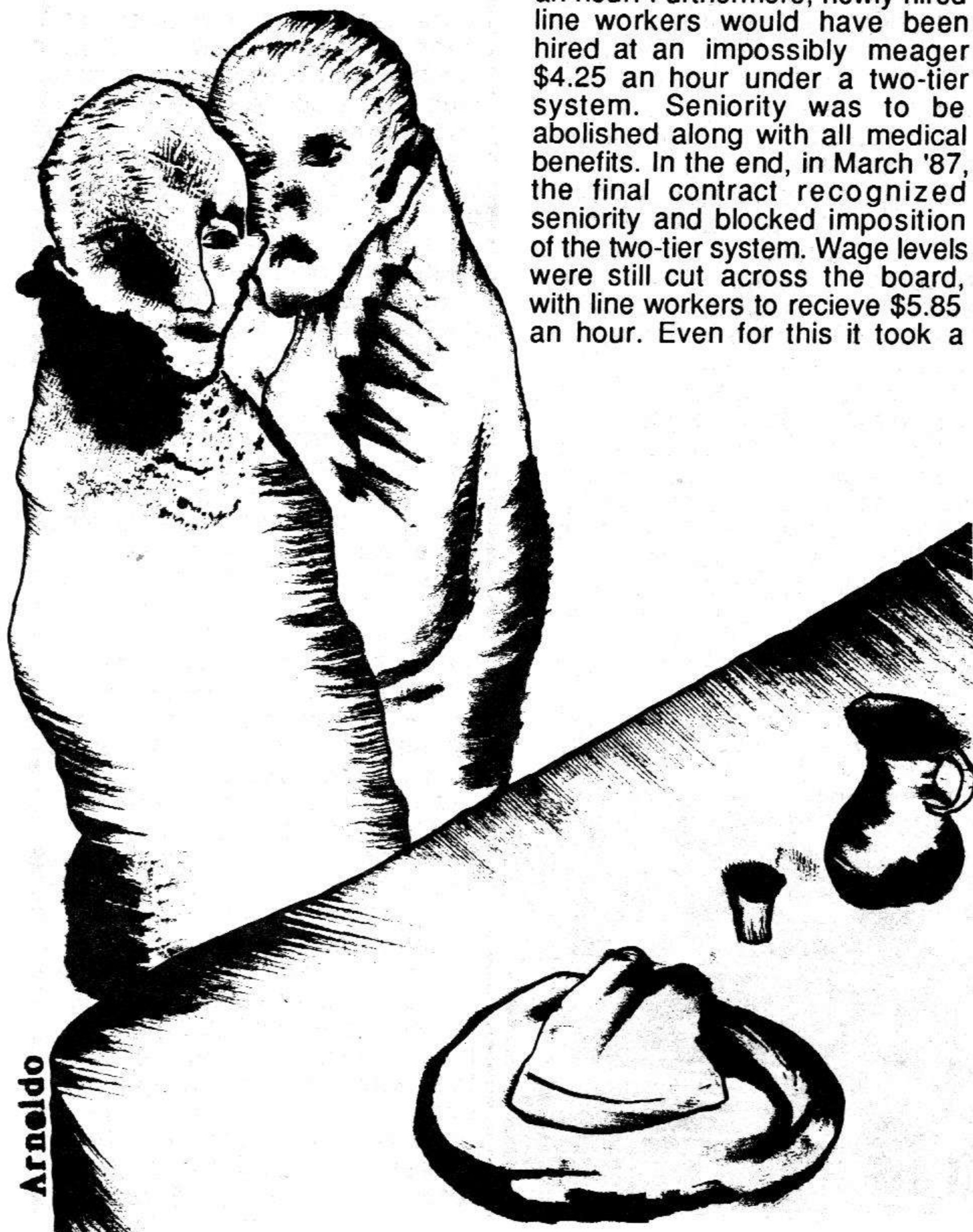
Quoting from the San Francisco Sunday Examiner's Image Magazine, June 7, '87 issue:

"In 1986 this city of almost 28,000 became the first substantial town north of Fresno with a Latin majority. While no one was looking, the packing plants in this fertile region had become the nation's single largest source of frozen vegetables. The workforce that grew with these plants came mainly from Mexico. And when Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Company- the nation's largest freezer plant- tried to chop off more than a fourth of their wages, the industry, the labor movement, and the city alike found out that *La Raza Unida* can also mean "we're going to roll the union on."...

"...Years ago in the west end of town, Slavic and Portuguese workers lived in small cottages with gardens, and labored in rustic sheds packing lettuce and apples. Today those tightly packed blue-collar homes now usually hold Mexicans, often two or more families. And now, like a swatch from some New Jersey city, the houses are thoroughly mixed in with the huge bulks of industrial buildings- canneries, freezer plants and cold storage warehouses."

"Here, too, is found the gritty old union hall of Local 912, General Teamsters, Packers, Food processors and Warehousemen, with wire mesh over its windows and a solid steel door replacing the one that an angry worker once pulled off with his pick-up truck."

"Local 912 grew up organizing the freezer plants and canneries that proliferated here during World War II. Forty years ago the union was smaller and mostly white. Now membership has swollen to





more than 5,000, nine of ten of whom are Latino, most of them women. At least one quarter of Watsonville's employed residents belong to this union."

"In the battle of Watsonville Canning, however, Local 912 was the first institution that the angry workers had to conquer."

The idea of "conquering" the union was not as clearly an element of the workers action in September '85 when they went out on a wildcat strike and formed a strike committee against 'their union', Local 912. In June of '85, Watsonville Canning introduced its contract demanding massive concessions. The local union bureaucrats, then President Leon Ellis and Secretary Treasurer Richard King recommended acceptance of the concessions. This complete subservience to the interests of the company was nothing new for the Teamsters Union. In 'better times' since 1950, the union had brought modest material improvements. John Bubich, recently retired vice-president of Local 912, is quoted as saying,

"See, Richard King had what some called a good-ol' boy relationship with the owners. (Dubbed 'King Richard' by dissidents in the union, King is a close personal friend of Watsonville Canning owner Morton Console, and King's daughter is married to Richard Shaw's brother.- A.W.B. note) Now he was the kind of guy who could make it work; there hadn't been any strikes since 1952, and he got the wages and benefits up to a good level." Bubich says King knew there had to be a strike when the canneries cut their contract offer so deep in September of 1985, but wanted to wait for strategic reasons. September is when the fall packing season slacks off, and King "didn't want to strike a dead plant," according to Bubich. "But when all those angry workers came in, he didn't have any choice." S.F. Examiner, Image, 6/7/87

"Gotta play hardball to win in Watsonville, folks!"

The statement that Richard King "didn't want to strike a dead plant, and that September is a slow season as his reasons for not wanting to have a strike, is bullshit. As the capitalist attack on the working class spreads, the

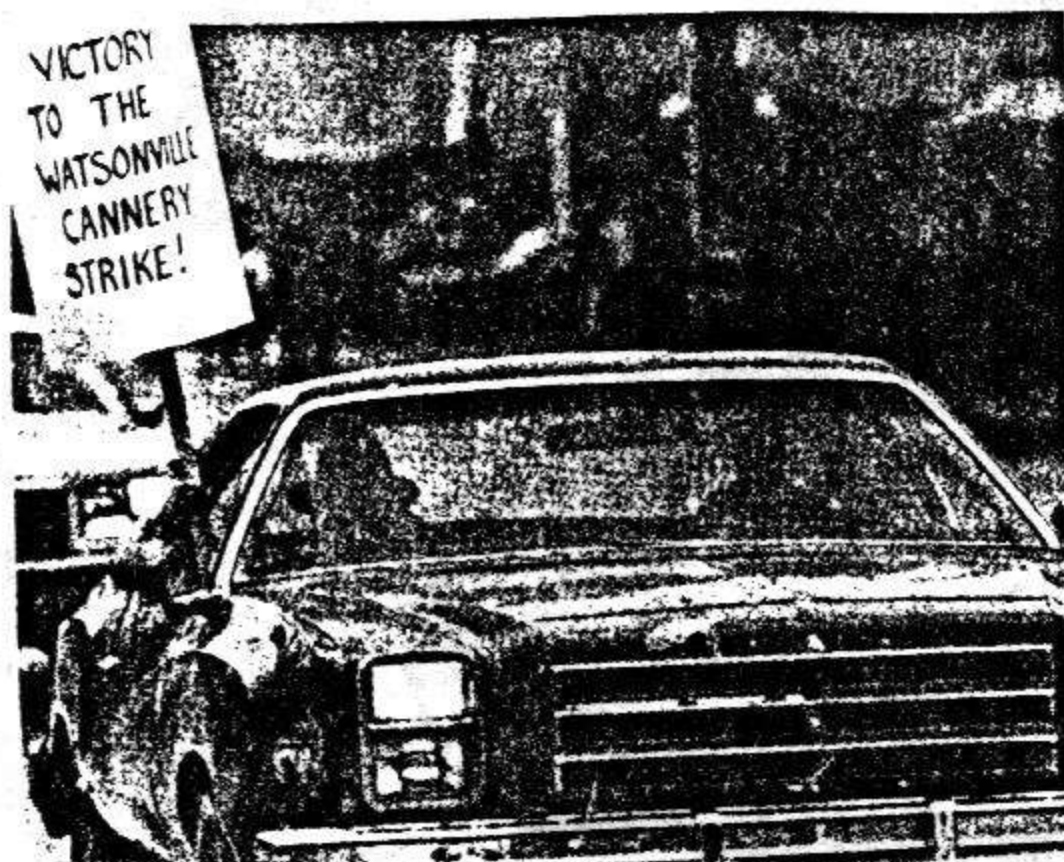
unions must protect their function as labor merchandizing outfits and are thus compelled to help sacrifice the living standards of the working class to protect corporate profitability. Frank Bardacke, quoted at the start of this article, spoke at The Long Hall in Berkeley, Ca (LHB) on July 22nd, 1986. Bardacke described how, until 1982, all the canneries in the Watsonville area were under pattern bargaining with common contract expiration dates. Conveniently, just as the economic downturn was hitting the California canning industry, the Teamsters Union broke up the unity of the workers by agreeing to separate contracts and expiration dates at different plants even though workers were members of the same Local. All in order to "save" this or that canning company. In 1982 the Union argued Watsonville Cannings' case for a wage-reduction as a way to finance the company's retooling and increase the productive capacity of the plant. Line-workers had their pay reduced from \$7.75 to \$6.66 an hour. This move only led to an "overproduction" of frozen food and a more stagnant market.

This type of pro-company activity is certainly not particular to this local or to a union controlled by organized crime like the Teamsters; and the unions' pro-company orientation is not just a product of recent bad times. In Watsonville the workers had no rights in the union. All of the union management, save for business agent Sergio Lopez, were white English-speakers, 'representing' a workforce that was 85% Hispanic and 65% Spanish speaking only. Although you had to participate in half of the union meetings in order to run for office, all of the union meetings were in English. Understand, we're not suggesting that the democratization of this union, or of unions in general,

could change the fundamental function of the unions as negotiators and guarantors of the conditions and rate of workers' exploitation by bosses and the market economy. We are just giving some specifics of this union's anti-working class and racist practices. This abusive control is inevitably facilitated in part by a complacency among workers.<sup>1</sup>

"Chavelo Moreno, over a beer at the Jalisco: "For 23 years, I just sat back. I'd take the check home and enjoy it. But then they tried to step on us" (S.F. Examiner, 6/7/87). It seems to us that the bosses are just stepping harder, bringing workers in the USA closer to the suffering of the Mexican, Philipino, or South African industrial and agricultural proletariat. At first, when the 1800 cannery workers went out on strike, there were a series of

1. This is no insult or an attempt to 'blame the victim'. Such complacency is rooted in complex (sub-)conscious feelings of shame and guilt deriving, ultimately, from the psychological internalization of class(-ist) domination (i.e. outright physical violence or manipulative pedagogical abuse by those in positions of 'power' in authoritarian/-dependent relationship to the 'powerless'. All done, of course, for 'your own good'). Complacency toward the *quite obvious* situation of one's own and others' unfreedom, it seems to me, re-cuperates the desire to reject domination and defeat without directly confronting the effective core of authoritarian oppression: 'I've got mine; well, good enough anyway. I hope you get yours, but...' Complacency, in this light, is the inverse of 'getting even' for being disempowered and exploited yourself by scape-goating and exploiting *someone else* who is or appears to be available for domination (i.e. abuse of children by their 'care-giver' parents; sexist and racist practices) as generally authoritarian-approved substitutes for really dealing with one's own *actual* and internalized oppressors. The only people who benefit from our *not* admitting these de-vitalizing conditions are the very authoritarians and exploiters who do everything to deny or manipulate our being messed-up...by them! (Note represents views of C.E. only)





informal meetings outside the control of the union apparatus. TDU activists were influential in getting these first gatherings together. This initial energy brought on 'Solidarity Day 1', Oct. 6th. This turned into a mass demonstration of approximately 2000 strikers and supporters, blocking the streets and gates in front of the Watsonville Canning plant, culminating in a riot. With elected union officials like Hyams and BA Sergio Lopez denouncing the 'illegality' and violence, with the competing leftist factions in the TDU squabbling and maneuvering, and disorganization in strikers' ad hoc committees, the strikers called a general meeting and a definitive strike-committee was formed. It included sub-committees to handle such tasks as outreach, child-care, legal aid and publicity. Each of these sub-committees had ten elected delegates, five each from Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw Canning. The TDU, although quite involved from the start, didn't fare very well in the elections, winning only two out of ten spots on the co-ordinating committee. The TDU, marginal in Watsonville since 1980, is a nation-wide group formed by various leftist tendencies in the U.S. As their name implies, they aspire to get rid of the current corrupt leadership, a corruption brought to light, in part, through their information-gathering. They would do this by gaining the support of rank-and-file Teamsters and having themselves then democratically-elected to the positions of authority, there to pursue the compromise-politics of unionism with a more 'responsive' social-democratic sort of reformism. An ambiguous organization, the TDU definitely counts among its members many sincere and militant working-class women and men. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the striking Watsonville workers were not looking for a 'vanguard', a role the leaders of the TDU would assume if they could. The endurance of the strikers and whatever successes would be gained clearly related to and depended on their somewhat 'a-political', somewhat 'anti-political' self-organization.

To start, the strikers collected money separately from the union local, specifically requesting that individuals and locals wishing to donate hard cash give it directly to them. If people who were



Hill Country / Santa Cruz Sentinel

"We could never go back to the way we were before the strike," says Fidelia Carrisoca (left). "Women were the backbone of this strike," says strike leader Gloria Betancourt

approached for monetary contributions would not contribute money to the autonomous strike-committee, they were asked to donate only dry goods and food to Local 912. Members of other unions who attempted to have money given to the strike committee through their union locals found that their locals would not give money to the striking workers, only to Local 912, controlled by anti-strike officials who had declared that moneys coming into the general fund would first be used by local bureaucrats to pay their own salaries. The Teamsters International initially offered no strike support money. So non-striking members of 912 established a strike support fund contributing \$5.00 per member per week to the strike support fund. This came to only \$55.00 a week per striker. On top of this there were legal expenses for arrested workers which had to be covered.

This is where the San Francisco based Strike Support Committee came in. We collected money, food, helped organize a food bank and "Strike-Support Saturdays" with child-care and free meals run by the strikers' food committee.

The direct strike action was limited to well organized "scab hunts" in Gilroy, Salinas and other nearby towns, occasional demonstrations and a small number of pickets at plant gates. There were injunctions allowing at first only six, and later only four pickets per gate. As is almost always the case, the union officials would not violate the injunction and in fact used goon squads to physically assault strikers who advocated such actions and attempted to carry them out. (Frank Bardacke, LHB.) But that did not stop sporadic acts of sabotage and, sometimes, physical confrontations:

"Gloria Betancourt, mother of four and grandmother of one, came to personify the spirit of defiance that glued the strike together. "Sure, it was scary," says Betancourt. "What were we before? Housewives, cannery workers. We had no experience in this. But down at the picket line, the *esquiroles* would throw pennies at us, wave their paychecks at us. Sure we threw rocks, wouldn't you?"...

...Rock tossing was the least of the sporadic violence that broke out on both sides: Cars were torched, houses shot at and a still unsolved \$500,000 arson fire gutted the packing shed of a Watsonville Canning contractor." (S.F. Examiner Image article, pg. 26)

The strikers independent action was clearly carried forward by the women strikers. In their activity they upset traditional patriarchal and paternalistic relations in their own families. But, in their isolation, most of the strikers seem to have been searching for a "middle way". In mid-December '85 most of the strikers participated in new elections of officers to the local union apparatus. They voted in some "old hands" like Sergio Lopez, who had been the business agent for the past 15 years, as Secretary Treasurer; and Joe Fahey, apparently a "Communist" Party sympathizer in the T.D.U., was made the new Business Agent. This participation in the elections, combined with the growth of a marginal 'support' from the International Western Conference Joint Council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the I.B.T., brought the strikers back into the firm control of the Teamsters Union. Any participation in union elections, regardless of the outcome, concedes control of workers' actions and aims away from workers and our own real needs



and gives it over to the union system- "like a feudal system..." (Frank Bardacke, LHB), whose predominant need is for institutional survival along with the bosses. The workers chose individuals to "represent" them with the aim of trying to protect themselves from utter defeat. With the "help" of this "new" union the Richard Shaw Cannery workers chose to break off from the strike in February '86, signing a contract like the one which the Watsonville strikers would finally 'win' over a year later. Victory? From the jaws of utter defeat--into the claws of a more modest defeat.

### Lettuce Prey!

It did not take long before the 'renewed' leadership showed how they lead. Not two months later, in February '86, they hustled the Shaw Cannery workers to settle on a basic wage of \$5.85/hr, suggesting the dire possibility of even heavier loses if they held the line with the WatsCan strikers. Having thereby reduced the force of striking workers from approximately 1800 to approximately 1000, the Local 912 bosses, notably Sergio Lopez, proceeded to push the Shaw settlement throughout the other Watsonville canneries, refusing to broaden the strike, and "setting a new standard that the Watsonville Cannery workers could only hope to match, not top" (Bardacke, 'Worker Solidarity and Community', Against the Current #9). The Watsonville Cannery strikers realized over the next few months that the 'new' Local 912 could not be trusted at all, and that even the rank-and-file elected strike-coordinating committee was hardly trying to initiate *any independent intervention by the strikers*. As the next months passed, the rank-and-file women demanded and insured greater and more detailed involvement by the workers, through regular open assemblies, discussions/debates, and facilitating the stronger presence of women through re-organizing the 'home front'.

Nonetheless, the cannery strikers were not able, either in their majority or in a public minority, to follow the logic of their self-organization in struggle for their needs, against the severe set-backs by the union and *inherently pro-capitalist unionism*. We are not aware of any clear and concise attempts by strikers to break out of or even consistently

argue against trade-union parochialism and to aim or argue for spreading the strike to at least the six other Watsonville-area canneries, if not to farmworkers and Teamster drivers, each of whom are experiencing cut-backs and austerity of one kind or another. (If we are mistaken about this, we look forward to feed-back from other unrecognized workers wanting to dispense with the pro-boss bullshit of trade-unionism.) Simultaneous strikes and occupations of the Watsonville-area packing-plants; together with strikes by farmworkers against piece-rate- and hourly-wage reductions, against pesticides and their application on *worked* fields, absolutely would have meant that this isolated, defensive resistance by the WatsCan and Shaw strikers had been turned into a constructive, offensive rebellion. Teamster drivers were hauling scab goods produced at the struck plants. A Teamster-driver boycott of pick-up/delivery of scab produce as part of their own strike against the effects of de-regulation in trucking would have been a significant breakthrough as well. Such efforts may have been made, considering the position of TDU activists within the IBT. What were the results, if any? We have been looking and listening, but...nobody seems to have tried in the first place. Maybe they could not face the facts that such directions would have required the open advocacy of autonomous working-class solidarity, wildcat-strike actions, and a refusal to be bound by the laws protecting capitalist property or to be gagged by the mistrust and misunderstandings which divide the working-class, commonly expressed through socialized racial and sexual prejudices.

This orientation would obviously be opposed to that of the unions, all of which acted to contain the strike. For example, Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers, spoke of "support for the strikers". But according to Bardacke (LHB), he really attacked the strikers in a December '85 meeting with them when he claimed that, if the strike wasn't settled in two weeks he'd come back "and the shit would hit the fan". This trade union official never came back. As for solidarity action by the farmworkers, Chavez declared that it would be "illegal".

When the Strike Support Committee started holding meetings, at the Hotel and Restaurant Union Hall at Leavenworth and Golden Gate in San Francisco, some working class people rallied to aid the strike specifically because of the autonomous nature of the cannery workers actions; not so much out of solidarity with unionism but in a real class solidarity with other workers. One example of this was the near unanimous rejection of a proposal by a 'soft Trotskyist' to endorse the so-called 'All Labor Coalition' march on the state capital in Sacramento. This demonstration, organized by a plethora of A.F.L.-C.I.O. and other unions in Northern California and scheduled for Dec. 14th, 1985, was centered around demands to 'protect prevailing wages in California', and a demand for 'public works jobs'- in other words, demanding the 'right' to pick up litter alongside freeways and get paid in food stamps or 'General Assistance', a demand for labor at sub-minimum wage levels. Although some people rejected this stupid proposal from a reactionary "red-baiting" sensibility, most people seemed to oppose it as a useless political distraction, unrelated to a real contribution to the strike action.

Unfortunately this refusal to endorse the union bureaucrats' rally was not an expression of a qualitatively different concept of working class solidarity. Even though the Watsonville strikers had set up their own strike committee outside of and against the control of Teamsters Local 912, the Strike Support Committee circulated leaflets proclaiming that we were "...witnessing an all-out battle between corporate owners and the Latina cannery workers of Teamsters Local 912" (emphasis ours). The conflict between the workers and the union apparatus was never mentioned. Rather than see this as a class issue, the strike was spoken of as just another 'progressive' cause. They wrote that "Winning this strike will take the combined efforts of the entire Latino, labor, student and progressive movements." By 'support' they of course did not mean extension of strike action in the form of secondary and wildcat actions. They only called for other unions and liberal political organizations to "endorse the strike", a strictly verbal, useless gesture. Material support was to



be limited to provisions of food and money. This sort of limited perspective led to the staging of a musical-theater version of Studs Terkels' Working, with tickets going at \$12.50 a pop, rather pricey for the average wage-slave. Another bright idea was to set up picket lines at Wells Fargo Banks, the bank for Watsonville Canning Company. What possible real effect could picket lines at banks have? Perhaps a handful of working class people would 'divest' their small savings from a multi-billion dollar, multi-national financial institution? Maybe that was where people were supposed to get the \$12.50 for their tickets to see Working. It was not this ridiculous idea that eventually brought Wells Fargo to foreclose on Watsonville Canning in January '87, by that time nearly \$30 million in debt. In fact, it undoubtedly took so long for Wells Fargo to foreclose, because "There had to be mass actions to shut down the plants in order to win the strike...that's the only way the bankers get scared." (Frank Bardacke, LHB)

### Our Involvement.

We jumped at the chance to support workers who had taken action for themselves.

The authors of this report attended meetings of the Strike Support Committee from early November 1985 and participated in food-and-money collection with the Committee until mid-March 1986. From the outset, we argued against the union and their strategy. It was by no means coincidental that the most friendly support of our anti-union points came not from the self-proclaimed 'supporters' of the strikers, but rather *from strikers* present at the meetings, in particular one meeting of November 13, 1985. What little we could do in direct relation with the strikers, due to our own struggles, distance from Watsonville and inability to speak Spanish, no doubt had very little impact on the constructive aspects of the strike.

However, most of those self-proclaimed 'socialists' and 'communists' who were daily involved, conversant in Spanish or nearer at hand--did almost everything to re-inforce the defensive posture of the strikers. They were interested in gaining the support of the strikers for

*themselves*, while declaring themselves (as do all authoritarians) to be nearly selfless servants to, in this case, the workers' cause. For those leftists with the itch to be leaders rather than leftists with the scratch to be led, it is clear that their 'support' goes to the union, *rather* than the workers, because of their ambitions to gain authority in society, too, even if it takes the poor and oppressed to get them there. This point can hardly be lost on close observers of this particular struggle or umpteen-thousand others over the past million years.

It was good to talk with and hear from some of the cannery workers, who occasionally very vocally shared opinions with us, and at other times simply shrugged shoulders, said their piece in disagreement or in a funny way would indicate they no longer 'understood' what we were saying. If people jumped at us, they were so-called 'revolutionaries' and of course 'trade-union supporters'. In fact, one of us was called 'racist' for, of all things, criticising the Teamsters Union (!) and for presuming "that we could tell Hispanic workers what to do". We got such stuff, for example, from a member of the so-called League for Revolutionary Struggle, pro-Peking Stalinists who spend most of their time "attacking Reaganism" by being apologists for the Democratic Party (as we say in the grammar-school fashion: they aren't revolutionary, but they sure are revolting!).

On various occasions--at a couple of general meetings of the Strike Support Committee (where critical and vital discussion was consistently blocked, for the usual reasons--legitimate ones--practical immediate tasks--and politically-manipulative ones--"you are being disruptive"-), on the fund-raising tables outside the Berkeley Bowl Supermarket and Telegraph Ave. Berkeley CO-OP Supermarket, or in discussion and argument around town or at the Long Hall--we suggested that unified action on the basis of autonomous and wildcat strikes against all eight Watsonville-area canneries and action by farmworkers in solidarity and for themselves would be beneficial. (For those who are still stuck on the virtues of "legalism", it is worth noting that in early August '87 the California State Supreme Court ruled that while growers are pursuing legal action against National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judgements, growers do not have to comply with the particular disputed judgement.) Our arguments were greeted with replies revolving around assertions that we were not being sensitive to the precarious material situation of our Latina sisters and Latino brothers, or to the threat to their position due to 'foreign competition' from Mexican or non-union Texas canneries (as if we are supposed to take sides, anyway, on which cannery workers will be screwed over and screw themselves over the most in order to protect their jobs by 'out-competing' their fellow--and in this case fellow *Mexican* workers in selling their lives and labor-power to the common exploiters).





We feel that we were recognizing these problems; but that, rather than those being reasons not to extend the strike action, they clearly indicated that the strike *needed* to reach farmworkers and cannery workers throughout the industry and into Mexico, where the exploitation and labor-conditions are *even harsher*, if anything other than what resulted, and is worsening, were to occur. We fully supported, to the extent possible for us, the self-organisation and combativity of the women and men in the canneries, who stuck it through, sustained the strike, refused to scab and until the bitter end refused to be told what to accept. We are both thrilled and amused by the picture of outraged workers in March '87 literally tearing down the door to 'their' union hall, which had been locked against them by 'their' union reps (for failing to agree to a contract with nearly no medical benefits), and having done it, marching off to gather in a supporter's yard near the 'new' Norcal cannery to begin what turned out to be the four-day wildcat strike for better medical benefits. No one can quarrel with that!

But that, in itself, is not enough to alter the fundamental actuality of exploitation and authoritarian domination of the oppressed by Capital and its servants. And yet, here we had the abysmal reality of 'socialists' and 'communists' who cannot get off the terrain of Capital--of reformist politics--and onto the terrain of communism--of autonomous radical praxis. Militant class unity, essential to any revolutionary social change, will not be wished into existence. In the special context of the Watsonville Cannery Strike, we "recognized" the material and communal difficulties enhanced by the loss of wages by discussing such common activity as taking vegetables that were bound, in any case, to rot in nearby fields in a successful strike, and distributing them to strikers and their families, in connection with (oftentimes familially-related) farmworkers fighting for their more direct needs. Many strikers' families were evicted or threatened with eviction during the strike. The usual courses were pursued--those of waging legal holding actions or of demanding further 'aid' from agencies of the capitalist State, in one instance calling on State Senators and

Representatives of the region to 'allow' housing for the evicted in old shacks *abandoned by farmworkers as sub-standard some time before*. It would have been a good idea --as one of us would later be suggesting while involved with the Homeless Liberation Front in Berkeley, also--that strikers and families evicted, or threatened with eviction, due to inability to pay rent, could self-organize as tenants and form militant anti-eviction defense committees, perhaps inspiring common effort from other Watsonville workers, tenants and strike-supporters to fight the miserable conditions imposed by landlords and bankers. What makes it so difficult to imagine the re-awakening of awareness that "Rent Is Robbery", deserving of appropriate response: the direct and autonomous abolition of landlordism in housing as well as in agriculture and land?

### Tierra de Huelga

The ultimate poverty of our lives is not really our material impoverishment, as such. Rather, it is the systematic denial by authoritarian/capitalist power of the possibility for wholesome individuality and communitarian culture. Fulfillment for ourselves, anyway, is not accomplished by simply 'defending', not to speak of 'improving', our *material* standards of living within a culture dominated by political-economy. Our social system cannot survive without the accumulation of Capital(s) through mass exploitation of surplus labor from us as wage-workers in the compulsive process of transforming any aspect of the natural world into commodities, which can then hopefully be sold back to us, so the bosses realize our surplus-labor as money/profits. Such a society cannot help but be (self-) destructive of wholesome individuality, community and ecology--and of genuinely stable and sufficient levels of sustenance for each of us.



The foregoing paragraph expresses only the opinion of C.E. and is not that of K.S.; however, we both agree that a communist vision is not an idea which pops full-blown into our heads, and neither do we accept the opposite view that, since it does not, then we must simply wait another 500 years until it does, when we can finally advocate and discuss the possible communistic society we can create. We do feel and think that communistic praxis is possible: where the struggles for immediate needs are organized and carried out in ways which do not in themselves constitute barricades to the further development of radical action on up to a conclusion in generalized anti-authoritarian social revolution. We can already see this in both small and magnificent expressions of collective and forceful activity of the dispossessed against the conditions of our immiseration, against wage-labor, against elements of capitalist politics, like trade-unions, political parties, the bourgeois media, the cops and the State. The self-organization of the Watsonville strikers can be seen as an elemental expression of such radical praxis.

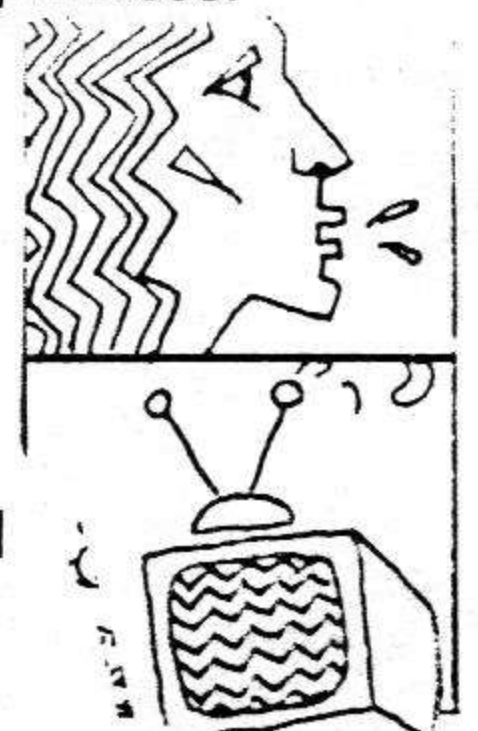
The potential for creative praxis outside of and against the authoritarian/class relationships called capitalism is wide open for investigation and realization. A part of this potential can be recovered by investigating some of the successes and failures of past working-class and anti-capitalist struggles. Of interest might be, for example, a book by John Holt entitled Anarchists and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1932.

But clearly, to realize the rebellious and liberatory dreams and desires of the past and present, we will want to deepen and embolden, or re-consider and reject, when necessary, past conceptions and practices.

signed :

Keith Sorel

Chris Ecks





## MEXICO: A LAND OF VOLCANOES...

Mexico and its 82 million people is once again facing the capitalist-value gun. After the Western bankers' bail-out in 1982, Mexicans have endured 5 straight years of recession--government budget cuts, run-away inflation, price-hikes, layoffs and agricultural stagnation. During the 1986-7 period, global market realities--the drastic fall of oil-prices especially--have clobbered the Mexican economy. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell by 3.1% in 1986. Internal debt (Mexico's budget deficit) grew by 9,903 billion pesos to 23,755 billion pesos total red-ink, or 30.4% of the entire GDP. External debt rose by \$3.27 billion to a total of \$75.35 billion owed to foreign bankers, which represents 60.3% of the GDP. In February last the exchange rate skyrocketed to 1,009 pesos to the dollar. All projections point to a 2,000-1 ratio by the end of the year, a 103% annual inflation rate! (The projections were underestimations: Prices jumped 8.2 percent in August, bringing the total rise in inflation to 133.9 percent in the past twelve months--the highest rate in modern times, according to a report by the central Banco de Mexico. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 12, '87. A.W.B. note)

Triple-digit inflation is expected to continue. On February 1, the postal service doubled its rates overnight without warning. A majority of the 20 million-member work-force reportedly earns less than the minimum wage of \$3.45 a day. Under such circumstances, last year's 20-fold increase in Mexico City's subway fare to 2c a ride was cause for bitter resentment. Reason for the spiraling costs: the failure of successive governments to take politically unpopular steps, such as reducing food-price subsidies and curbing wages, austerity measures that would dampen inflation.

As prices have increased, Mexico's standard of living has fallen. Since 1968, the automobile population of Mexico City has grown by 400 more cars per day. Pollution is so bad in Mexico City (pop. 18 million) that birds regularly drop dead from the soot-

filled sky. Last year, the city endured several thermal inversions in which dense, low-lying clouds of smog literally forced residents of the capital to choke on the waste produced by the city's 3 million cars and 100,000 factories (TIME, 2.23.87). Another pressing feature of the economic crisis is the huge numbers of unemployed (anywhere from 20-40% of the working population and an even larger number of under-employed--seasonal agricultural workers. One expression of struggle against these difficulties for the working class, particularly the migrant workers, is the creation of an estimated 3500 squatter communities throughout the greater Mexico City area. (San Francisco Chronicle, 9/9/87) The crisis in Mexico is a source of great worry to the United States ruling class. Mexico is the United States' fourth largest trading partner, the main supplier of oil and second only to South Africa as a supplier of strategic minerals.

For many years now, the Mexican government (read: the Mexican bourgeoisie) has been

using the safety-valve of northern immigration to blunt the severity of the domestic crisis. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service cops estimate that at least 1.7-million Mexicans crossed the border illegally without being caught and they suspect that between 3-million and 7-million live and work permanently in the U.S. as illegal aliens.

And with the Mexican economy now in the sixth year of economic crisis, there is no shortage of Mexican peasants and proletarians willing to try their luck in the U.S. The Mexican government has been willing to look the other way. The open border has been crucial to easing domestic tensions in a country where as much as half of the labor-force is only marginally employed; where the average Mexican's purchasing power has fallen by 40% since 1982; and where 1 million new people join the work-force every year.

Quoting from the San Francisco Examiner, Oct. 8, '87:

"Experts disagree about the amount of political instability in Mexico. 'Unless the country's





leaders adopt bold new initiatives to decentralize and democratize the rigid, authoritarian political structure, the odds will continue to rise that the system will rupture violently,' according to Brian Latell, a veteran intelligence officers and expert on Mexico." (Shades of "socialist" Poland! Ed.)

The crisis has put Mexico's political system under tremendous strain. But it has not given way to significant social unrest (read: open class warfare)--and for that the government certainly has the long northern border to thank. When times get too bad at home, Mexico's poor vote with their feet.

Now that option is threatened by a new U.S. law that seeks to inhibit illegal immigration. Mexican official Calderon has expressed his fear, and that of the Mexican government, that the

particularly teenagers, were having problems providing 'acceptable' identification for INS Form I-9. ("N.Y. Times 8.9.87), the law played havoc with the western states' supply of exploitable migrant labor for the summer harvests, due to restrictions on distribution of temporary work-permits to labourers in Mexico. Even non-migrant Mexicans who have lived and worked in the U.S. for years are being driven from their jobs because they don't have the proper papers. This was the case in West Marin County, California Dairies. (Point Reyes Light, August 20, '87) This has led to nimble-footed manipulations to try and overcome the red-tape problems. In any case, migrant Mexican workers just took to the hills, and came by truck or train, illegally as usual.

exhorted the government to stop payment on its crippling \$100 billion foreign debt, demanded that workers receive hefty pay hikes to cope with the country's (then current) 103% annual inflation rate, and prodded officials to show backbone in their dealings with the U.S. Chanted demonstrators: "No to the Yanquis! No to the Yanquis!" The surge of unrest among Mexican students may have tapped a swelling current of discontent among the population. The main target: the de la Madrid government, synonymous in the minds of most Mexicans with the Institutional Revolutionary Party (P.R.I.), which has ruled Mexico without interruption for 58 years. Party officials were said to be stunned by the size and force of the student movement. Says Political Analyst Adolfo Aguilar



migratory wave northward will be dumped back into Mexico with disastrous consequences. Mexican officials envision a worst-case scenario of a reverse exodus in which hundreds of thousands of Mexicans come flooding back across the border because they can no longer find work in the U.S. (St. Petersburg Times, 3.4.87. But Calderon may be too pessimistic. The new regulations passed in the Immigration and Reform Control Act, which include the prohibition on hiring of illegal aliens and provides penalties for employers who repeatedly fail to comply, were immediately delayed in their implementation, due to begin on June 1, 1987. There were certain unpleasant quirks in the feds' nationalist scam which the effected sections of the bourgeoisie were quick to relate. Aside from the fact that it requires the regristration of all employees hired after November 6, 1986, when the law was signed-- "...some American citizens,

The three most important political events of 1987 so far, and very much interrelated, are the University student strikes of late January and early February, the electrical power workers strike of late February, and the selection within the ruling P.R.I. (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) of the Presidential sucesor to Miguel de la Madrid

The UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico) strike took shape in much the same way as the French student protests did against the Chirac government's "university reforms" - stricter entrance requirements and tuition fee increases:

"Last week more than 60,000 students and other demonstrators converged on the National Palace in Mexico City to protest a plan by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) to tighten entrance requirements and increase annual tuition from an average of ten cents to more than ninety dollars a student. Speakers

Zinser: There's no way of knowing what will set the people off. The government can squeeze salaries, raise prices, cut services, cheat in elections, and nothing happens. Suddenly they've got a real movement questioning their authority to make decisions the way they do." (TIME, Feb. 23, 1987)

Forced into a tactical retreat by the large student protests, the de la Madrid government suspended the September '86 "university reform" package and invoked a "university congress" dominated by the P.R.I. to resolve the issue of class room austerity.

A few days later, 36,000 electrical workers went out on wildcat strike in Mexico City demanding an emergency 23% wage upgrade and a further 73% pay-increase when their contract came due in March. The government moved quickly to check the workers: the State took legal control over the power firm in question - Compania de Luz y



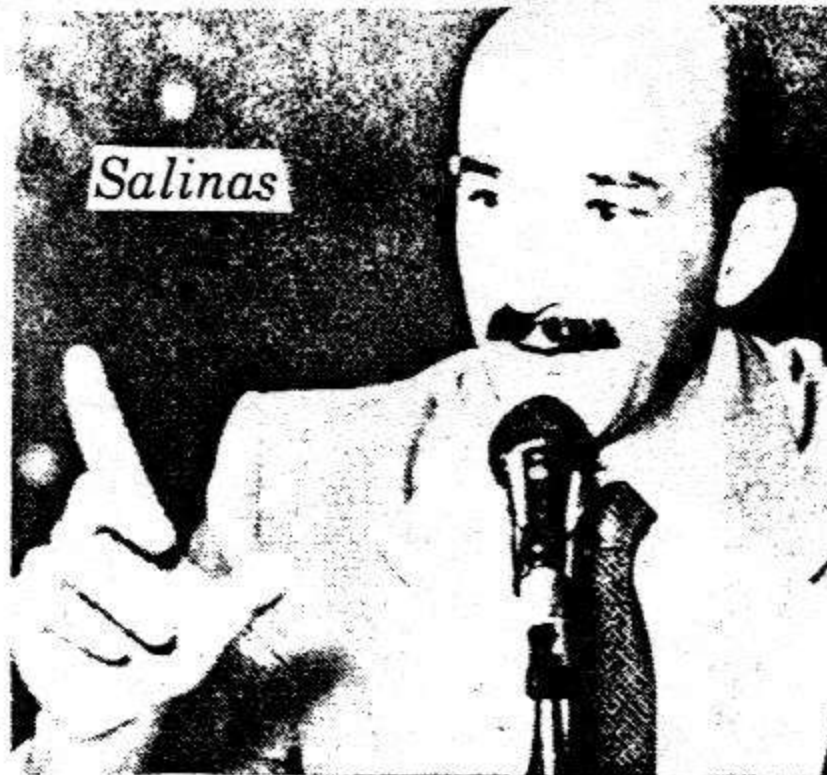
Fuerza del Centro- declared the strike "non-existent", and ordered the strikers to go back to work or lose their jobs! The leading Union boss Fidel Valasquez was tapped to urge the union leaders of the S.M.E. (Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas) to be "reasonable" and go along-- the central government will give you something! But tensions between the P.R.I., which had recently purged its "democratic" tendency, and the unions still remained:

"A new salvo in the war of nerves between the unions and the government was fired just after the S.M.E. strike was declared 'non-existent'. Francisco Hernandez Juarez, president of the Congreso del Trabajo, the umbrella organization comprising all P.R.I.-affiliated unions, said that threatened strikes against 20 para-state companies--in demand of a 23% emergency wage increase retroactive to 1 January and independent from contractual negotiations--would be carried out within the next few weeks."

(Latin American Weekly Report, March '87)

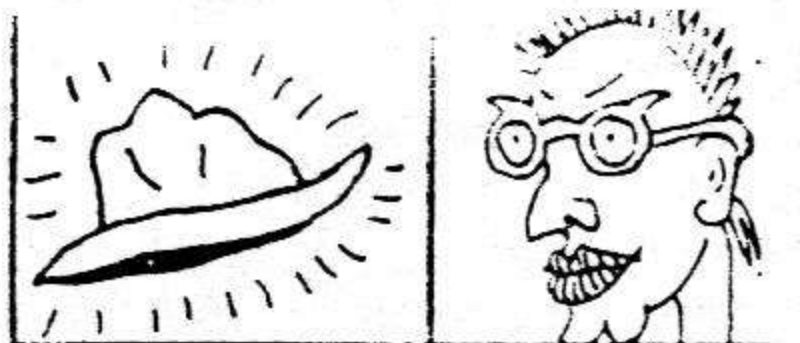
After the Mexican debt renegotiations deal was struck on March 20th, supplying \$9.5 billion in new loans and contingencies, and restructuring interest payments for the \$43.7 billion already owed to foreign bankers, the betting was on for the winner of the Presidential "dedazo"--you're next, amigo!...

On October 4th, the P.R.I. selected Carlos Salinas de Gortari, 39 year old budget director and chief architect of the government's unpopular austerity program. We think that Salinas will bring a non-descript bureaucratic management style akin to de la Madrid. But however he does it, as President, Salinas



will have no choice but to bring about the further impoverishment of the Mexican working class.

Perhaps Salinas, much like the early days of Spain's Felipe Gonzalez, will try to persuade proletarians to accept the ineluctable state-capitalist "reason" of more belt-tightening: "It's the gringos' fault...It's the best we could do...It's only for a little while..., etc.



Our supposition on the situation of the P.R.I. conflicts greatly with the thesis of the left communist "International Communist Current", and their collateral groups, of a mechanical line-up: the Right in power, and the Left in opposition. For the Romance and Latin American countries, because of a vast number of cultural and historical factors, it is the 'mild Left' which, in the short run, does the best job of managing the political and economic crisis from a position of state power. And of course the "real Left", the newly formed Partido Mexicano Socialista (an amalgam of the Stalinist P.S.U.M and several other Marxist-Leninist parties) campaigning against the "authoritarianism" of the P.R.I. and for "democracy" and "Progressive Christianity" can still absorb much of the resentment against the central government.

But the class war time bomb is ticking much faster in Mexico than in Europe and many other Latin American countries, and in the latter the pace has greatly accelerated over the last six months. The conjectural situation in Mexico speaks to the bourgeoisie, and whoever is to lead it, to begin making strong overtures to the military--it is this literal armed force which will be called upon to shore up state-capitalist power in Mexico in the near future.

Tampa Workers Group

## **TEST ME, TEST ME-- why don't you arrest me?**

Drug-bashing is quickly becoming America's favorite pastime. And with it we are getting heavier and heavier doses of a police state.

Every day, the news media carries an item about a major bust, a famous person's drug problem, or another famous person's anti-drug pitch. Urine testing is being implemented in more and more workplaces. Piss on the Constitutional right to not incriminate yourself. The University of California at Berkeley's athletic program is one of the latest to go with the flow. "Radical" professor Harry Edwards

has suggested that, to keep academic competition fair, all students be tested. Stores are marketing testing kits for parents to use on their children. On the other hand, on several occasions teens have turned in their parents. Sounds like 1984. "...hardly a week passed in which the Times did not carry a paragraph describing how some eavesdropping little sneak-'child hero' was the phrase generally used--had overheard some compromising remark and denounced his parents to the Thought Police." (pg 24) MTV is running anti-drug rock videos sponsored by Pepsi Cola, while

comedian Sam Kinison was audibly and visually censored on "Saturday Night Live" during a drug-related joke. In July '87, a University of California handout informed students that marijuana smoking will lead them to have deformed and retarded babies.

Politicians across the "acceptable" spectrum are all attempting to use the issue. On this question, Jesse Jackson's only argument with Ronald Reagan is the latter's failure to use the full weight of the U.S. Armed Forces to combat the drug menace, a supposedly far worse threat to America than

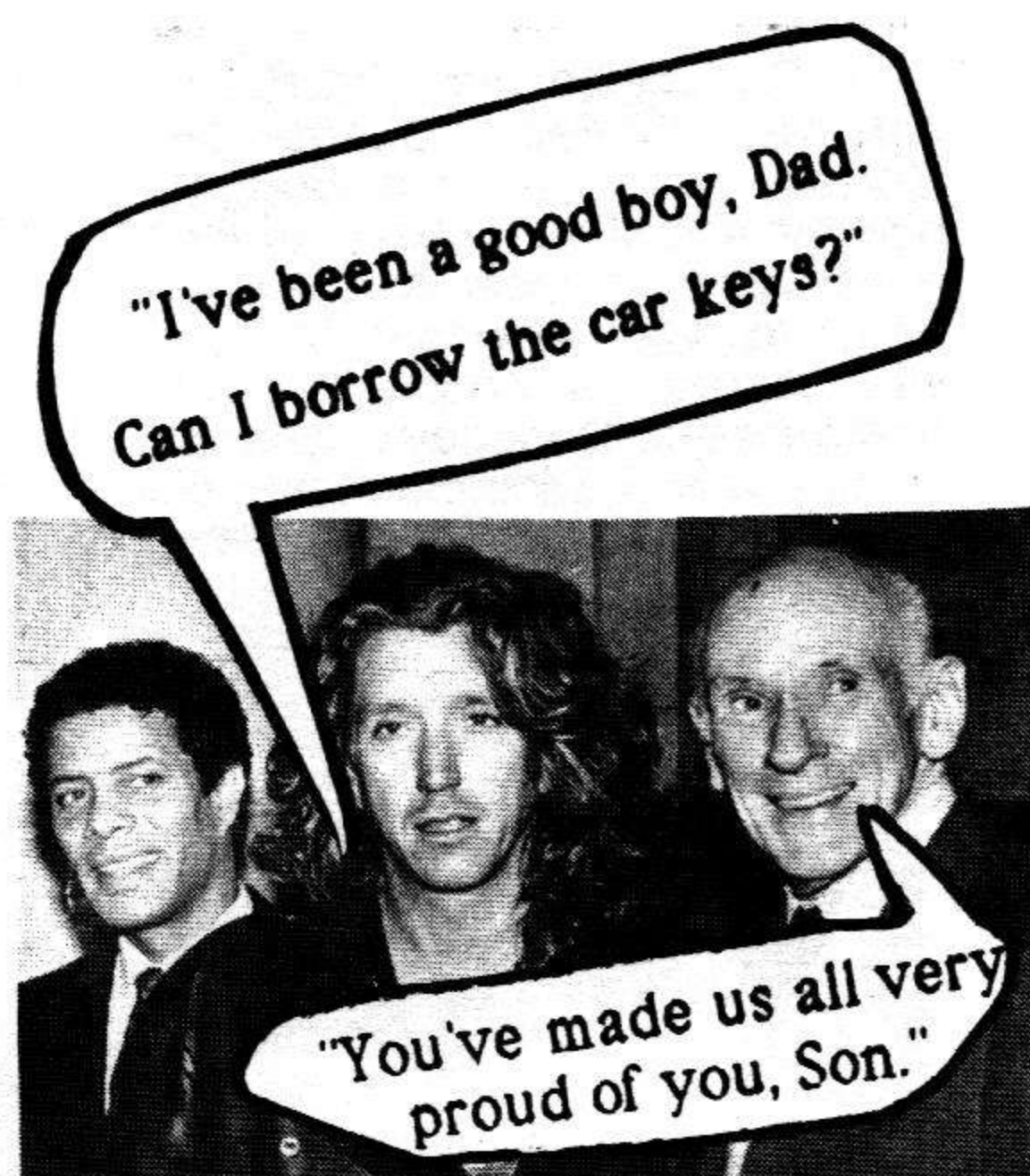


"Communist" expansion. With liberal Democratic sponsorship, the House of Representatives attempted recently to impose the death penalty in certain drug-dealing cases, to require the armed forces to stop drug trafficking, and to approve the use of illegally-obtained evidence in drug cases. While the bill finally passed by Congress did not include these features, it did authorize military involvement, imposed a minimum \$1000 fine for *any* possession on Federal land, and included massive spending for various dubious programs.

Drug use has been around a while. Why all the hoopla now? If workplace and job safety were the issues, people involved would simply be given impairment tests, to see whether they could carry out their tasks. Who needs to know what you do on your own time?

If dealing with drug problems were the goal, more attention would be paid to the opinions of treatment professionals. They distinguish between *use* and *abuse*, between the likes of marijuana and cocaine, and between use by children vs. adults. Furthermore, they point out that the abuse of *legal* substances (alcohol, tobacco, caffeine, sugar, prescription drugs) is by far the major health problem facing us. While cocaine, heroin and PCP killed 3745 in 1985, and not a single fatality was traced to marijuana use, over 200,000 die every year due to cigarette smoking. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services)

Evaluation of the root causes of abuse might actually lead us to question the social structure. Think of the competitive, lonely guilt-ridden and anxiety-filled workworld, an environment just made for booze and cocaine. Think of the ghettos, barrios and other places populated by the growing numbers of poor people, who need the likes of heroin to deaden their pain. And think of the commonplace boredom and powerlessness which are as much of a trademark of this society as



Former Sex Pistol Steve Jones joined California Senator Alan Cranston in D.C. to aid in the 'War on Drugs'. From 'Congress Wages War on Drugs', Senator Alan Cranston Reports to California, Spring '87

the suburban sprawl, and remember all the cries for "Mother's little helper". Furthermore, we might also discover that the world's power elites are the major dealers of hard drugs and manufacturers of the legal ones. For example, George Bush's "blind" trust owns stocks in Eli Lilly, maker of many a pill.

What's the real goal? Professional sports teams blatantly admit drug-testing is a tactic designed to improve their *image*. Politicians wish to demonstrate *they* are dealing with a phenomenon the public now sees as a major problem. But most importantly, a program targetting the "drug plague" is a wonderful way to rally the populace behind a program of tightened social control. And this is good news for the upper social crust.

Too many legacies of the 60's upsurge remain for the comfort of the ruling elite, the 1% who control 42% of all net wealth in the U.S. (Los Angeles Times, 7/26/86) They need a more controlled population to carry out their program of austerity and war

preparation, policies made increasingly necessary by the deepening global economic crisis. Hence, over the past year, rights that were recently won by hard struggle, such as free speech and sexual freedom, have been eroded by Supreme Court rulings and the activities of police departments. Rock n' Roll has been attacked for promoting bad values. Wal-mart, a major chain store, has stopped selling rock records and magazines. Schools are tightening discipline in a frightening way. (e.g. I.D. badges and random searches) And the drug menace has been pushed in a way reminiscent of the Red Scare of the late 40's and 50's.

Unfortunately, this has been succeeding. While the public has generally opposed overseas U.S. military intervention, few questioned the deployment of U.S. troops to Bolivia to supposedly fight cocaine. You can bet military planners took note of that. In a recent poll, 67% favored criminal penalties for the mere possession of marijuana, up from 50% in 1985 and 40% in 1980. A majority favored drug-testing. And drug abuse is now rated America's top problem, up from total obscurity in early 1986. To paraphrase Jimmy Carter, we now have the sanctimonious equivalent of war. "If your mommy is a druggie than you gotta turn her in."

Mainstream figures attack drug use as if it were a new plague. Leftists and a few liberals dissent from hysterical policies like drug-testing, and attack the hypocrisy, but nevertheless label use as strictly an escape from wretched living conditions, and hence a social ill. Both these attitudes should be shown the door, for *use can be fun and educational*. Many animal species *like* to get high. For example, cats have a dominant gene which directs them to find catnip, a psychedelic for them. (San Francisco Chronicle, "This World" section, 4/6/86 p.9) Reasonable, moderate drug use has been a part of human existence since pre-history. Over 2000 years ago, the Greek historian Herodotus reported on



the use of marijuana flowers by the Scythians who lived in present-day Russia. The Old Testament story of the Original Sin, which involved eating from the Tree of *Knowledge*, has been traced to several Middle Eastern myths regarding "magic" mushrooms. (*Hebrew Myths* by Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, p.81) Archeological findings date use even further back. Abuse is more recent, and indicates an increasingly painful living situation. From its very beginning earlier this century, the legal repression of drugs has been essentially a campaign against alternative lifestyles and other cultures. Early anti-drug crusaders used openly racist appeals in linking marijuana, peyote and opium to "inferior" races.

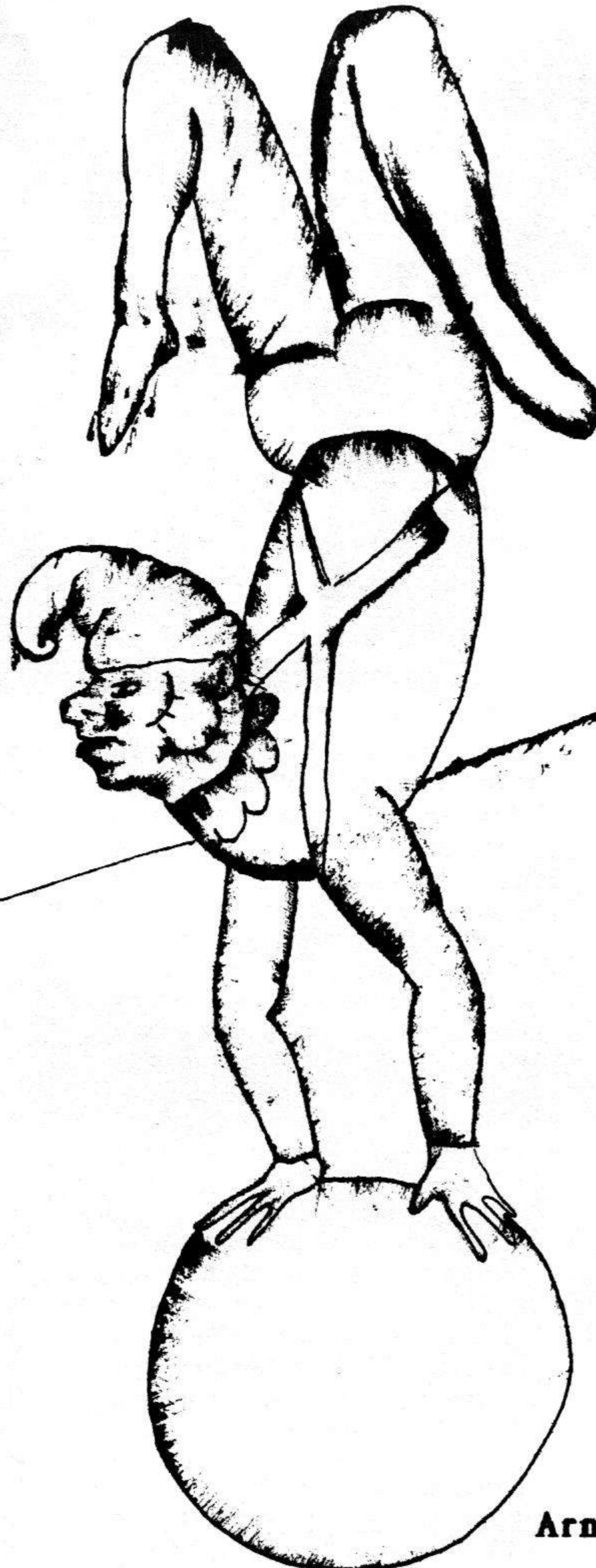
One should hesitate to label use as *inherently* progressive or revolutionary. But the 60's experience demonstrated that many who used psychoactive substances in spite of their illegality viewed that as a rebellious act, and went on to question other aspects of this society. Choosing to get high in non-prescribed ways at least implicitly questions the right of the power structure to control the entirety of your life. Psychoactives (vs. uppers and downers) also came to be associated, often for a good reason, with the radical community and a spreading rejection of dominant values.

For many folks, getting high functioned as a stimulant for ideas and activities. Drug companies and the Mafia saw future profits plummeting, while the ideology cops saw their grip loosening.

Thus, psychoactive substances have been repressed since the late 60's. Tactics have ranged from printing scare stories like LSD-related genetic damage, which the CIA knew to be untrue, to suppressing studies which minimized the health dangers posed by marijuana, to military terror like the CAMP raids in Northern California. Meanwhile, heroin and cocaine have flowed into the ghettos and the alternative communities, flown in

from Asia and Latin America by the CIA. (see *New York Times*, 6/18/86 on the CIA and the Afghan poppy trade) This drug "diversion" project continues today. Fewer college students smoke pot than five years ago, but more are having drinking binges and doing coke.

With the Democrats eager to take a Rambo stand, and the opportunistic left staying silent or joining in the morality chorus, it's clear we can't depend on any politicians or political groups to assert our interests. Even the ACLU has accepted drug testing as long as the only penalty for failing a test is "rehabilitation." We're on our own. A social revolution, out of which grows a *world* community free of the market and all hierarchies is the only cure to state repression and the devastation of substance abuse. After such a transformation, we will no longer need to deaden our senses. Getting high will be exclusively a way of enhancing pleasure and expanding our minds.



## Jack Straw

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Arnoldo



# YUPPIES! IN MOSCOW!?

Major changes in the Soviet economic structure were adopted on June 30, 1987. These alterations should once and for all do away with any illusions that the Soviet Union is anything but another sleazy multinational corporation battling for global dominance.

Since the early 1920's, virtually all businesses have been state-owned monopolies. But now, Soviet individuals will be permitted outright ownership of their own business, as long as it's small, and they employ family members only (what perfect wage slaves). Restaurants and repair services are typical of such ventures.

Managers of the various state-owned enterprises will now have far more independence regarding financing, marketing, wages, production decisions and (definitely not least) disposition of profits. Certain enterprises will be able to carry on foreign trade independently of Moscow bureaucrats. Abel Aganbegyan, one of Gorbachev's principal economic advisers, told reporters "profit will become the main economic indicator." (Christian Science Monitor, 11/21/86 p.1) Unprofitable businesses, up to 13 percent of enterprises, will be allowed to sink.

Joint ventures with foreign firms will be encouraged, primarily in order to boost exports. Eleven U.S. firms, led by Pepsico., have already signed up, and fifteen others are talking about it. Non-Soviet partners will now be able to own up to 49% of the venture, and will be protected from state confiscation. Such companies



would not have to comply with Soviet production plans, and the foreign partner could repatriate its share of profits. Investors are promised tax benefits and labor peace, i.e. no strikes. (San Francisco Examiner, 3/8/87 p.D14) All this represents a move way beyond making one-at-a-time construction or trade deals with Western businesses, the previous policy.

And, in perhaps the most dramatic break with the past, the prices of consumer goods will be adjusted to reflect the cost of production. Leonid Abalkin, an economist who wrote the blueprint of the new policies for Gorbachev, said in an interview that price subsidies for items like food will be ended in two or three years, after a campaign to overcome fear of the change. (San Francisco Chronicle, 7/4/87 p.10) Nikolai Shmalyov, a leading

Soviet economist, wrote in an article appearing in the Wall Street Journal, 8/26/87, p.20: "The economic situation will have to depend directly on profit, and profit cannot fulfill its function until prices are liberated from subsidies. Over the centuries, humankind has found no more effective measure of work than profit. Our suspicious attitude toward profit is a misunderstanding, the cost of the economic illiteracy of people who thought that socialism would eliminate profit and loss. The criterion of profit under socialism simply tells whether you are working well or not. It is even possible that we should consider creating economic free zones." (London Times, 7/27/87, p. 10) Reminder: as Karl Marx pointed out very well, profit cannot be traced to the difference between revenues and costs, but is a result of the extraction of surplus labor time from human workers.



These changes are profound. But they are not just new policies adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev's regime. Rather, they culminate a long, irresistible trend toward the complete integration of the Soviet zone into the world market.

In fact, the Soviet Union never ceased to be a part of the capitalist world. The 1917 Revolution ousted Czarist feudalism. However, world conditions, especially the failure of the global revolutionary wave, the relative underdevelopment of Russia, and the Bolsheviks' warped view of what constitutes socialism meant that a truly new social system could not be instituted. Lenin believed that "Socialism is nothing but state capitalist monopoly made to benefit the whole people" (Selected Works) This was to be done "with human nature as it is now, with human nature that cannot dispense with subordination, control and managers" (ibid.)

What resulted was naturally state capitalism. The state acted as the abstract capitalist, controlling the means of production, and exchanging wages with workers in return for their labor-power. The consequence was (and is) the reproduction of the means as an expanding *value*, a sum of money or its equivalent. (i.e., the accumulation of capital) *This* is the essence of capitalist society, not the private ownership of property, or lack of planning, or any other superficial criteria which the multitude of social democrats and leninists always bat about. "Capital does not consist in the fact that accumulated labor serves living labor as a means for new production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves accumulated labor as a means of preserving and multiplying its exchange value" (Wage-Labor and Capital by Karl Marx, p. 30)

Soviet planners have always taken steps to ensure that their system as a whole ran a profit, even though losing ventures were subsidized and full employment maintained. And, as in the West, Soviet industrial policy is growth for growth's sake, which entails

massive ecological destruction. Arguments to the effect that the Soviet Union is or ever was socialist, or at least non-capitalist, have taken many ridiculous turns through the years, including Stalin's arguments during the 30's that capitalist production was still in force in the realm of consumer goods, but not in producer goods. Somehow, he had commodities exchanging with socialist use values. I wonder what he'd say about Pepsi's Soviet-made products.

Regardless of protestations to the socialist nature of their society, Soviet planners have sought expanded trade with the West since 1919, when a branch of the Soviet National Bank was opened in London. Though they were initially rebuffed almost everywhere (exceptions: Germany's government and American magnate Armand Hammer), foreign trade and investments were booming by the 30's. Ford, International Harvester and G.E. constructed major factories inside the Soviet Union during that period.

**Q: Besides selling, do you also buy from the Soviet Union?**  
**A: Yes—machine tools.**



**Robert Cook is the new head of the Moscow office of Dresser Industries, an American firm that has been doing business with the USSR for almost 40 years.**

**Q: How would you characterize your marketing access in the Soviet Union?**

**A: Dresser has a good reputation as a company that will complete projects. Participation in seminars and exhibitions also helps us to penetrate the market. SOVIET LIFE archive photo.**

After the Second World War, the Soviet Union and the East European nation-states that it militarily dominated were excluded from the reconstructed world market via the Cold War. The one exception was Yugoslavia, which has chartered a course independent of the Soviet Union since 1948. By the early 1960's, however, ideology was being shoved aside by the irresistible forces of the world market. Trade links between East and West kept growing, as market-seeking capitalists in economically-expanding Western Europe made connections with bureaucrats in Eastern Europe, a region which has traditionally traded with the West, particularly Germany and France. At the same time, attempts were made within the East bloc to modify central planning and thereby make enterprises more competitive. But these attempts were strenuously resisted by territorial bureaucrats, as exemplified by the ouster of the "reformist" Khrushchev in 1964 and the repression of the Czech experiment in 1968.

During the early 70's, American capital got into the act. The detente policy pursued by Nixon was heartily promoted by U.S. corporate big-wigs, who were already noticing shrinking profits at home and increased competition for world-wide markets. IBM, Pepsi, Chase Manhattan (which set up its Moscow office on Karl Marx Square) and many other Fortune 500 companies jumped on the bandwagon. European and Japanese businesses began making direct investments in Eastern Europe, and participated in major projects within the Soviet Union, such as the Fiat-built auto factory in Togliattigrad. Yugoslavia's supposedly self-managed socialist structure meanwhile got completely integrated into the global machine via exports of labor power, direct Western investment and international bank loans.

Simultaneously, East bloc money began flowing westward. Hungarian, Rumanian and Czech funds were invested in such diverse ventures as Canadian



tractor factories and Dutch truck-leasing firms. And the Soviets weren't far behind. The increased scale of Soviet overseas business activity was noted by Fortune magazine in its February, 1977 issue, in an article entitled "The Communist Internationale Has a Capitalist Accent". Among the enterprises reviewed were the Soviet banks in London, Paris, Zurich and Singapore, shipping lines which carry more cargo on the trans-Atlantic run than any other line, and the Soviet oil company Nafta, which has gas stations in Britain and Belgium. Shortly after this article was printed, a British company making radar equipment for NATO was rescued from bankruptcy by a loan from the Soviet Narodny Bank of London.

All this activity required lots of money. Consequently, East bloc nations began making more and more trips to the bank. Foreign indebtedness soared, best illustrated by Poland's situation. This in turn meant even more frantic efforts by the "socialist" nations to boost their trade so as to earn hard currency -- internationally-accepted denominations such as dollars and German marks -- in order to pay off debts. This they sought to do by buying production machinery from the West to improve the productivity of aging factories, and by trying to squeeze more out of the workers.

Structural reform continued to be stymied in the Soviet Union by reluctant bureaucrats. But barriers fell like matchsticks in Eastern Europe. This process has gone the furthest in Hungary, where little remains to distinguish its system from the West European mode. Janos Fekete, head of Hungary's National Bank, says "whether you're a capitalist or Communist, a dollar is a dollar." (Christian Science Monitor, 2/27/87) After almost two decades of reforms, Hungarian companies compete with each other and conduct foreign trade, individually-owned ventures abound, and foreign manufacturers like Levi Strauss operate plants. In Budapest, a

bond market is operating, and Citicorp Bank has opened a branch, competing with, among others, 20 local banks. Political activity is stifled as usual, but if you mind your own business you're left alone. At the same time, the foreign debt has risen to \$11 billion, working class living standards have plummeted, and a select few are making a fortune.

This trend is continuing throughout the bloc. In 1983, East European interests owned over 500 companies in the West, with over \$10 billion in assets. Meanwhile, Pepsico's Pizza-Hut is operating outlets in Bulgaria, and Polish dockyards are constructing ships for Western clients. In June, 1986, Poland joined the International Monetary Fund. And in April, 1987, Polish planners recommended the set-up of a market in stocks and bonds, the selling of shares in state enterprises, the legalization of private ventures in industry, and the set-up of joint ventures involving the state and *local* private interests. (San Francisco Chronicle, 4/7/87 p.20)

Meanwhile in China, Mao is being replaced by Mac (as in big Mac) and commodity culture in all its disgusting flavors. In Vietnam, old-line officials are being ousted in favor of "pragmatists". And in "liberated" Third World nations like Mozambique, Cuba and

Nicaragua, which are hailed by Western leftists, scientific management, austerity, competitiveness and the attraction of investors are today's buzzwords.

In 1978, a Soviet film entitled "The Right of First Signature" praised increased international trade. It features a trade official who resembled Leonid Brezhnev's son, who wins over an American businessman by quoting the Bible, and beats back the CIA's effort to block expanded trade.

In 1986, this theme was repeated in a Soviet pamphlet, "The USSR in the World Economic Structure". According to it, "one-fourth of Soviet enterprises are in various degrees engaged in export production."

(p.19)



**L**AST NOVEMBER the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a law on individual labor. Sergei Golyakov, a *New Times* political analyst, interviews Leonid Kostin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Affairs, on the new law.

**Q:** What prompted passage of the new law?

**A:** Until now personal labor has not been sufficiently used for the benefit of society. At present, however, transactions with individual workers bypass the state. Money earned this way is usually undeclared, and the income accruing from personal transactions is untaxed.

We must draw a clear distinction, however, between unearned income and extra income earned by honest labor.

The state has consistently pursued a policy aimed at the fullest possible satisfaction of the population's demand for goods and services. Individual labor can contribute to supplying what is needed. By the same token, it can put to work citizens who for one reason or another are not presently engaged in the economy. Furthermore, it's a good way for people to earn additional income.

I would like to stress that the new law goes along with the strategy of accelerating the country's social and economic development and restructuring its economy





Vladimir Gurevich  
SOVIET LIFE  
Economics Commentator

12% of Soviet national income is accounted for by exports, about the same as the U.S. and up from 3% in the early 60's. The pamphlet stresses the mutual benefits of trade, and provides along list of profitable joint ventures and the problems engendered by blocking free trade. "No one has succeeded over a long period of time in opposing the course of world development and the *objective requirement of production and international exchange.*" (p. 58, emphasis ours)

Furthermore, "cooperation with Western industrial firms enables Soviet enterprises to *utilize more fully the advantages of the international division for the purpose of increasing output and raising the efficiency of production, making goods more competitive and expanding exports of machinery and equipment.*" (p. 48, emphasis ours) Western companies, meanwhile, can "decrease production costs" and be assured of a "stable market" Everybody benefits. All the ruling elites, that is. The Wall Street Journal couldn't make a better case for the internationalization of capital. Not surprisingly, the Soviet Union applied in August, 1986 for membership in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, a group which attempts to regulate capital's global trade machinery.

Gorbachev's current policies indicate that the Hungarian experiment is being imported into the imperialist homeland. The consequences are already here.

Speaking of guaranteed jobs, some claim that the right to work is fine in theory, but how do you deal with workers who take advantage of the system, knowing that they won't be let go? I strongly believe that firing workers as punishment is unacceptable both socially and morally. But there is a good alternative. The USSR Constitution guarantees all citizens the right to work, but that doesn't mean that everybody is guaranteed any job and at any rate of pay they might fancy. The point is that workers should give a full day's work for a full day's pay. That's the way we should go about it.



Contrary to claims by the Spartacist League, Alex Cockburn and other apologists, the Soviet Union has economically dominated Eastern Europe for years. Soviet purchases have been paid for with Rubles, which are useless except for buying more Soviet goods. East European purchases of Soviet products, on the other hand, are paid with hard currencies. Quite an unequal trade. More recently, Soviet planners stepped up the exploitation by raising the price of gas and oil exports to Eastern Europe from subsidized low levels to world market rates. And now, Soviet purchasers have begun rejecting East European manufactured goods delivered under trade agreements if they fall below a certain level of quality, and have reserved the right to seek alternative sources (i.e. the West). This will put extra pressure on Eastern Europe to "modernize".

Western commentators laud Gorbachev's efforts to "improve" Soviet society, that is to make it more like the alienated labor-consumption nightmare we have in the West. For the working class in the East bloc, it means more battles to just maintain living standards. Strikes in the "socialist" nations date back to the Leningrad-Kronstadt general strike of 1921, brutally repressed by Lenin and Trotsky. Many work stoppages and incidents of civil





strife have taken place through the years, including the 1956 events in Hungary, the massacre of Novocherkassk in 1962, and the 1980 strikes in Soviet auto factories. The Solidarity experience, rooted in a government austerity drive whose intent was to help pay Poland's foreign debt, demonstrates what may be coming.

In Yugoslavia, 65 strikes took place during one week in March in response to a wage freeze and other austerity measures, while inflation flirts with the 100% level. After the government warned workers it will use military force to restore order, it gave in on some demands. (Christian Science Monitor, March 20 and 26, 1987) Similarly, workers in Hungary responded to a December, 1986 wage freeze with unrest, leading the government to freeze prices as well. The working class appears less and less duped by the illusion of "socialism", and may be tempted by the pressures of restructuring to try for the real thing.

Fear of widespread unemployment resulting from failures of inefficient enterprises and lay-offs intended to streamline production has been a major stumbling block to restructuring. But last year, Hungary decided to let goners be goners. And on March 26th, 1987, the Soviet government announced that a Leningrad building enterprise employing 2000 has gone bankrupt (San Francisco Chronicle 3/27/87 p. 38). This time, affected workers will get other jobs. But the president of the Club of Rome, a global capitalist think-tank, reported that last Fall. Gorbachev told him, "one of the most important things you can do is to tell us how to prevent endemic unemployment in a humanitarian way." (Christian Science Monitor, 2/23/87 p. 23) A Soviet newspaper reported in March '87 that a quarter of a million people are out of work in the republic of Azerbaijan. (San Francisco Chronicle, 3/30/87 p. 17) More generally, Soviet economists estimated over a decade ago that the introduction

of "scientifically-based norms" could lead to an unemployment rate of 7% to 22%. (Critique, No. 1, Spring 1973). Need we point out the improvement in technology since then?

Some commentators, including Armand Hammer (still around) and many in the "peace" movement, think that East bloc changes and growing East-West trade will lessen global tensions. How soon they forgot that, right before World War I, Germany's best trade partners were Britain and the U.S. War is the continuation of business competition by other means, and the changes now occurring may very well mean more players trying to get in on a game that already has too many participants. Hence, increased global economic competition, especially within the context of a growing world-wide crisis, may very well be the spark to set off a war. Rather than count on businessmen, whether they wear pin-striped suits or proletarian-like gray, we should set our own agenda: world communism.

**Jack Straw**

# THE CLASS CHALLENGE

## STRUGGLES IN THE SOVIET UNION

Post-WWII working-class protest begins with the uprisings of forced-laborers in the Siberian camps during the Stalin era (1942-55). Many political prisoners were concentrated there. They created somewhat extensive, highly conspiratorial organisations encompassing many camps. The first known strikes occurred in the midst of WWII-- 1942 --in Ust-Usa. The prisoners rebelled, disarmed the guards and escaped into the great forests to fight as partisans against the German invasion. The next known uprising in a prison-camp happened in 1948. Numbers of the guards, feeling themselves to be in an untenable position, joined in on the revolt. This sort of mutiny by guards in solidarity with the prisoners

became common on later occasions. There is a report that in 1948, a highly-decorated commander of a labor-camp actually organized and led an uprising of the prisoners and guards in his camp. In the years 1953-4, labor-camps opposition led to a wave of strikes which inundated the whole country and genuinely threatened bureaucratic power in the USSR. Essentially, this was due to the intense concentration of political in the camps (a very conscious group) and the horribly inhumane conditions ('loss-rates' of around 20% per year). To this brew was then added the rebellious spirits of students from the Free University of Berlin. They had been deported to Vorkuta as

punishment for the roles they had played in the insurrection of East Berlin workers in June 1953....

The strike-wave was dispersed in various ways. In Vorkuta, it sufficed to capture and execute the strike-committee. Other strikes suffered final annihilation only after the onslaught of Army troops. The 14-day rebellion in Kingir was so strong that tank brigades and the Air Force had to be called in. The Kingir uprising was led by a strike committee upon which Anarchists and Leninists were equally represented. Even 'Trotskyist' generals of the old Red Army sat on the committee. The struggle received solidarity in the form of a sympathy-strike by 14,000 copper-miners. The rebellion was



extremely moving and made a significant impact. Though somewhere around 500-700 strikers were slaughtered, thereupon forced-labor camps were dissolved, all survivors amnestied and, last but not least, brought on the replacement of absolute Stalinism with the relatively less brutal regime of Malenkov and Khrushchev. Such results indicate the exceptionally furious and effective potential contained in the combination of spontaneous class-struggle and radically-conscious revolt.

In the Khrushchev period, elements of the USSR's character were changed. As of 1956, leaving a job (without permission) was no longer a criminal offense. The worker also gained the right to give notice to the employer/management. Further, 'factory councils' were constituted with the intent of arbitrating conflicts before they got out of control. A certain diminution in wage differentials and new legal regulations slowly deflected political consciousness away from class-struggle, generally. Save for a few spectacular exceptions, class battles (i.e. strikes touched-off unpredictably) and politically revolutionary struggles took place quite separately from each other from then on.

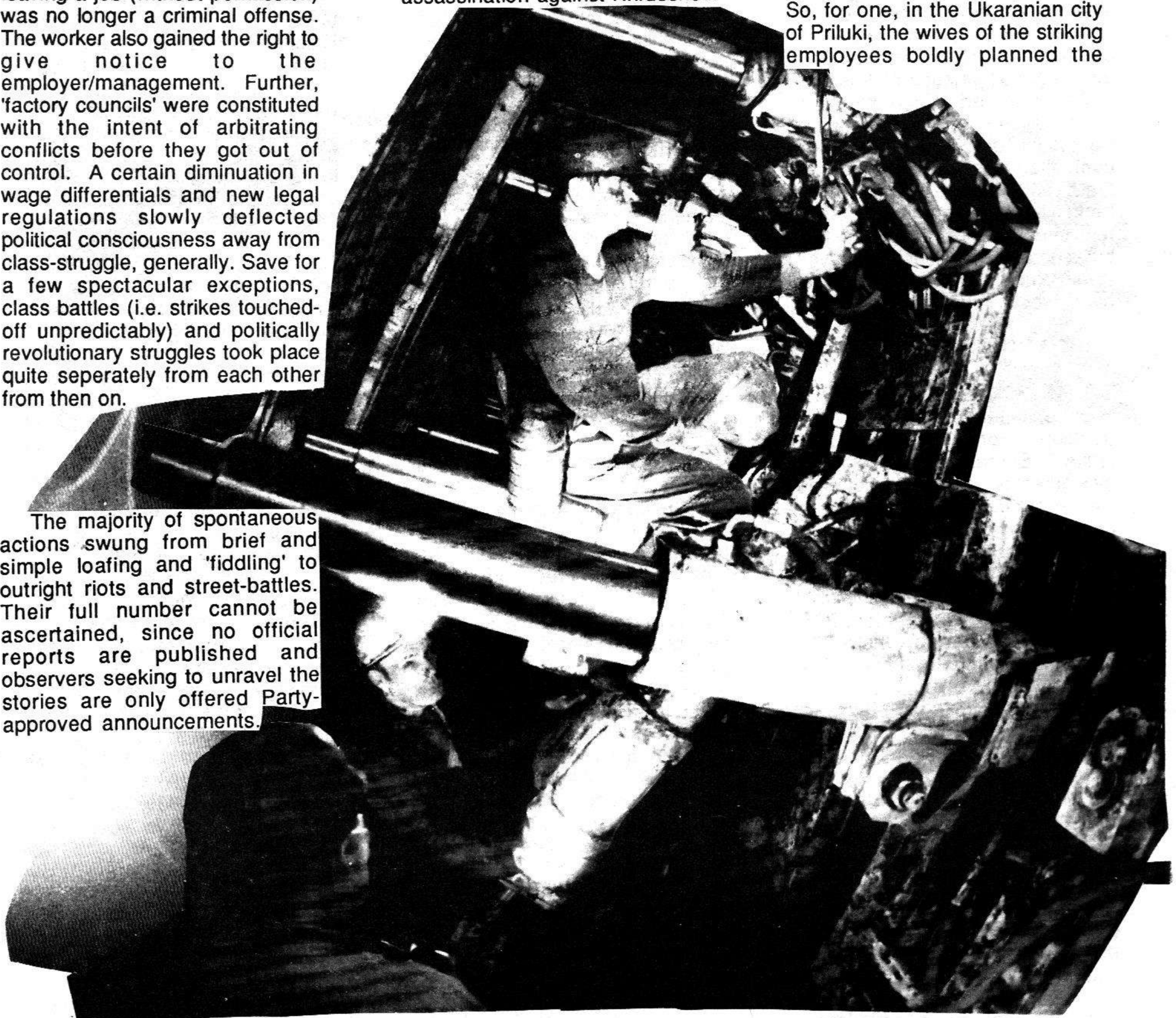
The majority of spontaneous actions swung from brief and simple loafing and 'fiddling' to outright riots and street-battles. Their full number cannot be ascertained, since no official reports are published and observers seeking to unravel the stories are only offered Party-approved announcements.

The 1959 upheaval in Temir Tan, Khazakistan, can stand as an exemplary rebellion of those years. There, workers burned down the canteens of 'their' factories. They then moved into the exclusive residential area, built barricades and began an offensive against the troops stationed there. The soldiers decided to join the workers. The city was re-captured with difficulty after special forces were sent in from Alma-Ata. This period of strike-action reached a high-point during 1961-3. Strikes were manifested throughout Russia. KGB officers started to seriously hunt 'certain' workers. In connection with these conflicts there was an attempted assassination against Khrushchev.

And as in the time of the Czars, soldiers and sailors went into revolt, as well. In 1965, for example, sailors of the Soviet Pacific Fleet mutinied and took over a battleship. Only when threatened with bombardment by the Air Force did the sailors surrender. (Translator's note: Perhaps they should have sailed out to sea anyway, because...) Some of the mutineers were shot; others were deported to work in uranium mines.

One basic activity of the SMOT groups is to collect any acceptable data about such events.

After 1964, the number of strikes decreased, but the boundary between a 'strike' and an 'armed uprising' became noticeably blurred. So, for one, in the Ukranian city of Priluki, the wives of the striking employees boldly planned the







take-over and demolition of the local military base. As the main slogan, they called out "Down with the Russian SS!". There followed a three-day general strike. It peaked with the threat by the workers to blow-up the gas-pipeline, which lay near the city. The strikers went and sent off a telegram to Brezhnev. They described their valiant(sic!) history of anti-fascist partisan activities. The government backed down and fulfilled all the workers demands. Perhaps surprisingly, the demands of such strikes are often approved. Even when it would reach the point of genuine upheaval, defeated, the strike committee possibly executed, at least some of the demands would be fulfilled, if perhaps only after a few months. The fear of the bureaucracy is obviously decisive: they know their days are numbered.

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Soviet workers are quite creative and flexible in the tactics they develop. For example, a 1978 strike in Sverdlovsk was initiated by workers refusing to accept their wage-packets. The reason: 'You can't buy anything with it anyway!' A few hours later, they had assured that there were no longer any shortages of goods in the city. By 1976, the number of strikes appears to be on the increase. Significant strikes have arisen since 1980 in Leningrad; in auto factories in Gorki and Togliattigrad (1978, '79, and '80). Especially in Leningrad and Togliattigrad, the consciousness and courage of the workers has been growing along with their strikes and achievements. The initial strike in Togliattigrad was carried out by only fifteen people. Yet, in May 1980, thousands participated in the strike. And in the meantime, the appearance of broadly distributed leaflets in Leningrad and Togliattigrad point to the renewed existence of illegal

printing presses. In 1980, there were twelve officially registered strikes, three in Minsk... Spontaneous class battles, the strikes and riots have been leading to more organized forms of struggle. This is marked by the leadership and leaflets having a part in the rebellion in Priluki, and also in the strikes in Leningrad, Minsk, Gorki and Togliattigrad.

Unfortunately, in the studies upon which this article is based, all accounts break-off after 1981. Everything, however, indicates that the strike wave is swelling to a new high-point. This view is supported by the 'State of the Soviet Union' addresses of both Andropov and Gorbachev, who latched onto certain civil-war-like feelings of restlessness and agitation. Thus, Gorbachev stated that everything must be done to increase the production of consumer goods, i.e. raise the 'standard of living', since this is the prime self-protective means to insure internal stability. Within all activity is a consciously revolutionary force. (?) Although weak, seemingly strangled, this force is constantly trying to build an All-Russian workers' union. The first 'Free Trade Union' was founded in 1977-'78. The 'Committee for a Free Trade Union of Soviet Unemployed' was constituted on January 20, 1978 by a group of people from all over the USSR who met and planned while waiting for mail at the Moscow Central Post Office (postal service must be slower than in Italy--typist). Shortly thereafter, Feb. 1, to be exact, they took on the name 'Association for a Free Trade Union in the Soviet Union'- although they continued to be referred to as the 'Klebanov-Group', after the initiator. At this point of their development, '77-'78, the group numbered about 149 people. They were from all parts of the USSR. Their primary activities involved the writing of letters and articles: appeals

addressed to law-makers, press-releases to western newspapers, letters to Western trade-unions. By February 1978, the association was demolished. The overwhelming majority of members were incarcerated in psychiatric wards. Others were simply imprisoned.

In April, 1978, already, the next association was initiated by Y. Grimm: the "Independent Trade Union". It was to continue in the spirit of the "Klebanov Group". They busied themselves solely with seeking permission of status as a legal trade-union organization through requests and applications to the Soviet Council of Ministers and to the International Labor Organization. This second association also collapsed by the end of June 1978. However, out of this group came those whose aim was "the unification of workers of every vocation, viewpoint, conviction and ideological position in an apolitical united-front organisation." The preparations for the establishment of this group began in Moscow during that summer. In October, SMOT--the "Free All-Trades Union of Workers"--was founded. One hundred persons divided into smaller groups of eight, which then elected one delegate to a "SMOT Council". These delegates were to be the public representatives; all other members were to be able to remain anonymous. In the SMOT Council and in its founding membership, the old, anti-czarist currents flowed back together. Amongst others are Vladimir Gersuni (born 1930), nephew of Grigory Gersuni, founder of the Combat Organisation of the Social-Revolutionary Party; Alexander Skobov (born 1958), Arkadi Zurkov and Irina Zulmanova, aka Lupotichina (born 1959) representing respectively anarchist (Bakuninist and Mutualist) and Marxist (Trotskyist) tendencies.



By the end of December, 1978, the number of members had doubled and the KGB began snooping about. Arrests began by early 1979. Nonetheless, the SMOT continued to enlarge its membership. By mid-1980, the SMOT was constituted by over 32 groupings. Strike declarations were drawn up and voted on. A December 1, 1981, appeal by Estonian workers in Baltikum was disseminated by the SMOT in Moscow, Togliattigrad and Kiev. Faced with the organized emergence of workers, the fright of the authorities was so great that they met the Estonians' demands several days before their strike deadline. The rulers in the Soviet

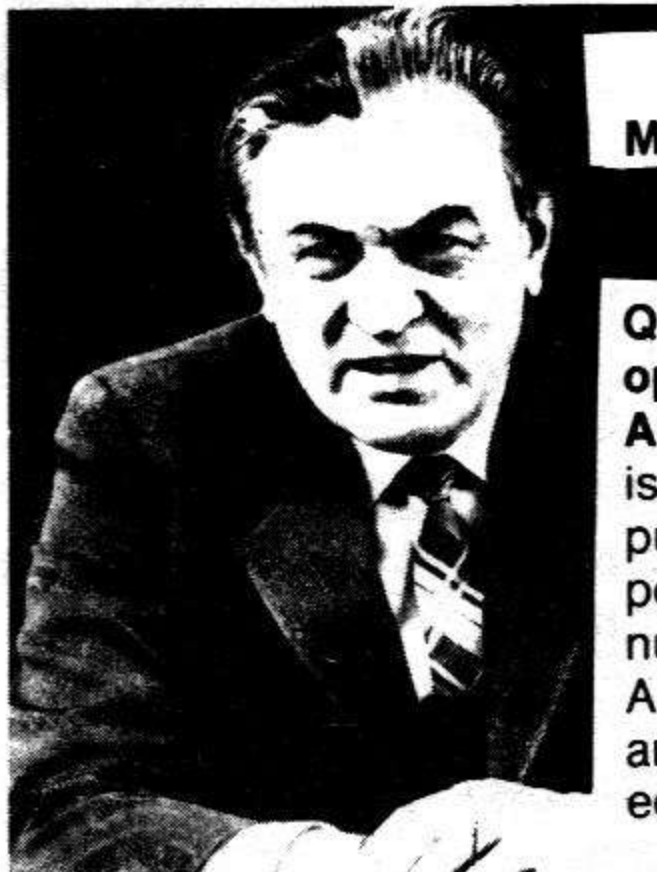
Union have not forgotten how the earlier Russian Revolution happened and justifiably fear even tiny organizations. So, following their successes, the State brought down the weight of repression. [Shortly after the suppression of the Polish working-class in Poland, that is...] from April 1982 to April 1983, ten members of the SMOT Council were taken into custody. Mid-1984 brought on more arrests. By then, of the original SMOT membership, none were left on the streets.

The SMOT exists. The State may have succeeded in destroying the organization for

now. Yet, so many people in the USSR are today committed to the tradition of Klebenov, that it will only be a matter of time before the self-organisation of workers begins again. (One only need recall how many organisations preceeded the final founding of the Spanish CNT!) The spontaneous struggles of Soviet workers clearly are directed ever more consciously at real social change. The re-discovery of anarchism and Trotskyism are effecting a further strengthening of this tendency. We shall see whether these different tributaries will flow into a single river.

(Unsigned)

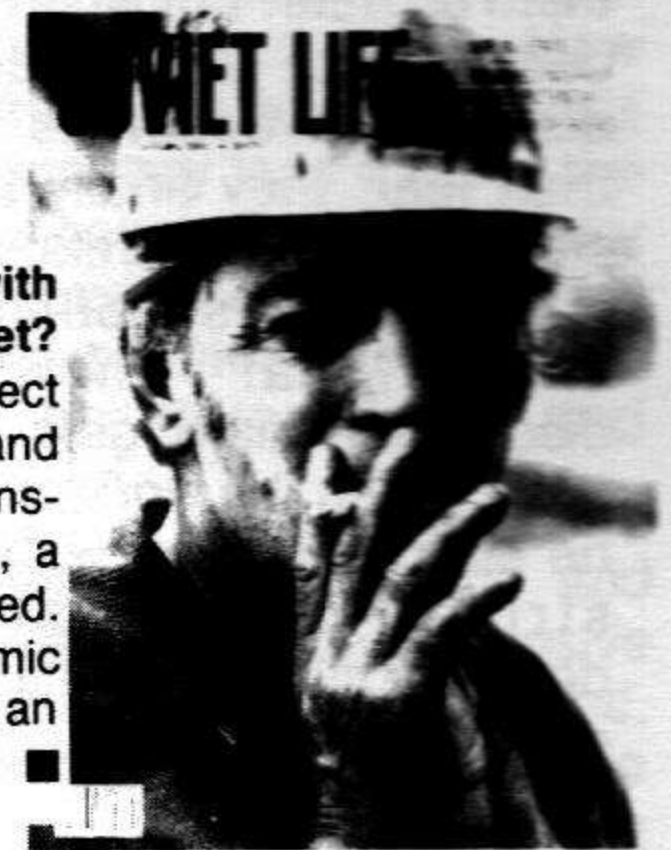
[Translation: C.E.]



**Mikhail Shadov, USSR  
Minister of the Coal Industry.**

**Q: Since the future of the coal industry is largely connected with opencast mining, is it likely that "moonscapes" will appear on the planet?**

**A:** No, not at all, I'm sure. Even today, before any opencast mining project is begun, the upper layers of the fertile topsoil are carefully removed and put aside. This will either be used for later land restoration or be transported to other areas where it will be put to good use. In the future, a number of other measures aimed at conserving nature will be implemented. A possible solution is to turn the sites into water reservoirs for economic and recreational purposes. One thing, however, is clear. There must be an ecological way of thinking and a caring attitude toward nature.



## **Unregenerate Rebel in a 'Degenerated Workers State'-**

An Interview with Vladimir Borisov on Radio Libertaire in Paris

**Radio Libertaire:** ...and what's the actual situation of the SMOT? (SMOT is the initials of a semi-underground union formation in the Soviet Union)

**Vladimir Borisov:** In 1980, the SMOT got a big boost. Don't forget the enormous impact which the Polish events have had in the U.S.S.R. and which played an energizing role for us. We printed an informational bulletin that concentrated on the events in Poland. We also published testimonies about the war in Afganistan, as well as other events inside the country. Unfortunately, following heavy crackdowns- first in April 1981, then in June 1982- the majority of SMOT's "leading

figures", if you could call them that, were condemned into exile or to punishments which recall the Stalin era...labor camp, internal exile, psychiatric prison..(He proceeds to detail the sentences against Lev Volokhanski, Irina Ratonchinskaia, Skursky and Guerchouni). You must be "mad" indeed to contest the Soviet regime that considers itself "the best in the world" (Sound familiar, Westerners?) Right now we have great difficulty uniting with our comrades, most of whom live in the shadow of prison; they carry on very little in public and only to maintain some level of active organization.

**Radio Libertaire:** What's the current situation of the working class in the U.S.S.R.?

**Vladimir Borisov:** Personally, I consider the Soviet society to be a feudalistic society, something frightening. If a worker is unemployed for three months, he or she is sent to the camps and joins the enormous number of slaves. This is the law on "social parasitism": there are close to three million individuals currently in the camps, forming an unpaid and compulsory workforce. The majority of these three million are workers who, having lost their jobs, couldn't find another within three months.



The others are people who went to a city without the right to live there. There's the obligation to be registered: for example, if you live in Moscow you must be registered with the militia, and if you go to another town, you can remain there only three days. Otherwise you're returned to your town of origin or just locked up. So workers are truly attached to their places of work, since there's no reason in the world why they can leave it, even if the wages are pitiful.

Radio Libertaire: How, in spite of the difficulties, do the most determined workers struggle against the system?

Vladimir Borisov: As you'll appreciate, the workers have a lot to protest about. Their situation is difficult and only one thing shuts them up: fear. But when the will to demonstrate their rejection and discontent becomes stronger than fear, they finally take other steps. What finally irritates workers is that there's nothing in the shops... That shows when discontent finally gets the upper hand, when the worker loses fear, he starts- alone or with others- a strike. He organizes demonstrations and that is always called spontaneous...

From time to time we receive echos of a strike (generally very quickly repressed) or demonstrations (but rarely) and what we hear about is generally just a small part of what's happening. But it must be known that there are strikes in the Soviet Union. Examples in the last decade include two-hundred thousand workers in Gorki in May 1980 against meat and milk shortages, during which two hundred hand-written leaflets were circulated, and in May 1980 at Togliattigrad of bus drivers which laid off a hundred and seventy-thousand Lada factory workers. And there's another form of workers protest: that's "doing in" the foreman. Generally, the worker in trouble doesn't do it himself, but, one evening when the foreman passes some dark corner...

There is also active sabotage: for example, when I was in the Soviet Union, a whole wood depot burned down. I also recall the town of Igarka in Siberia which was set on fire (there was arson in a dozen different places in the town) Often, too, the pay which you're given in the factories corresponds not to the number of hours worked but to a quantity produced, and in the "piecework" system there's a kind of passive sabotage for struggling against low (piece)-rates and high norms.

I've heard of a form of protest in a Tashkent tractor factory (and its not a form of protest but of working!) The situation is that of a worker on a line assembling tractors onto which enormous screws must be screwed. Now, it has to be done with an unrealizable speed. So workers have found a way to do it very quickly and efficiently: they dunk the screw into a bucket of epoxy and bang it on with a hammer. The bolts go on okay, but it's impossible to get them off while servicing the tractor! And with this kind of petty sabotage or less concienious work scattered throughout the country you can imagine the quality of the products...it's not really a form of

protest, it's just done because there's not other way: it's necessary to meet the targets...

...Radio Libertaire: Who does the SMOT represent today?

Vladimir Borisov: The SMOT barely exists, perhaps two hundred people in a country of two-hundred seventy million. It represents nobody. Besides, the groups are dispersed across the land...it exists in so far as certain individuals and groups know each other and maintain contact. This is the third time that the SMOT has come to this point. It was thanks to Solidarnosc that the SMOT regrouped in such grand style in 1980. New alliances appeared...But after December 1981, stringent repression was brought down in the U.S.S.R. as well as in Poland. In the end, only its particular structure allows the SMOT to survive.

from Umanita Nova,  
19/10/86, via Ernesto Rossi  
80, 57000 Livorno, Italy  
and from Counter-  
Information, #12, Oct.-Nov.  
1986; Box 81, c/o 43  
Candlemakers Row,  
Edinburgh, Scotland, U.K.

## Drunken Riot By Teenagers In Soviet Town

*United Press International*

Moscow

About 150 drunken teenage "hooligans" in the eastern city of Komsomolsk-na-Amur overturned cars at a police station while the deputy police chief cowered in his office and his aide ran off.

The newspaper *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* said the fracas between police and "hooligans" occurred June 2.

The clash began when police appeared at the town dance pavilion, where habitués were trying to drive away some members of the Komsomol Communist youth group.

As the ruckus spread to a police station, the newspaper reported, "the lieutenant colonel on duty, Sukhanov, ran away from the scene of action, and the deputy head of the town militia, Colonel Tkachuk, sat the action out in his office."

## GOOD NEWS (OF SORTS) ABOUT POLISH CLASS WAR PRISONERS

In the first issue of the Angry Workers Bulletin we printed a message about the situation of Robert Chechlac and Tomasz Lupanow. These two men were convicted of killing a Polish militiaman who they were trying to disarm just after the Military Coup in 1981. Les Amis de Robert et Tomek, a Paris based support group, has communicated that Robert was granted a reduction in his sentence by ten years and Tomek by four. This could mean that Robert could be free sometime this year and Tomasz might be freed in four years. The Paris-based support group will continue to provide financial aid to the two as long as they remain political victims of the Polish State. Write to: Les Amis de Robert et Tomek, B.P. 4. 93301, Aubervilliers Cedex, France.



The 'communist' world isn't communist, the 'free' world isn't free.

We publish the preceding translated essay "Class Struggles in the Soviet Union" (from Trafik n.22, Eduardstrasse 40, D-4330 Muelheim 1, BRD) and interview with Viktor Borrisov in order to give some indication of the realities of class oppression and rebellion within the 'socialist Fatherland'. We tend to disagree with conclusions drawn from the experiences described:

1. The USSR is assuredly not communistic or socialistic, as the article "Soviet Capitalism" points out. Neither is it, contrary to V. Borrisov's opinion, 'feudalistic'. In the former case it's conceivable that the 70-year long near-absence of privately-held, inheritable stocks and bonds in competing corporate entities having full market 'freedom' within a single nation-state may seem to suggest that capitalist political-economy had been surpassed. This writer thought so for a few years. In the latter case, the 'feudalistic' sensation gains some credence due to the presence of a seemingly all-powerful bureaucratic managerial elite, whose members join only through 'blood' relations or by enduring the climb through the politico-religious State system of pedagogical and organizational training and grading.

Nonetheless, 'feudal' is not an appropriate term, any more than is 'communist', to describe the USSR. State ownership of the means of production and other social property, together with commodity-production planned in money-value terms and based on the wages-system of labor exploitation are central social relations which starkly contrast with feudal relations. Just on these grossly simplified terms, in the European feudal system, the village communities possessed direct control of lands, their labor and tools. The communities relinquished then as 'tithe' on the Church or 'duty' on the lords a portion of their products or labor.

This exchange arose from the clear and accepted fact of the authoritarian positions of the 'heavenly' or 'secular' protectors/lords. Those positions did not include--nor allow--ownership of community-held lands etc. When the lords finally did begin to move to take 'ownership', it generated civil wars and the bloodiest of expulsions and 'clearings' of the peasants from the lands, returning them as serfs and tenant-farmers or turning them into the nascent proletariat. Class-domination through privatized ownership of social 'means of production' signaled the end of feudal relations and the widening of market/money commodity trade and capitalist production with the initial, utterly brutal accumulation of capital. (see for example, Marx, Capital, vol. I; Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; Galleano, Open Veins of Latin America) It is not some 'feudalistic barbarism', but rather the growth of the pattern of initial (state-) capitalist accumulation within the 'under-developed' post-revolutionary Russia, which was the pressure and aim underlying the Bolshevik drive for State power and the eventual thirty-year-long terror of Stalin. It is a sort of terror which, beginning with the European population, all cultures afflicted by the curse of capitalism have been destroyed by or have suffered ourselves to bear until we succeed in abolishing this hideous mystery.

2. In light of the historical roots of the present situation in the USSR, the rather positive comments on a possible 'single river' created by the 'flowing' together of anarchism and Trotskyism is peculiar. As one who once took the grand title of 'Trotskyist', this writer does not see any point in utterly writing-off all others who still cling to the misconceptions regarding Trotsky and the trajectory of politics variously described as 'Trotskyist'. For rebels in the East especially, the highlights of Trotsky's career, his victimization by, and self-protective criticisms of, Stalin, may combine with the thorough suppression of anarchist and ultra-left descriptions/critiques of his and his disciples' over-all activities during the revolution, the civil war, the period of 'war communism' and the New Economic Policy. This combination may lead them to the erroneous conclusion that Trotsky and Co. constitute(d) a genuinely communist-oriented alternative to statist bureaucratism and exploitation.

Both a lack of information and psychic refusal of more extensive insights have to be recognized, but nevertheless, it is important to attempt to undermine misconceptions concerning Trotsky. The sad fact is that Trotsky was himself one of the prime architects of the state-capitalist counter-revolution; was organizer of the Red Army, which





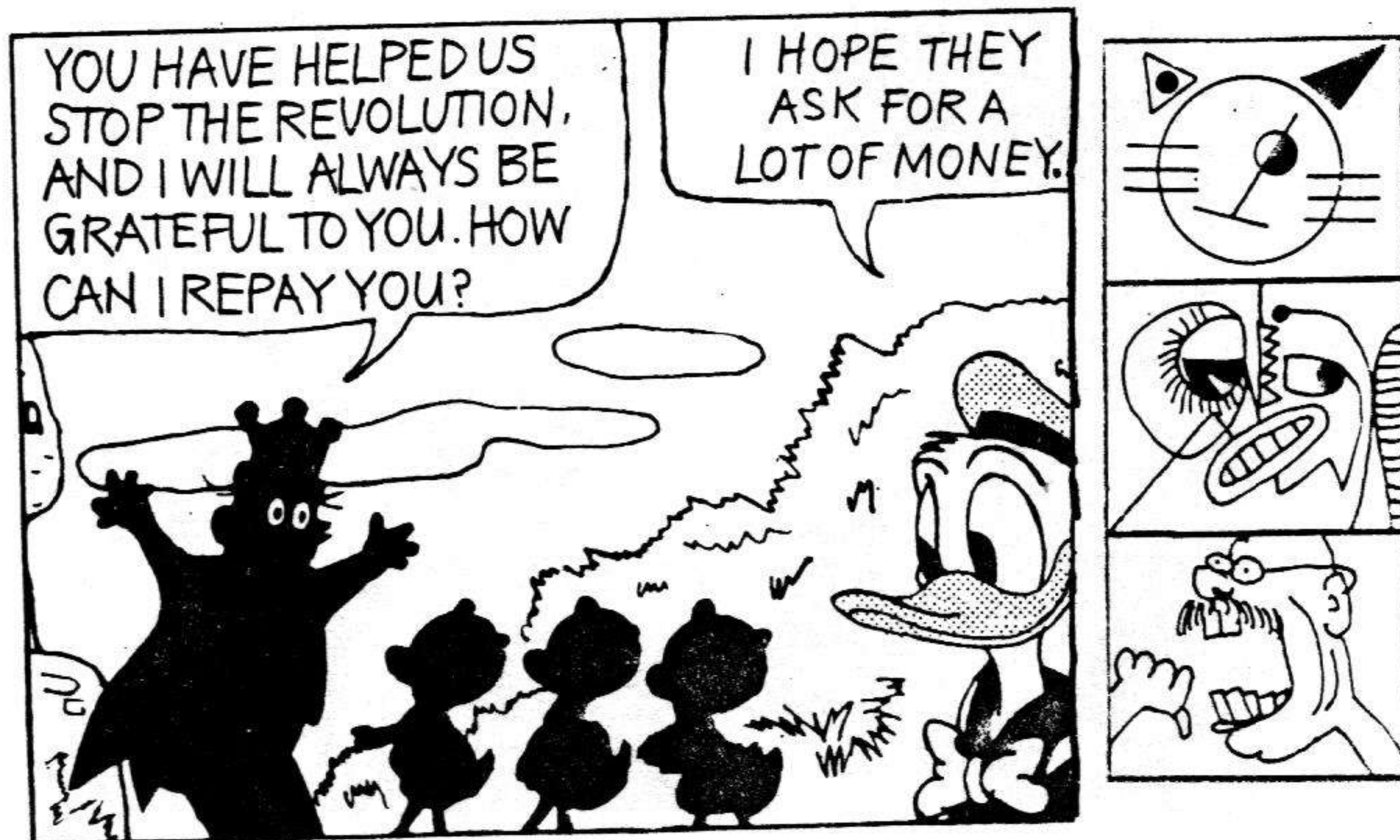
not only was central to the defeat of the 'White' armies, but which he self-consciously manipulated in order to also devastate the anarchist and anti-Bolshevik revolutionary movements; and was the rabid advocate of a most severe and rapid 'communist' industrialization, which is another way of saying 'communist' "primitive accumulation of capital". (see: Maximov, The Guillotine at Work; Avrich, Kronstadt 1921; Arshinov, The History of the Makhnovist Movement; I. Deutscher, Trotsky: The 'Prophet' Trilogy)

Certainly, today's 'Leninists', 'Trotskyists', etc. are neither to blame for, nor are they the fault of, the real Lenin, Trotsky, etc.--even if they like to pretend that they are. Particularly in the Soviet context it seems understandable that there should be an over-supply of generosity toward those who right now seem to be "on the same side" against the present Soviet regime. But if the USSR's own past, and if the sentiments of many contemporary Trots in the 'West', is indicative of future events, the generosity, and the desperation beneath it, may again be terribly abused to the detriment of a future revolutionary mass movement.

3. But perhaps anarchists, East and West, are being generous towards authoritarian Leftism like Trotskyism, not out of simple lack of historical information, but out of a sense of identity concerning the

goals of the social struggle: conquest or defense of political 'democracy' and 'independent' trade-unions within the capitalist system. In the USSR/East Bloc, obviously, the aims of 'democracy' and 'free' trade-unions are posed as the rejection of bureaucratic dictatorship and corporatist unionism, whether such rejection is seen as the 'regeneration' of the vaunted 'deformed and degenerated workers State', or as a pre-requisite to the 'stage' of libertarian communist social change. Though the ideological distinction between anarchists and Trotskyists on the ultimate purpose of 'democracy' and 'worker-controlled' unions in relation to State power would lead to future conflict, it seems that today they generally share the belief that 'democracy' and 'independent' trade-unions are social creations which can be used as a springboard for revolutionary social change against capitalism, rather than being tools which have and can only hammer out policies which serve to maintain authoritarian social control and the re-cuperation of the oppressed within capitalism. (see Otto Rühle, From the Bourgeois to the Proletarian Revolution; or Maurice Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control; Munis, Unions Against Revolution; Alfredo Bonanno, Workers' Autonomy) That is, if they are no longer needed or fail to serve those purposes, they are destroyed, either by fascist or militarist subjugation in defense of capital or by the autonomous radical self-

organisation and direct action of the oppressed for real control and community. What is more than interesting is that the ruling-class of the USSR seems to be attempting to accomodate the usual appearance of 'democracy'-which must include 'independent' trade-unions and federations- in the effort at more complete re-integration into the world market as the now fully-developed, decentralizing and multi-nationalizing state-capitalist nation it is. ('Can the Soviets Handle Reform?', John Kenneth Galbraith, San Francisco Chronicle 5-27-87). The particular form this transformation will take is anyone's guess, but one thing they must do is keep it under their management. 'Glasnost' and internal liberalization are indeed dangerous, and explains the intense cruelty with which the Soviet regime is attacking the independant union formation SMOT, even though the SMOT's apparent goals are in line with the liberalizing tendencies of Gorbachav's regime: dismantling the old forms of authoritarian compulsion may not lead to 'free' acceptance of political reform, but may open the door to real anti-capitalist rebellion, as in Poland and Hungary in 1956. It's no accident that the regime is also 'cracking down' on 'parasitic' bureaucrats, like Leonid Brezhnev's son-in-law. They are trying to set the boundaries, and 'prepare' the situation for 'freedom', like the 'democratic' ruling-class of the 'West'. There are also the simultaneous denunciations of the 'laziness' and 'unproductive' practices brought on by--yes--'wage-leveling', while advancing arguments and commands for greater 'responsibility' of the workers in the work-place, the result of such 'responsibility' being the greater ability to buy the increased quantity and quality of consumer commodities they are to invest their lives in manufacturing. This capitalist propaganda could have come from Reagan. More likely it reflects that stupid bourgeois 'socialist' work-ethic harpooned by Lafargue nearly a century ago in The Right to Be Lazy.





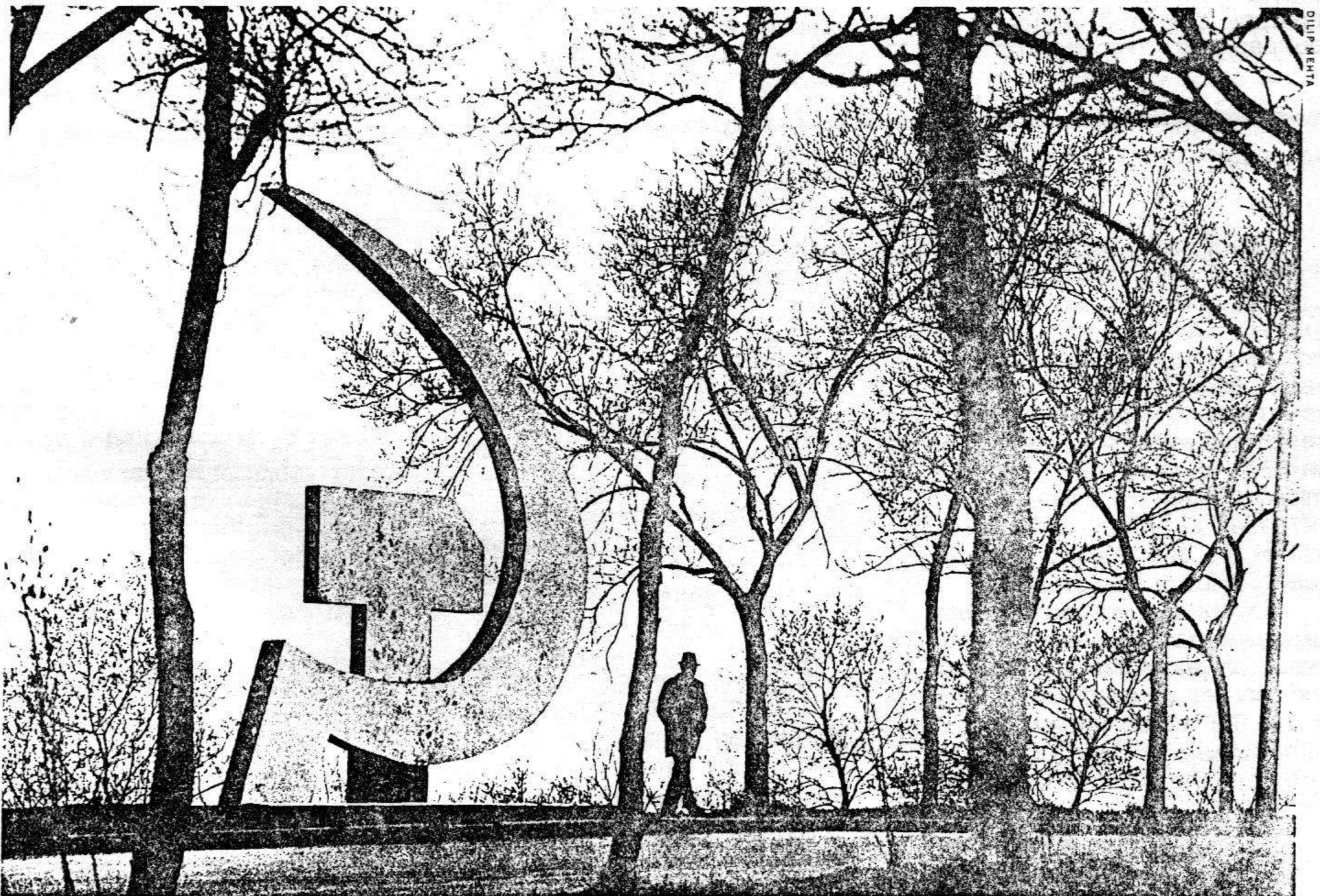
It clearly shows a capitalist pre-occupation with trying to control by (sub-)dividing the working-class (and peasantry) along lines of material privilege, trade/craft parochialism, and intra-class hierarchies, fostering and reinforcing competitive insecurities and insatiable cravings which bind the victim to striving within the system, which are manipulated to make scapegoats out of the 'abnormal', whether 'chaotics', 'refuseniks' or the ultra-corrupt, who are blamed for this insecurity and sense of dissatisfaction. The movement away from total state control of the political and economic arenas in the USSR is also connected to the problems faced in the 'democracies': in a time of deepening international economic conflict, unprofitable investment in 'social welfare' programs is being curtailed, in some places more drastically than others. The vision of social survival should turn back more strongly on the individual and nuclear family.

The workers concern to satisfy purportedly 'private' needs should start from defense of one's nuclear family by defense of the particular job through the union by first protecting the competitive survival of the particular enterprise or industrial branch on a day-to-day basis. Over-all cohesion and defense is to be perceived and granted as still being the responsibility of the (now "democratizing") State in relation or opposed to all other competing nations. Liberalizing reforms must be attempted: advanced Capital cannot satisfactorily function if it doesn't also possess the people's 'will'.

There is no argument that 'democracy' and 'worker-controlled' trade-unions indicate the possibility for greater individual freedoms of a certain kind. Certainly, the brutality against the SMOT activists is as criminal as that suffered by working-class and political dissidents in the 'free'

world. It's terrible to suggest that their painful struggles will not bring the freedom they so justly deserve. But like it or not, anarchists/communists who take upon themselves to advocate or build movements for democratic (state-) capitalism and 'independent' trade-unions are not laying the foundations for class autonomy and libertarian communism, but for... 'democratic' capitalism and 'independent' trade-unions. It may be in efforts to deepen and generalize autonomous and 'spontaneous' class/social actions, as exemplified at Kingir and Priluki, where we find a significant aspect of the radical praxis which, in our direct confrontation with immediate issues, may motivate temporary and limited concessions on the part of authoritarian power, but which does not 'formalize' a relationship to that power and thus become a blockade to anti-authoritarian social revolution.

Chris Ecks





# SOCIAL UNREST IN 'SOCIALIST' SPAIN

For the first three months of 1987, the Spanish Socialist Democratic regime of Felipe Gonzalez and his party the P.S.O.E. has been challenged by the most massive expression of social unrest since the riots and mass strikes at the time of Franco's death, at the end of the seventies. According to an article in the Financial Times of London, "The student riots that have shaken Spain are turning into a nightmare for the country's Socialist government...Unrest in the schools...threatens to lead straight into a period of acute labor conflict." To some degree inspired by students and workers struggles across the Pyrenees in France, a quarter million high school students boycotted classes in February. Demanding free secondary education and an end to restricted admissions to higher education, student demonstrations were brutally attacked by police, who fired live bullets at a demonstration on January 23rd and wounded a fourteen-year old young woman.

The students actions coincided with protests of seasonal farm laborers from Andalucia and Extremadura in the south and west of the country, who were protesting changes in the unemployed benefit system. School teachers also went on strike, SEAT auto workers went out and there have been strikes and occupations in coal and copper mines, docks, airlines, railways and the Madrid subways. Transport walkouts at the beginning and end of the Easter season tied up traffic throughout Iberia.

In Reinosa, angry steel workers occupied the state-controlled steel mill, Forjas y Aceros de Reinosa, SA, in anticipation of planned layoffs and took the Socialist Councilor of Public Works and Transport, Enrique Antolin, the plant director and eight other plant officials hostage, keeping them captive in the plant. Police, the Guardia Civil, attempted to end the occupation but ran out of rubber bullets and were force-marched out of town by the

strikers. Somebody even relieved one of the cops of his sub-machine gun. The Social Democrats responded by sending in a thousand more Guardia Civil, an "anti-terrorist" unit, a dozen tanks and a helicopter. There were fierce battles between strikers and the pigs as strikers tried to block the rail line to Madrid with flaming barricades. In the fighting strikers blew the plant whistle and alerted people in the town, who joined in the fighting. Thousands of Asturian miners from the state owned Hunosa pits marched in Madrid, protesting plans to axe six thousand jobs. According to the March 23rd issue of the Madrid newspaper Cambio 16, they shouted, "We must prepare the general strike" and, significantly, "This is how the '34 revolution started", a reference to the uprising of the proletariat of the Asturias in 1934.

In the Spanish ports, up until mid-February workers have been in the midst of a serious and uncontrolled battle with the state and Contenemar SA (Spanish



## Meanwhile in Yugoslavia:

Direct action was also on the agenda in the Eastern branch of Capital. More than 10,000 workers took part in some 70 wildcat strikes in late February and early March to protest a government-imposed wage-freeze and rollback in the face of an 85% inflation rate, and the linking of future wage increases to increases in productivity. About half of the strikes took place in heavily-industrialized Croatia.

Government response to the strikes was to announce a 90-day freeze on prices for some goods and services, coupled with a threat to use the armed forces to deal with strikes if they begin to threaten the 'Constitutional System'.

Interestingly, these strikes have taken place in a country where a

system of "workers' self-management" has been in effect for decades.(see "Yugoslavia: Model of Workers' Self-Management?" in ideas and action, Spring 1984, translated by Chris Ecks when he was a member of 'Workers Emancipation', the San Francisco-based group then responsible for the production of ideas and action. C. Ecks is a current participant in the Angry Workers Bulletin project). In a typically sneering article in the March 27th Wall Street Journal, staff writer Barry Newman tries to pin the blame for Yugoslavia's staggering economy on the supposedly greedy and lazy 'worker-managers' who like to give themselves fat raises and pad the payroll with unnecessary workers. Newman then goes on to assert that there is hope in the

emergence of a new breed of professional managers who "make decisions", and further asserts that the workers will be happier under this new arrangement. Of course, it would never occur to the likes of Newman that it might be the capitalist market within which Yugoslav 'self-management' operates that is responsible for the economic dislocations shaking Yugoslavia, rather than the concept of workers' self-management. Nevertheless, these recent strikes, as well as the more than 800 wildcat actions involving more than 80,000 workers that took place in 1986, show that even a veil of 'self-management' cannot hide the face of exploitation or eliminate the class struggle. (taken from Industrial Worker, May 1987)



shipping corporation). During a half-year of strikes, street-battles and occupations of ports throughout the country, dockworkers tried to fight off the implementation of a "Socialist" government decree, dated 5.27.85, which would have meant that all the dockworkers would become employees hired on an individual basis by the shipping corporations, to whom the Socialist government intended to give over control of the ports. The organization of dockworkers in Spain, the Coordinadora--founded in late 1977-early 1978 and now representing perhaps 90% of all workers in the ports--carried out the struggle against the attempted re-structuring and privatization and succeeded at least in forcing a stalemate, a temporary stand-off in what appears to be an international capitalist transformation of the whole shipping industry. Thus, the government-sponsored hiring-hall, the OTP, remains; no

registered docker may work longer than six-months straight if other registered dockers are unemployed and are signed-on to the 'rotating-list' at the hiring hall; health-and-safety conditions to be up-graded in all Contenemar branches ( see Industrial Worker , May and June 1987, for further details on some of this information).

Though plainly a defensive struggle (while some of the strikes themselves were very *offensive*--like the use of homemade bazookas against the cops in Gijon...see issue number 9 the British revolutionary paper Wildcat, address given elsewhere), the highly radical autonomy of the Coordinadora, independent and opposed to the control of the state and the company as well as the unions and parties, was the foundation for this unfortunately isolated industrial conflict and also may represent a form of autonomous class organization capable of

bringing isolated sections of the working class together against Capital. (For more detailed and close-at-hand reports on the struggles from a radical perspective, check out ETCETERA-Correspondencia de la Guerra Social, Editorial Etcetera, Apartado Correos 1.363, Barcelona, Spain.)

An article in the San Francisco Chronicle in March, titled Police Battle Thousands of Students, gave many details of intelligent and commendable tactics used by rioters in Madrid:

"Thousands of masked demonstrators hurled firebombs and broken beer bottles at police outside the Education Ministry yesterday in a mass protest prompted by the government's refusal to scrap college entrance exams.

Riot police charged the teenagers, who had pelted them with rocks and jagged bottles, thrown firebombs at the ministry and built blazing barricades, witnesses said.

Traffic jams built up as police convoys guided by a helicopter crisscrossed central Madrid to flush out rioters.

Witnesses and Red Cross sources said two photographers were injured in the rioting. Photographers and television crews have been attacked in earlier protests by youth wary of being identified by the police.

A Madrid judge yesterday closed down a radio station that told rioters how to make firebombs, fire slingshots at the police and place steel wires across streets to behead motorcycle patrolmen.

The report said police were investigating the sale on Madrid's flea market of powerful slingshots dubbed "elephant killers", which were used against police in recent clashes.

Thousands of provincial high school students converged on Madrid in busses for yesterday's demonstration,, which capped a weeklong boycott of classes.

They were in a defiant mood...Students set ablaze a red coffin bearing (Education Minister) Maravall's name outside the Ministry.

"Protests are not losing momentum. Many kids are joining us, and we are on the verge of victory," 17-year-old Victoria Roncero said.

"It's better to lose a year of school, and sort out the rest of your life," said Africa Milaro, 18.



**A proletarian's stone is a policeman's headache-** Guardia Civil pigs getting stoned in the Spanish steel town of Reinosa



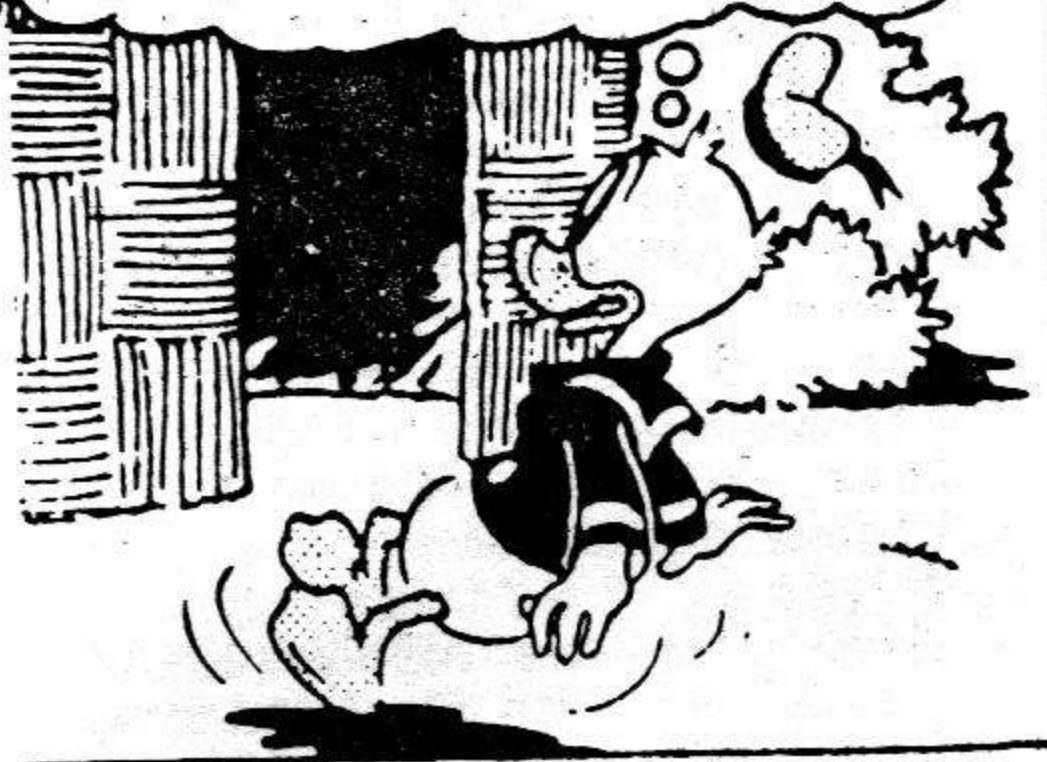
An Education Ministry spokesman said protesters want everything at once, and yielding to their demands would upset the whole education system and the government's scheduled reform plans."

According to an article in the February 2nd Cambio 16:

"Most of the students demands are related not to the education they are receiving but to access to universities. College degrees are increasingly required to land a job, and young people fear for their futures if the university selection process passes them by...they have seen more than 700,000 of their older siblings finish school only to register at the unemployment offices. And nearly 500,000 of their own peers-those younger than 19-are unemployed. Most young people are obliged to

live with their parents until they are nearly 30...Unemployment among people between 16 and 24 is more than 45 percent.

WHAT! WOW! THEY ARE NATIVES TOO BUT A LITTLE MORE CIVILIZED.



And the total unemployment rate in Spain is more over 21 percent of the workforce, over three million people, the highest unemployment rate in Western Europe. Massive unemployment is being used by the Social Democrats to push a racist law, the *ley de extranjeria*, a law intended to end immigration to Spain from outside the Common Market. Thousands of Arab, African and Portugese Gypsies were seized by the police and held in concentration camps in preparation for their deportation.

In future issues of the Angry Workers Bulletin we plan to have information on the situation in Spain from people on the scene.



## FROM THE FALKLANDS WAR... TO THE CLASS WAR

Five years ago, the British "Task Force" attacked the Falkland Islands to evict the Argentine occupiers. The ruling classes of Britian and Argentina had long-term interests in 'sovereignty' over the islands as a basis for the exploitation of mineral resources throughout the region. However the main reason behind the war was more immediate: to control and maintain the exploitation of capitalisms' most basic resource- the working class!

Argentina invaded the islands to turn the attention of the workers and the poor from the deepening economic crisis and their worsening living conditions. In 1976, mass strikes had forced the rulers of Argentina to grant huge pay raises to keep up with inflation. By 1982, these pay increases had been eaten away. Class struggles were growing again and Galtieri's regime murdered around thirty-thousand people over six years. Yet as soon as war broke out, the



Argentine left and unions called on workers to fight and die and demonstrate for a regime soaked in the blood of the working class.

The war was also used by the British government for the same ends: to restore its credibility and attack the class struggle. The riots of 1981, involving thousands of angry proletarians throughout Britain, had shattered the cosy consensus of British politics. The conservatives badly needed an issue to unite the nation and to focus the smoldering hatred of growing numbers of working class people on an external enemy. In Britain, the Labor Party supported the imperialist war effort, as they have always done. The unions called off a dock strike, and persuaded Hawker Siddeley workers in Bristol to end the overtime ban. The electricians union demanded more arms spending. The health service union denounced striking hospital workers. As always the unions and the Labour Party showed that they are the bosses' ass-kissers.

There was little resistance to the war in Britain, though Portsmouth dock-workers refused to sail with the fleet. Few workers realized its real significance; an attack on their struggles and living standards. It was used to test weapons for N.A.T.O.s' war machine and to prepare the working class to support it. After the war, Thatcher used her victory to redouble her attacks on the working class. Workers who were unpatriotic enough to go on strike were denounced as the 'enemy within' and given the same treatment as the 'Argies'.

There was more resistance and active sabotage of the war in Argentina, and riots among the conscripts on the Falklands. The defeat doubled the problems of the Argentine ruling class...the 'avenging angel' of class

struggle rose up once more. Strikes and riots have become an almost daily occurrence in an economy on the verge of catastrophe. That's why parliamentary government was brought in; to restore the ruling class's credibility.

In Britain the Falklands victory was used to win the election and we expect the Tories will attempt to use the anniversary for the same purpose. In both countries, the war was used to promote the idea of democracy, the idea that workers have an interest in participating in the system that oppresses them.

As the capitalist parties of Britain and Argentina, left and right, try to use the Falklands anniversary to stir up nationalism among the working class, our message must be one of international solidarity. The working class has no country...At the bottom of the South Atlantic, corpses from both sides mingle with one another. Capitalism means the same thing in both countries: bad housing, wage cuts, unemployment and war. In every country, workers and the unemployed are fighting back against our common enemy. Everywhere the unions attack our struggle. In every country the left and right wings of the ruling class try to make us abandon our class interests and unite with our class enemies.

Against the international war preparations of today, only the international class struggle provides serious resistance. Any class struggle throws a monkey-wrench into the works for capitalism, but a unified international struggle consciously directed against capitalism and its war drive will be the only way of stopping the bloodbath millions of working-class people are facing now.

This leaflet is produced by internationalist revolutionaries in Britain and Argentina and is a small contribution towards the international solidarity we advocate.

**DOWN WITH BRITAIN! DOWN WITH ARGENTINA! FROM BRIXTON TO BUENOS AIRES, CLASS WAR FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION!** This leaflet is being distributed in Argentina by the group 'Workers Emancipation', and in Britain by 'Wildcat'. Wildcat can be reached at : Box W, 75 Picadilly, Manchester M1 2BU England, or Box W, 180 Mansfield Road, Nottingham, England. Write without mentioning the name. Emancipation Obrera can be contacted via Wildcat. Published in solidarity by the Angry Workers Bulletin





# John Olday

Artist and Fighter for the Social Revolution

John Olday, born Arthur William, came into the world in the year 1905 in the city of Hamburg on the north coast of Germany. The illegitimate son of a German woman and a Scotsman, he spent his childhood almost entirely in the environs of the Hamburg harbor. Very early on, he learned about the social revolutionary ideas which were widespread among the Hamburg sailors and dockworkers. At the age of eleven, he joined in the Hamburg hunger riots of 1916, in the middle of the First World War. Two years later, he participated in the sailors' mutiny and the workers' uprisings, acting as an ammunition hauler for a Spartacist machine gun emplacement. Following the crushing defeat of this year-long struggle, Olday had to make a last minute escape, barely avoiding capture and certain execution.

In the early twenties, as an agitator with the 'Communist Youth', Olday got involved in plundering and looting by masses of starving people, who were suffering from continual food shortages. Olday was, however, quickly expelled from the 'Communist Youth' due to his "anarchist deviations". Shortly thereafter he became a member of the "Anarcho-Spartacists". He fought in one of their guerrilla squads during the workers' uprisings in October 1923, which were bloodily suppressed. Throughout the next year, he was active in the Ruhr-Gebiet, the important mining and industrial region in western Germany, under French occupation at the time. As a revolutionary anarchist, he agitated for the reassertion of the movement for workers' councils.

In 1925 and through the next several years, Olday withdrew from the revolutionary movement so as to devote his energies primarily to artistic creation. Based on his

extraordinary talents as a draughtsman, he soon developed into a recognized political cartoonist and expressionistic graphic artist. His socially critical theater-pieces, performed in Hamburg cabarets, also brought him renown. During this period, it

appears that he spent his time completely on a career as a graphic artist and author.

He did reestablish his contacts with his Spartacist friends at some point in time before the National Socialists (NSDAP) came to power in 1933. For his friends, he



Das kann Dir nicht passieren!

This can't happen to you!



illustrated flyers with very incisive anti-Nazi caricatures. After 1933, he continued to work with these social-revolutionary activists who had not yet been arrested by the fascists. One activity of his comrades was to reduce the size of Olday's drawings and their texts. In doing this, these much smaller revolutionary tracts could be sent unnoticed through the German mail, disguised as the instructions for the use of accompanying kitchen appliances.

At the same time, Olday played the role of an eccentric gay artist. This gained him admission to the highest circles of the Hamburg NSDAP. In this way, he secured first-hand information, which he then passed on to the anti-Nazi underground. In doing this he was able to give timely warnings to many comrades about impending arrests. He saved many friends from almost inevitable death in concentration camps. As for Olday himself, his popularity as a satirist and his close connection with leading Hamburg Nazis, who wished to maintain a semblance of artistic freedom in Hitler's Germany, meant that he could continue to work on in Germany. That is, until 1938. Political and intellectual repression sharpened, and it became impossible for Olday to remain in Germany any longer. So, with a Gestapo commando group hurrying to arrest him, Olday fled for Great Britain.

\* \* \* \* \*

Olday quickly found good contacts among pacifists in London, when he arrived. In 1939, they helped him to publish a collection of his drawings entitled The Kingdom of Rags. Pictured in his strongly angular graphic style, he offered an impressive representation of the horrors of the Nazi regime to the British public, and thereby aided in exposing the nature of Germany's fascism. Besides his graphic talents, he also placed his considerable organizational talents at the service of the struggle against the impending war. (This opposition was quite different from that of our contemporary so-called "peace movement".-A.W.B. typists note)



Prozession der Opfer  
Procession of the Victims

He aided in the coordination of the sinking of a German munitions ship off the coast of Holland. He planned the assassination in Antwerp of a Jewish collaborator of the Nazis.

From time to time he was able to visit Paris and work with other exiled council communists. They drew up a "Call to the German Workers", which was transmitted over Radio Strasbourg on the German language program. Remembering the successful passive resistance of, especially, the coal-miners during the French occupation of the Rheinland following the First World War, Olday called for the workers to use similar methods, including sabotage, to block the Nazi war machine.

In connection with these kind of activities, Olday, without the knowledge of even his closest friends, married Hilde Monte in 1942. She was a German Jew. They had met three years before as preparations were being made for

what turned out to be a failed bomb-attentat against Adolph Hitler in a Munich beer hall. Although she was a dogmatic Marxist intellectual, (And us folks at the A.W.B. aren't sure just what kind of 'dogmatic marxist') Olday explained the marriage to his comrades on the grounds that he was protecting her with his British citizenship from possible deportation back to Germany. Hilde Monte's political work included editorship of various German language publications, and support work for Jewish underground resistance in regions occupied by the German Army. In 1944, she was completing a mission as a courier, when, on the Swiss-German border, she was captured, then summarily executed, by an S.S. patrol. A museum in Israel now bears her name.

\* \* \* \* \*

Upon Britain's entry into World War Two in 1940, the government



had instituted compulsory military service. Olday was to have been included in this patriotic duty as well. He would have served as a sapper, had he not successfully deserted before he could be sent into the imperialist war. Supported by anarchists of the "Freedom" group, who provided him with false identity papers, he remained at large until 1944. During those years, he put all his energies towards the anti-militarist fight. In 1942, he was made a member of the War Commentary editorial board. He maintained his involvement as an editor when the new journal Freedom emerged from the War Commentary journal in 1945. Throughout these years, Olday---signing himself "xxx"---created political cartoons and caricatures, whose satire grew more and more caustic as the war raged on.

Olday, together with Marie Louise Berneri and Vernon Richards (both of whom were well known as libertarian activists) wrote a broadsheet that appeared every two weeks for the soldiers of the British Army. Entirely within the tradition of revolutionary anti-militarism, (as opposed to pacifism and "peace movements" A.W.B. note) Olday used the pages of that publication to argue for the construction of workers' and soldiers' councils, similar to those that he had fought for in the mutinous upheavals in Hamburg after World War One. For Olday, the goal of the power of the councils was the libertarian-communist reorganization of society. This propaganda, very well-planned and widely distributed, soon had a telling effect on workers in Britain's war industries. Naturally, the government became rather upset. Soon, growing numbers of anarchist militants were being arrested. Fortunately, an unshakable solidarity kept all but a few cases of sabotage from being proven.

During the war, Olday endeavored to aid the few social revolutionaries left in Hamburg in the underground war against the German regime. He facilitated the conveyance of information and



March of  
Death

*Salmon*

supplies to Hamburg with the help of members of the anarcho-syndicalist 'International Workers Association'. They were Scandinavian sailors and merchant marines whose work still carried them regularly into German ports even during the war. For their paper, the Industrial Worker, Olday produced a constant supply of drawings and poems. Contacts formed here would later prove quite valuable to him.

With the dedicated backing of his friends from the 'Freedom' group and from comrades in the I.W.A., Olday was able to publish a second collection of political drawings, called The March of Death, in 1943. In his characteristic, sharp graphic style, he unmasked the similarities between the ruling powers--whether they had a capitalist, imperialist, fascist or "socialist" ideological veneer--in their oppression of "their" populations. Without any superfluous detail in the forty-one works, he showed not only the comparable mechanisms of statist manipulations in the different systems of political power, but also the consequent results: almost inevitable war-like conflicts becoming a "march of death" for the people. Inside of a year and a half, they sold ten thousand copies of The March of Death, an unexcelled classic of anarchist anti-militarist propaganda...

...Finally, in 1944, Olday was nabbed as he tried to procure a typewriter for the 'Freedom' group. Though the suspicion of theft was quickly proved to be false, Olday's true identity could not be kept secret. He was sentenced in January 1945 to a year's imprisonment, having been found guilty of "theft through the finding and fraudulent use of an identity card". After serving eight months, Olday was granted an early release. Immediately, the military authorities took him to a prison camp where he began serving another two years for desertion... However, by means of a massive public campaign, and with the aid of sympathetic individuals like Herbert Read, George Orwell, and George Woodcock, Olday's friends of the 'Freedom Press Defense Campaign' engineered his release after only three months.

\* \* \* \* \*

Based on his contacts with German prisoners of war held in Britain, Olday initiated the formation of a new revolutionary propaganda organization, the 'Internationalist Bakunin-Group' (IB-G), with the aim of revitalizing the anarchist movement, especially in Germany. This was in August of 1946. Their proclaimed goals were "the destruction of statism in every form and the construction of a non-authoritarian commonwealth

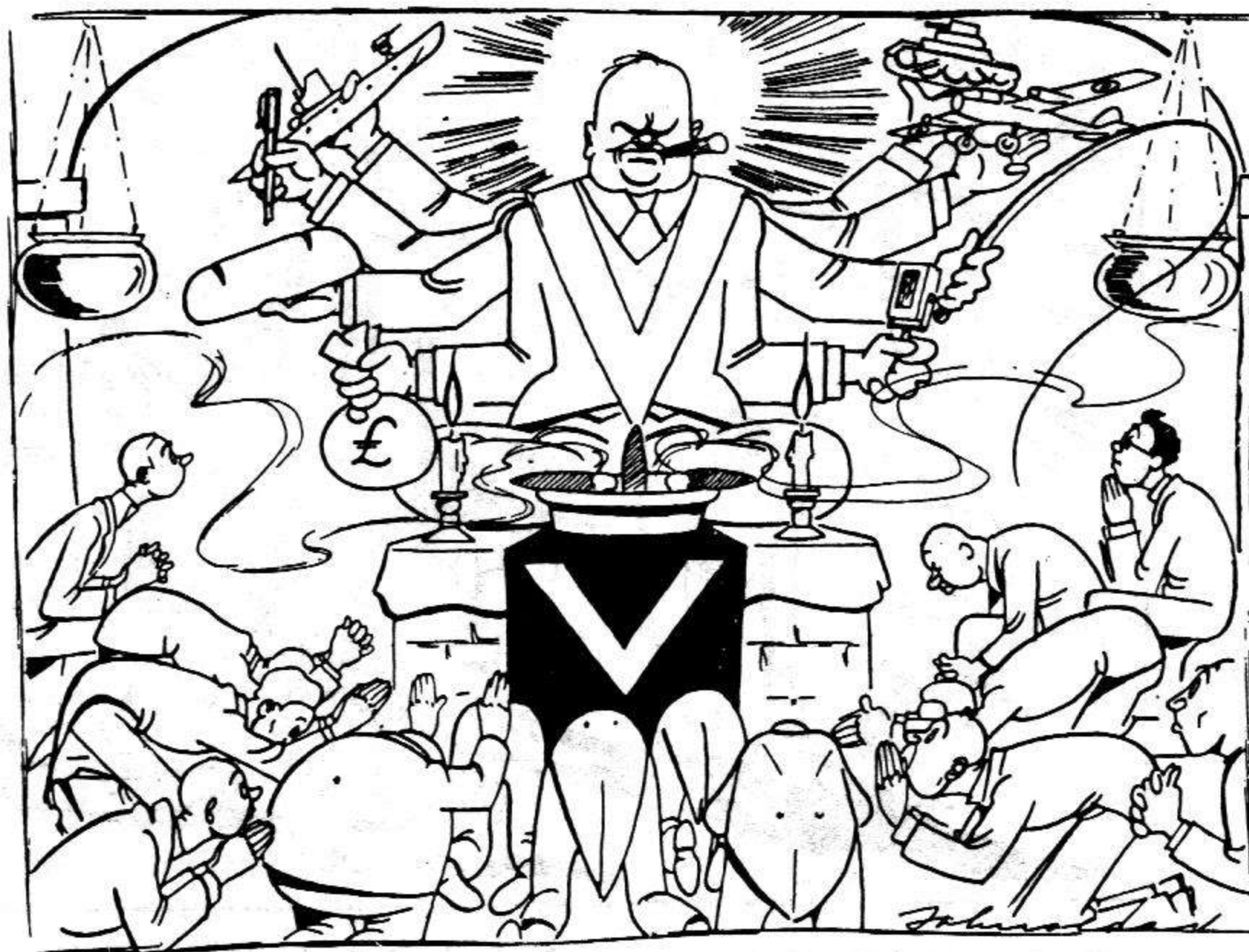


centered on the system of workers' and communal councils." The 'IB-G' drew a lesson from the collapse of the labor unions and leftist parties in the face of Nazi-ism in 1933: "The class struggle can only be carried forward individually and through small groups, since true revolutionary mass organizations will not be tolerated by either state-capitalism or state-socialism." Olday was assigned the task of developing organizational prerequisites in an ideas-and-actions campaign in the English camps for German prisoners of war. He not only got leaflets and pamphlets smuggled into the camps, but also helped to build small anarchist groups linked together by couriers. The work progressed so well that by 1947 many well known anarchists were able to speak in front of the prisoners, under the cover of presenting an educational series on proper democratic practices for the undemocratic Germans.

The German prisoners were scheduled to be released from the camps in 1948. Olday developed a plan for the extension of the 'IB-G' s agitational and educational work. He suggested that the German anarchist movement could re-emerge by means of a "three-to-a-group" system. (1)

The idea was for three German anarchists to form a clandestine group, with the aim of "gnawing like moles at the roots of the State." Since he felt it would be fairly simple for each anarchist to win two new sympathizing comrades, to then form second generation groups and so on, he felt that in this manner "anarchism will grow like a stout tree and break the foundation of the State." From their

(1): This seems similar to the system of 'revolutionary confidential-men' among sailors of the German Navy towards the end of the First World War and the beginning of the German Revolution-A.W.B. note, see for example, The Wilhelmshaven Revolt, by 'Icarus', Ernst Schneider. This pamphlet may be available from the Fifth Estate Bookservice. P.O.Box 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202 U.S.A.)



"Democratic" dictator

"Demokratischer" Führer

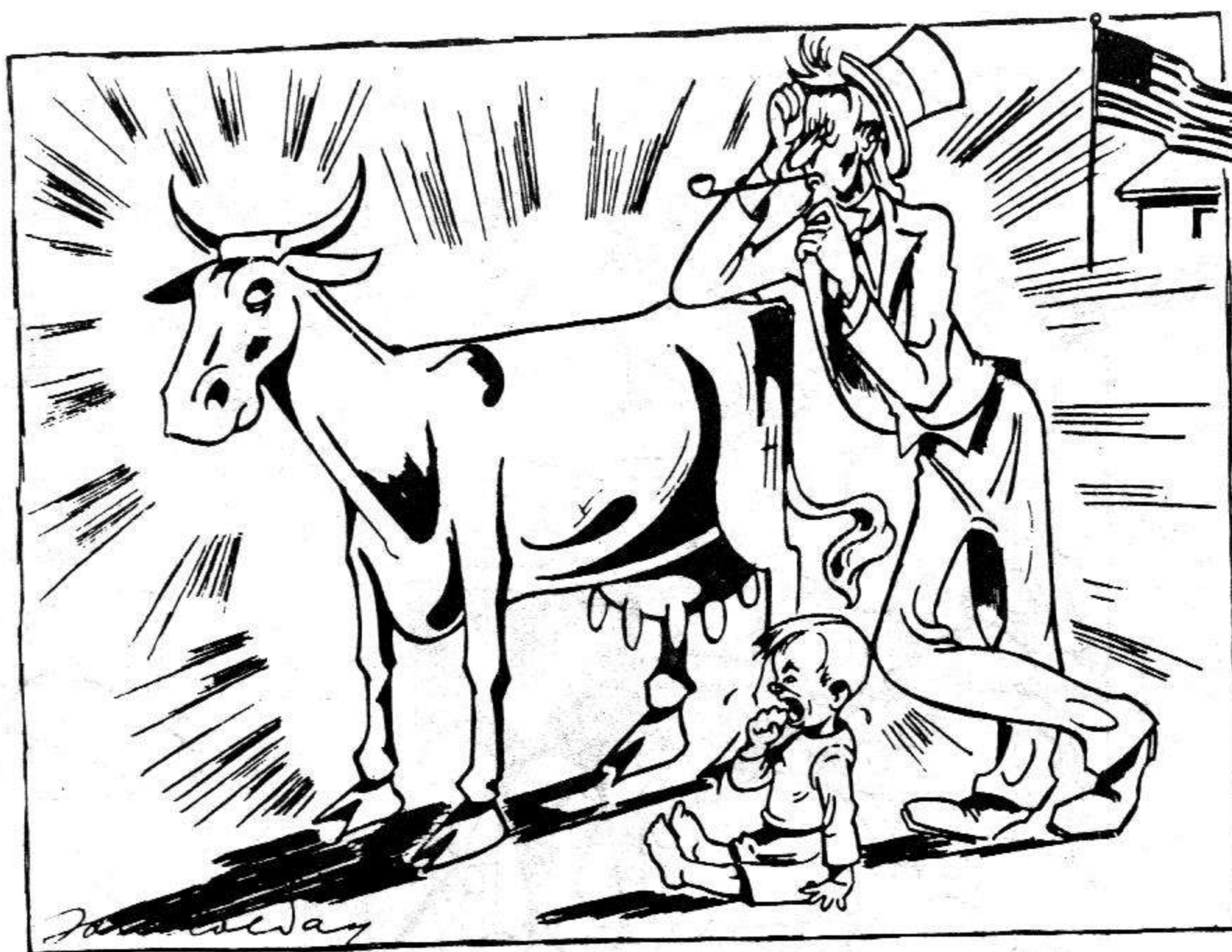
uncompromising revolutionary sensibilities and "an unrelenting rejection of all half-measures", the 'IB-G' endorsed this policy of working in small, clandestine groups. They rejected every sort of collaboration in governmental institutions as reformist. Olday was assigned to generally oversee the new German section of the 'IB-G'.

The success of the British anarchists propaganda work was demonstrated shortly after the repatriation of prisoners of war to Germany. By the summer, the anarchists were fully involved in hunger-riots in the Rheinland. In an illegal manifesto, the German 'IB-G' called on the starving people to join in forming revolutionary councils. From London, Olday sent a periodic information bulletin containing suggestions, which ranged from rent strikes to consumer boycotts. Unhappily, because he lacked specific information concerning the immediate situation in Germany, his particular recommendations missed the mark and failed to have any lasting resonance. However, a new opportunity for the expression of his social revolutionary concepts was soon to appear.

\* \* \* \*

In war-ravaged and now geopolitically divided Germany, the few surviving comrades confronted an atmosphere of complete social despair and loss of perspective. Rudolf Rocker was one of the few who made it. Between the First and the Second World Wars, he had been one of the leading militants of the anarcho-syndicalist 'Free Workers Union-Germany' (FAU-D). At the behest of his friends, he wrote the pamphlet, A View of the Situation in Germany-the Possibilities for a Libertarian Movement. His main concern here was the question of the re-emergence of anarchism in Germany. He thought this would depend on an understanding between the remaining libertarian activists and on the preservation of the historical and theoretical heritage of libertarian socialism. Rocker's central theme addressed the reconstruction of Germany from not only the economic and political but social and cultural angles as well. The rebuilding he envisioned required an all-encompassing cultural activity in order to bring about the broad effective dissemination of the libertarian perspective, in an atmosphere of renewed intellectual and spiritual clarity. Therefore, he spoke out for a communitarian socialism as the sole form appropriate for the





Gold kann ich nicht essen! But I can't eat gold!

effective transformation of social life. To Rocker, only the community (Gemeinde) structure was a suitable arena for social change, because he felt that the intervention of the state could be excluded from it. At the community level, real mutual aid for the general good might bring actual form and content to the ideas of socialism and freedom. Resistance to both state-capitalism and state-"socialist" systems demanded participation in all social movements of mutual aid such as workers' unions, participation in communal administrations(?), and the establishment of decentralized small industry and consumer cooperatives. Only in this way, he felt, could the new society--a confederation of communal regions--begin to emerge, wherein all economic and political activities would proceed on the ethical foundations of human freedom...

Rocker recommended that all those who consider themselves to be, in this sense, anarcho-communalists, should form a 'Libertarian Federalist Alliance', and in doing this protect the remaining German anarchists from complete atomization and isolation.

Responses to Rocker's well-intentioned plea ranged from respectful agreement to contemptuous rejection. The

sharpest critique came from John Olday in London. For him, the revolution could only be achieved by revolutionary means. Any compromise must be rejected. Olday accused Rocker of having forgotten the revolutionary upheavals of the German proletariat in 1919, 1921 and 1923. He accused him of having abandoned the revolutionary principles of the 'FAU-D'. (2)

Olday was enraged against Rocker's spirit for communal and cooperative self-organization. Olday called it self-managed capitalism, not essentially different from Western state capitalism. Though a purportedly "communalist" system, the exploitation of human beings by other human beings would continue. As for Rocker's recommendation of a coalition of all Federalists, Olday countered with

(2) During the movement towards civil war in Germany the 'FAU-D' denied the necessity of armed violence, and denied that the armed proletariat would have to use coercive measures against its enemies. Instead the 'FAU-D' saw a proletarian revolution as coming about simply through a big general strike where the capitalist state would vanish without any need on the part of the revolutionary forces

the argument for a revolutionary association of all anti-authoritarian socialists, council communists and anarchists. These revolutionaries ought to unite, he thought, in a new 'Spartacist Alliance', based on anarcho-communist principles, without internal bureaucracy or rigid discipline. Each illegal group composing the 'Spartacist Alliance', in accordance with their own assesment of the current situation and of the immediate possibilities, should autonomously agitate and act to realize the guiding ideas of a massive and purposeful attack on and destruction of the state by the revolutionary proletariat. This assesment of the workers' councils, which in his opinion constituted the model for a non-authoritarian society, brought him into conflict with the other members of the 'IB-G', who considered it "Bolshevism". So Olday left the 'IB-G' in February 1948. He proceeded to build up an organization which more adequately expressed his thinking. Quite soon he was working with a network of "Spartacist Groups" in Holland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Saarland, and Britain. In Germany alone, sixty groups were involved, primarily in the Soviet-occupied Eastern zone. Terribly, the Stalinist secret police "liquidated" the eastern zone groups near the end of the year. Olday's informational bulletin, with its name changed from Anarchist to Council-Anarchist, only appeared in small numbers per issue. At the end of the 1940's, Olday abruptly dropped out of activity in the international anarchist movement. The "Spartacist Groups", now lacking his burning spirit, faded and finally disappeared.

In spite of the fact that this outspoken and intense man's

to attack and suppress the state. This archaic syndicalist idea, criticised at the time by the revolutionaries of the Communist Workers Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.) and the revolutionary factory organizations like the A.A.U.D. and A.A.U.D.-E., is pretty clearly not an expression of a revolutionary perspective. (A.W.B. typist note)



political activity lasted just ten years in Britain, Olday's contribution needs to be appreciated...(In the post-war era), he was among the first to renew the call:

"All Power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. Unlike the ideas of Rocker, Olday's energetic declaration of anarchist principles in post-war Germany retained some significance well into the 1950's.

\* \* \* \* \*

At the beginning of 1950, John Olday emigrated to Sydney, Australia. There he got involved with various cabarets and theaters, and was at last able to do work which could be harmonized with his social-critical and revolutionary ideas. Olday had tried before to do that sort of thing, but without noticeable success. He had been hoping to generate some public recognition as a caricaturist, novelist and playwright. He had also wanted to gather a group of artist friends around him. It was not until he reached Australia in the '50's that he found a rich opportunity for artistic realization, which brought him great popularity for the next two decades.

In the late 1960's, attracted by the explosive struggles of the new social movements, Olday returned to London by way of Hamburg and Berlin. The situation seemed to offer him another chance to intervene in political struggles with his social-revolutionary perspectives. At first, Olday worked with the two main British anarchist papers Freedom and Black Flag. Then, in 1974, he founded the 'International Archive Team', a world-wide correspondence bureau. In connection with that, he again took up activity for council-anarchism. he worked with the I.W.W.; he published the German-English information bulletin Mit Teilung; translated materials of the I.W.W. into German; drew caricatures and kept up contact with exiles and prisoners throughout Europe and Japan. In spite of poor health, he continued to draw social-critical cartoons and worked on two new plays.

In the summer of 1977, at the age of 72, death tore him away from this last creative period.

John Olday's life took place against the constraint background of the anarchist and anti-militarist struggle. Olday was convinced that, due to specific social conditions, this struggle had to become an armed struggle, if a definitive negation of the state is to be achieved. Individualism and pacifism he rejected as bourgeois sicknesses in the anarchist movement. However, he knew that the armed struggle must always be very closely tied to a generalized class rebellion; otherwise, there is the risk that it would simply drift off into blind terrorism.

Peter Peterson

Trafik 21,  
Internationales Journal zur Kulture  
der Anarchie  
Eduardstrasse 40, D-4330  
Mulheim/Ruhr 1 BRD

{translated by CE}

### And In France They

On December 18, 1986, some engineers of the French National Railway Company(SNCF) began a wildcat strike by blocking rail lines with engines left on open track outside the main Parisian station of Gare du Nord. They then proceeded to organise autonomous strike-committees.

In three days, similar committees were initiated in all 94 depots of the SNCF, involving approximately 235,000 workers. As reported by PMG in Trafik 26: "Dissatisfaction with their [trade-union] organizations had grown steadily amongst even activist trade-unionists, as had the general unwillingness to allow themselves to be a controlled mass at union-dominated demos

## VIVE LA GREVE SAUVAGE !

L'extension rapide des arrêts de travail à la SNCF s'est faite sans les syndicats. Les états-majors, habitués à épuiser les gars par des grèves inutiles de 24 heures, l'ont pris dans la tête ! Dans certains dépôts les stals-CGT se sont faits sortir. Mais ces salopes sont généralement tenaces.

Au grand effroi des intermédiaires attitrés, c'est une idée qui s'est communiquée : l'idée que l'on ne veut pas être les lèche-culs des chefs et de l'administration pour mériter l'avancement et le salaire. Partout c'est la même saloperie qui veut faire des gens des chiens-soumis, du travail un privilège, des TUC une faveur et de la misère une fatalité.

Y'EN A MARRE D'ENCAISSER ! C'EST DANS L'AIR DE DECEMBRE La SNCF affirme que les grévistes méprisent les usagers, et en même temps fait circuler des trains conduits par des cadres peu familiarisés aux règles actuelles de sécurité. Comme le disent des conducteurs grévistes: "La SNCF ne respecte pas la sécurité des voyageurs !" Gare du Nord, la Direction appuyée de quelques auxiliaires spécialisés, dont un officier à la retraite, appelle les usagers à jouer les briseurs de grève. En les envoyant parlementer sur les voies, elle espère obtenir la levée des piquets et favoriser le mécontentement des crétins.

Malgré tous les efforts de la Direction générale, des médias et autres clébards, la grève n'est même pas impopulaire.

Voilà un beau Noël ! Les grands magasins, les commerçants parisiens, l'industrie du ski, les sociétés de vente par correspondance, l'entreprise SNCF... en ont fait les frais.

QUEL SCANDALE !!! Les convenances sociales de fin d'année ne sont même pas respectées.

Les grévistes de la SNCF organisent un beau bordel et nous ne sommes pas mécontents.

DES USAGERS.

Paris le 27.12.86



and strikes. This alienation from the unions is indicated in the significant decline in union membership. Amongst the railworkers, between 1951 and 1982, membership in the Communist Party-controlled General Workers Confederation (CGT) fell from 38.2% to 20.6%; and in the Socialist Party's Democratic Confederation of French Workers (CFDT) from 7.9% to 6.6%.

As opposed to the apathy in the unions, the activity of disappointed ex-unionists and intransigent non-unionists strengthened.... Already in the big strikes of 1984, which had aimed [unsuccessfully] at achieving a 35-hour work-week, the catalysing role had been assumed by the 'rabble-rousers' and uncontrollables' as they brought to life co-ordinating committees independent of and opposed to the trade-unions."

The strikers demands in the rail strike were for: increased wages; retention of over-time and bonus pay for night-shifts and holiday-duties; maintenance of seniority rights in promotions; improvement in health and safety standards; reduction of hours.

By the end of December--and now including Metro-subway workers--80% of public transportation was stopped. The State was losing around \$12million per day. Gas and Electric Utility workers also made their own strike: at first, they occasionally shut off all service, but in a move that helped undermine the media blitz of the Chirac/Mitterand government, "they quickly went over to [the tactic of] not keeping accounts of services and billing; that is, truly a strike 'for the people and against the State'".

Nonetheless, by January 14, after 27 days on strike, the strike movement dissolved in the face of increasing irritation and hostility amongst the population due to the transport problems. The railworkers forced a meager 3% wage increase and left the other issues essentially unsettled.

During the course of the strike, the following leaflet was written by a group of radicals based in Paris to be distributed to Italian railworkers. They describe and attempt to clarify what was going on in the wildcat started in December 1986:

### TO RAILWORKERS OF ITALY:

This leaflet is addressed to the workers in Italy who have followed the struggles of the railway, postal and other French workers in recent weeks.

Those who think that these are only French affairs, or who believe that each one needs only respond from their own corner, their own depot or country, should not read this leaflet; those who think that restructuring for the good health of the economy and the national interest is the interest of workers, they too should not read this leaflet.

For we do not think that the tracks stop at Domadossola [the main French/Italian rail border crossing] or go only as far as the Gare du Lyon [in Paris]--cops and commodities have never had a homeland and the SNCF and the FS [Italian State Railroad Company] are different only in the colors of their tickets: thousands of railworkers hounded to death by wage labor to transport the commodities through which we have been dispossessed and sent to prison (factories, offices, etc)...[The average age at death amongst French railworkers is 53; CE]...



Over →





In preparation for several months, the railway workers' strike commenced and unfolded outside the union structure. A minority of railworkers at a number of stations, tired of union spectacles such as "days of action", had decided to strike before the Christmas holidays.

From the beginning they co-ordinated their actions outside and against administrative and geographical barriers via direct contact with other workers. They created two national co-ordinating bodies to fight a new wage structure which would separate workers through merit pay, as well as to improve working conditions and housing facilities. The strike was extended with pickets blocking trains in the face of riot cops, using sabotage, etc....When the government abandoned the new wage structure, then the strike crumbled and was re-captured station-by-station--to the great joy of the unions and the State....



The immediate needs expressed by the strike are clear: first, a simple need for sharing by millions of people--to work less and earn more; a need to demolish the increasing 'merit-pay' heirarchization of salaries and also to make higher wage categories accessible to the maximum number of railworkers. That is, the need for a more decent life, in the face of the massacre which occurs daily, together with the need to co-ordinate their struggles by themselves, by-passing the sub-sections of the Department of Labor or the trade-unions.

Consciously or not, the railworkers attacked the national economy. We don't cry for the millions of francs lost each day by the SNCF. Their money always comes out of our hides. The railway workers decided not to sacrifice themselves for the economy. Instead, the economy would do the sacrificing. The railworkers and other strikers (postal workers especially) decided



to turn public opinion around by using publicity. But the strike always had public support. It took the political parties a complete month to muster a few thousand cretins to demonstrate against the strike. The press, of course, made use of these demos, spreading lies about the return to work at such-and-such station or depot, attempting to discourage the strikers and thereby enhance the resignation for a return to work. It was then that railworkers had the good sense to treat journalists the same way they would treat scabs [Is it really 'good sense' to treat



other workers-even scabs-the 'same way' you treat the reporters of the bourgeoisie? CE]. We would do well to be able to rapidly circulate information of our struggles by ourselves.

By way of contrast, the press scribbled pages and pages about the student unrest [There were a series of mass student protests against a planned restructuring of the French university system. Reproductions of original leaflets and flyers, produced at that time by some of these same Parisian radicals, are available in a compilation from La Sociale, c/o Librarie Alternative, 2035 Boul. St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2X 2T3]. But we know that a minority of the student movement and its organizers are struggling for a university more adapted to the economy. After all, the national co-ordination of the student protests joined the Socialist Party!

But the railworkers co-ordinating committees broke the union monopoly of communication within the working class. The unions, already sickly, have not recovered from this slap in the face. However, unionist ideologies are still strong. For example, the limitation of strikes within each particular economic sector. At the beginning of the strike, there was a division between the train and yard workers; and at the end of the strike the total exclusion of non-railworkers. In spite of the timid entry of other workers into struggle, the

rail strike was kept as a private affair between the State and the SNCF workers. The railworkers have leverage because of their key position in the economy, but have been unable to use it for other workers who desire to fight back, but for whom it is more difficult. An example being the 30 postal sorting stations on strike at the same time, who were not drawn into the national co-ordinating committees of the railway strikers.

Leftists were successful, at the beginning of the strike, at limiting the extent of the break with the union. They helped spread the illusion of the possibilities, and especially the utility, of union control over the strike. Trying to breathe life into a cadaver. They grew alarmed at the extensive self-organization and turned against the strike.

The methods of struggle: the repeated use of sabotage (which was denounced by all the capitalist factions--government, parties and unions); the immobilization of locomotives; the abuse of switching shunts; the damaging of signals; the effective mobile picketing, where the pickets would disperse with the intervention of the riot police only to regroup elsewhere to attack (the cops were unable to protect the miles of track especially around Paris). These tactics have brought some fresh air blowing in France.

In spite of all its limitations, and in spite of the fact that the workers returned to work without anything, the strike was not a defeat. The acquisitions of a strike have never been economic. The acquisition of the SNCF strike is the regained confidence in struggle. It is the lesson of the direct co-ordination of the strike, which marks the end of the reign of the unions. It is the attack against the logic of the national economy. These actions are what distinguished the railworkers' strike. All workers need to spread their struggles and break down the professional and national barriers that separate us.

As opposed to the competition created between us each day, we must bring forth association again. Quickly, before the crushing barbarities of civilization generate an even darker future.

This translation of an unsigned leaflet is by M. If you are interested in getting a copy of the original French text, please write via AWB, POBox 22466, Milwaukee, Oregon 97222.





## MOM! DAD! your kids are in the street!

The following leaflet was produced by the 'Rogues' of LEP, a vocational school, during the student demonstrations and riots that happened in France in December 1986. This leaflet was distributed at a local engineering factory in an attempt to generalize and change the nature of the movement, a movement which shattered a long standing social peace in France. We're reprinting this from Wildcat #10 from Manchester, England, and agree with their statement: "For us, it manages to capture the spirit of revolt..." Wildcat's address is given at the bottom of the leaflet on the Falkland Islands War

We are pupils of the electronics LEP within a bolt's throw of here, your sons. Today we are in the streets, like the students, but not exactly for the same reasons as them. They are fighting against selection in the university framework. We are fighting against selection in school, but especially against social segregation, against poverty! At school they talk to us all the time about enterprise, they propose to us that we do courses in it, visits like to the zoo, as if it were somehow nice, natural and as if we had a choice. We've come to ask your advice, and to give you ours. So how are things in the factory, which they so nicely call 'enterprise'? Things alright? Nice? The pay's good? The machines quiet? The boss is cool?

Answer us! If not, we're going to imagine that you're all bored to death, that you're dying, that it's heartbreaking, disgusting...! And don't tell us the opposite, we won't believe you, we see how you are when you come home in the evening, you don't even look at us, you turn on the T.V., you bolt your food down, you pant and puff a bit, you go to sleep. We're talking to you because a few years ago you were in our place, and these years- YOU ARE PAID TO KNOW HOW QUICKLY THEY'VE GONE BY! In one year, two, three, it'll be our turn, so we're educating ourselves so as not to be deceived later...So you don't want to come out? What's going on? You think everything's O.K.? Or maybe you don't have precise demands? Eh? Is that it? Here's a secret-neither do we! And really, that's

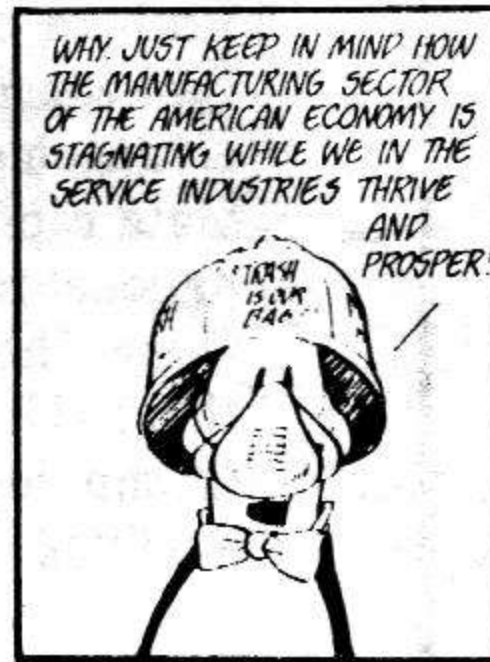
THE BEST WAY! That's what shits 'them' up the most...cause there they can't fool us. What makes up angry is a block, you can't make out the detail! You say; 'it's irresponsible you won't gain anything'-you are wrong-we've already gained- we have found each other, we have communicated amongst ourselves, we have re-invented friendship for ourselves... activity...We had a good laugh, like we don't do often! It's terrific!

We are dangerous, we are getting intelligent! So, guys, gals, you don't want to come with us? It's in the air. You don't feel it? You don't hear anything? IT'S BECAUSE OF THE MACHINES. TOO MUCH NOISE! TOO MUCH SMOKE! STOP THEM! COME OUT INTO THE STREET!

The first factory to come out in support of the youth will be a shock! In ten years from now they'll still remember; "It's them! It's the first ones who came out!" You know what makes them angry; they are telling each other THEY'RE PUTTING DOWN THEIR TOOLS...THEY'LL NEVER PICK THEM UP AGAIN...

Because you don't say anything, they'll think you'll never say anything! Then it's finished, that they've fucked you over! Show them that it's them who will get fucked over by history!

Come out so that we can explain what we mean! We are on the other side of the wall, without bosses, without parties, without unions, free as wild horses. Come and talk with us. Otherwise we'll get arrested! WE'RE WAITING FOR YOU!





## AN 'ULTRA'S' CONFERENCE?

There has been some talk of organizing an informal gathering of revolutionary extremists here in Northern California or in the Pacific Northwest sometime during the winter of 1987 and '88. Among subjects of interest to some of us around the Angry Workers Bulletin are 'Luddism', the historical phenomenon of 'machine-breaking' and violent protest against work conditions by people who have recently been incorporated into industrial wage-labor. Does history tend to demonstrate that 'new working classes' are more rebellious than 'old working classes'?

To what degree is the coming social explosion in Mexico going to alter the political situation in the United States? Is the kind of massive social unrest that we want to see here contingent on the Mexican situation? Will Mexico be America's next Vietnam, or even its last Vietnam? In the event of a major war, is the government even capable of any kind of full scale conventional military commitment? Or will its war be exclusively fought by proxy armies (like the Contras) mercenaries and elite units like the Rapid Deployment Force? What will be the war fighting strategy of the U.S. government in the period of America's Imperial decline?

It may well be that a formal conference of revolutionary 'ultras' would be premature, what with distances, expense of travel and the tenuous nature of our association to one another at this point. At the very least we would like to help initiate more regular communications between subversives (letters, articles, leaflets, stories, poems, graphics...) We will know more about this potential gathering in the coming months. Contact us for more details. And any material aid or technical skills that you wish to share with the Bulletin are greatly appreciated.

**Coming in the third issue of the Angry Workers Bulletin... will be articles on..**  
**From Left Communism to State Department Surrealism:**  
 Concerning the opportunist adventures of Stephen Schwartz,

the former publisher of The Alarm and the only member of the supposedly left-communist group 'FOCUS' in San Francisco. Stephen has moved up in the world from his days as an ersatz ultra-leftist and I.W.W. member. He is now a well-paid employee of a right-wing corporate institution called 'The Institute for Contemporary Studies'. The I.C.S. has close connections to the Reagan Administration, various branches of military intelligence and the C.I.A. Schwartz has been getting paid to be an apologist for the reagan war effort in Central America, and brags about being friends with Attorney General Edwin Meese. He has apparently been telling all he knows about the international revolutionary milieu to representatives of the American intelligence-gathering community...

**And it goes 'BOOM'!** - An article from the November '86 issue of the Karlsruher Stadtzeitung/'Wildcat' concerning the industrial restructuring and recomposition of the working class in West Germany carried out by Capital since the end of the 1970's, and especially following the onset of the 'boom' at the end of 1982...

**South-Africa...the Indestructable-Beat-** Evaluation of recent developments in the class war in South Africa. Critique of the demands and activities of the

reformist and state-capitalist oppositional leadership in South Africa and of the anti-apartheid movement in the United States;

**Indian Lands- Sacred or Sacrificed?** - by Ward Churchill.

And much more.

The first issue of the Angry Workers Bulletin is still available in photocopied form for \$2.50 (includes postage)

with articles on-

- Russia 1917, from a comrade in London, England.

- Solidarity, the Market and Marx, by Adam Buick of the World Socialist Party. A comparison of the ideas of Karl Marx and Cornelius Castoriadis on whether market relations are compatible with a communistic society.

- War or Revolution? - the text of a leaflet distributed by a small circle of people to sailors, soldiers and marines in the San Francisco Bay Area. A brief presentation of incidents of rebellion and mutiny in armies and navies from World War One to the Vietnam era.

- Miners! Learn From Your Wives! - Women in the British Miners' Strike - from 'Wildcat' in Manchester, England.

- Critical analysis of the Danish Mass Strikes of 1985, from a revolutionary in Denmark

Recently published by Macmillian Press, State Capitalism: The Wages System Under New Management is described by the publishers as "...the first comprehensive exposition of the theory of state capitalism. Using a Marxist theoretical approach, Authors Adam Buick and John Crump show that private capitalism and state capitalism are equally suitable institutional arrangements for allowing capital to exploit wage-workers. State capitalism is examined in its Western form of selective nationalization and in its full-scale form, as found in Russia or China. The origins of Russian state capitalism are traced back to the 1917 revolution and Lenin's ideology. Finally, Buick and Crump suggest the kind of changed social relationships which would allow world capitalism to be replaced by world socialism.



# FLEET WEEK?

# MUTINY WEEK!



Stalingrad/Coventry/Dresden/  
Hiroshima/Budapest/Warsaw/L

From Saturday Oct. 11th until Saturday Oct. 17th a large contingent of ships from the U.S. Navy fleet in the Pacific will be stationed in San Francisco and across the bay at Alameda. Mayor Feinstein uses this annual event, known as 'Fleet Week', to celebrate the virtues of the permanent war economy and how it benefits the City's merchants and businesspeople. We choose to take this time to communicate with enlisted people about the importance of mutiny and rebellions by soldiers and sailors in revolutionary movements in other countries and about the anti-war resistance of enlisted people during the Vietnam War. Why wait until the next major war to begin fraternizing between anti-capitalist civilians and "workers-in-uniform"?

Pot-luck picnic in Washington Square park-Sunday, Oct. 11 noon until sundown Corner of Columbus and Union Streets, in North Beach, San Francisco

FEELING LIKE A PRISONER OF THE AMERICAN DREAM? The history of capitalist society shows that when working class people, both civilians and those in uniform, refuse to labor or fight for their masters and join forces against the wars and oppression of the ruling class, the possibility of real freedom emerges. We know there is cynicism and resistance today on the part of enlisted people. We want to help this along, towards a world without masters or servants of any kind. Declare war on all bosses, landlords and officers! Join us for a picnic and initiate discussions with sailors and marines who will be walking around in North Beach and the tourist traps of Fisherman's Wharf.

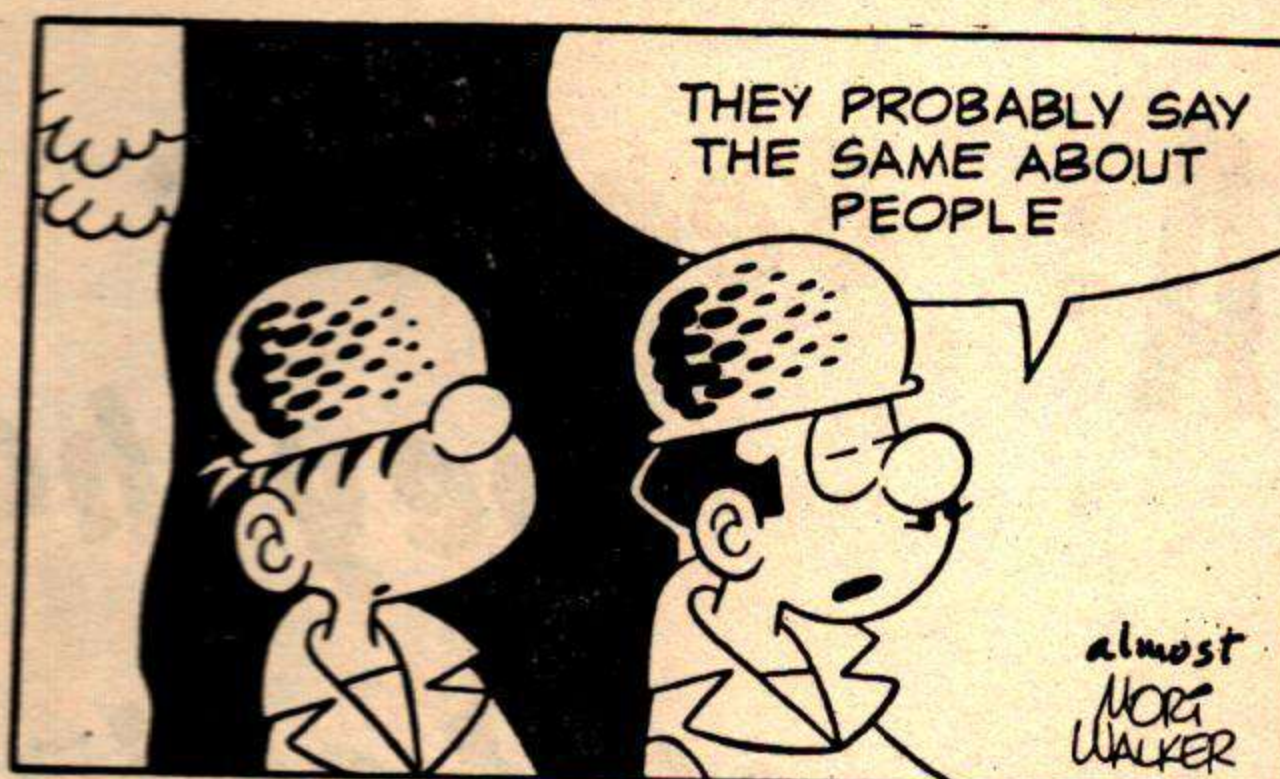
Initiated by some wage-slaves who want to abolish wage-labor, class society, and all nation-states.



## DESERTION RATE

Fiscal Year	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
ARMY	14.9	21.4	29.1	42.4	52.3	73.5	62.0	52.0
NAVY	9.1	9.7	8.5	7.3	9.9	11.1	8.8	13.6
MARINE CORPS	16.1	26.8	30.7	40.2	59.6	56.2	65.3	63.2
AIR FORCE	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.5	2.8	2.2
TOTAL, ALL SERVICES	8.43	12.2	15.6	21.1	27.0	33.9	27.5	24.3

Unauthorized absences over thirty days, per thousand enlisted strength  
Figure 2



**ANGRY WORKERS BULLETIN #2** Editors: Chris Ecks, Max Anger  
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**Q: Why is the  
U.S.S.R.  
Not  
Capitalist ?**



**A: *Because  
they have pictures  
of Lenin on their  
money!***