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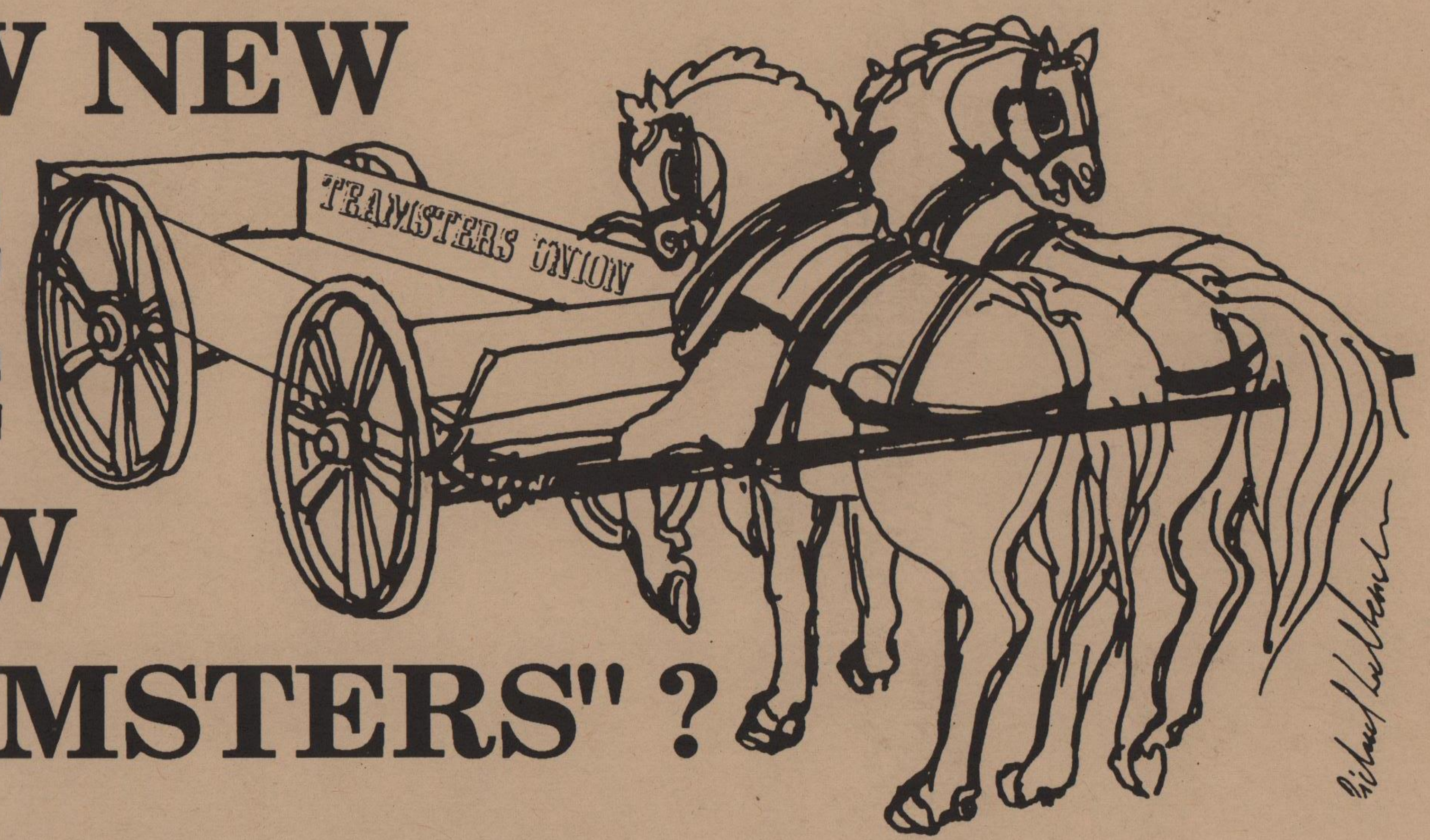
LIBERTARIAN LABOR

REVIEW

Anarchosyndicalist
Ideas and Discussion

NUMBER 15 ISSN 1069-1995 SUMMER 1993 \$3.00

HOW NEW ARE THE 'NEW TEAMSTERS" ?



ALSO: IMFing AMERICA,
GUILLEN'S LIBERTARIAN ECONOMICS,
INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE,
RUSSIAN ANARCHISM IN CRISIS,
INTERNATIONAL NEWS & COMMENT
REVIEWS: LABOR, SABOTAGE, FREEDOM

PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM
ADOPTED DECEMBER 1922 BY THE BERLIN CONGRESS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION
(EXTRACTS)

- I. Revolutionary Syndicalism, basing itself on the class struggle, seeks to establish the unity and solidarity of all manual and intellectual workers into economic organizations fighting for the abolition of both the wage system and the State. Neither the State nor political parties can achieve the economic organization and emancipation of labor.
- II. Revolutionary Syndicalism maintains that economic and social monopolies must be replaced by free, self-managed federations of agricultural and industrial workers united in a system of councils.
- III. The two-fold task of Revolutionary Syndicalism is to carry on the daily struggle for economic, social and intellectual improvement in the existing society, and to achieve independent self-managed production and distribution by taking possession of the earth and the means of production. Instead of the State and political parties, the economic organization of labor. Instead of government over people, the administration of things.
- IV. Revolutionary Syndicalism is based on the principles of federalism, free agreement and grass roots organization from the base upwards into local, district, regional and international federations united by shared aspirations and common interests. Under federalism, each unit enjoys full autonomy and independence in its own sphere, while enjoying all the advantages of association.
- V. Revolutionary Syndicalism rejects nationalism, the religion of the State, and all arbitrary frontiers, recognizing only the self-rule of natural communities freely enjoying their own way of life, constantly enriched by the benefits of free association with other federated communities.
- VI. Revolutionary Syndicalism, basing itself on economic direct action, supports all struggles not in contradiction with its principles—the abolition of economic monopoly and the domination of the State. The means of direct action are the strike, the boycott, the sit-in, and other forms of direct action developed by the workers in the course of their struggles leading to labor's most effective weapon, the General Strike, prelude to social revolution.

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Editorial:

IMFing AMERICA

The U.S. recession officially ended two years ago, and the economy has been expanding since March 1991. The last quarter of 1992 saw the fastest GDP growth in 5 years. But while the gross domestic product may be doing pretty well, most people aren't. As the economy grew at record rates, hourly wages (after inflation) continued to fall and unemployment stayed high. And dismal though this situation is, it's likely to get worse as Clinton pushes his austerity program through Congress.

The International Monetary Fund has for years demanded that third world countries slash social spending and workers' standards of living in order to get the new loans they so desperately need to stave off bankruptcy a little longer. Last October the IMF issued the same prescription to the U.S., calling for reduced deficits and higher taxes. The Bush administration refused, arguing that it "would exert strong downward pressure on the U.S. economy at a time of already sluggish growth." (Such objections from third world countries are, of course, simply rejected.) But now Clinton has signed on to do the dirty work.

Many workers were lured onto the Clinton bandwagon by promises that he would put the country back to work, reduce our tax burden, guarantee access to health care, and end the 20-year decline in our standard of living. Those who investigated Clinton's record as governor of Arkansas, of course, had reason to doubt. Clinton supported right-to-work-for-less laws, gave huge cash handouts to the corporations, stripped health and safety protection and workers' compensation to the bone, and used state taxes to help corporations break strikes. But even so, the alternatives were hardly appealing.

Now Clinton is pushing these anti-worker austerity schemes on the rest of us. His budget calls for austerity, hardship and more austerity. It would slightly increase income for workers and families making less than \$10,000 a year (ignoring, of course, the proposal to throw single mothers and others off welfare programs, eliminating their income altogether), and raise taxes only slightly for most workers. (That is before the corporate lobbyists got their hands on it. As the lobbyists win new tax breaks for their clients, an increasingly deficit-minded Congress will raise the money by slashing social services or raising hidden taxes.) But the money Clinton saves by cutting social services and raising taxes would be used to reduce the deficit, not to meet our

many pressing social needs

Even where Clinton proposes to spend money on "investment" his priorities are fundamentally anti-social. Despite running as a pro-ecology candidate, 61 percent of Clinton's transportation spending would go to highways—the last thing this concrete-shrouded, exhaust-choked nation needs. Less than a fifth as much would go to mass transit. What survives from Clinton's campaign promises to stimulate the economy are corporate tax breaks: \$8.6 billion in tax credits for research and development, \$5 billion for investors in low-income housing, \$4 billion to reward businesses for locating in poverty-stricken areas, and such. Clinton and his supporters argue that cutting the deficit will boost the economy, but there is no reason to believe them.

As the *Left Business Observer* put it in an article entitled "Putting bondholders first" (#57, 2/16/93), "Though Bill Clinton had a rough debut, the bond market has come to love him—the candidate of stimulus has become an austerity president. Nothing makes inflation-hating bondholders happier than high unemployment and gloomy prospects." This is because a growing economy generally leads to higher prices, reducing the value of their loans.

So austerity makes sense for the employing class. The trillions of dollars of debt known as the deficit is by and large owed them (though a lot of the debt is held by workers' pension plans, especially the Social Security "trust fund"), and they're in no real hurry to be paid back as long as the interest checks come on time and inflation is kept down. But they do want to keep those checks coming—both from the U.S. and from the other debtor states around the world. The bosses are hardly going to pay the money to themselves, so the only way to collect the debt is to take it out of the hides of working people. Which means austerity, falling wages, and steady progress towards a global wage.

Clinton sees nothing wrong with pushing wages down towards a couple of bucks a day and squeezing workers until we bleed. That would make U.S. industry competitive, help the balance of trade, and keep bondholders happy. But it's suicide for the rest of us. If we don't want to be reduced to the level of our third world fellow workers, it's time (indeed it's rather late in the day) we get together to repudiate these debts we never agreed to and organize to build a better, saner economic system.

HOW TO BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL

At its conference on Eastern Europe and Russia last fall, the International Workers Association (IWA) decided to give the responsibility for publishing its Eastern European newsletter to the IREAN (Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists). The IREAN is a small propaganda group which split from the KAS (Anarcho Syndicalist Confederation) a couple years ago. This development startled members of KAS, who had hoped to maintain good relations with the IWA, and see little hope that this will be the case with IREAN filtering the information which the IWA gets about the syndicalist movement in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Perhaps what should trouble the international syndicalist movement is the prospect that this may lead to IREAN's recognition as the IWA's affiliate in Russia, and put an end to IWA efforts to bring KAS and CMOT into the international.

We don't intend this to be a criticism of IREAN. We know very little about IREAN and its politics. What we question is the wisdom of the IWA in setting up an intermediary in its relations with Russian anarcho-syndicalists without getting input from the largest syndicalist organizations. The IREAN is a splinter group from KAS. It is therefore not in the interests of IREAN that the IWA be on good terms with KAS. Whether this was the IWA's intention or not, by giving official recognition to IREAN, the IWA is furthering a split in the syndi-

Notes from the Collective

LLR articles are finding their way into the international anarchist and syndicalist press with increasing frequency. In recent months this is by no means a complete list) the Australian *Rebel Worker* has reprinted FW Stein's review from last issue on Syndicalist Ecology, the *Industrial Worker* reprinted our editorial on the situation in Somalia, and Australia's *Anarchist Age Monthly Review* picked up our interview on syndicalism in Norway. And FW Bekken is interviewed in the current *Lønsslaven* (Norway) on the rank-and-file run strike by drywall hangers in Southern California.

LLR is finding its way onto growing numbers of news stands, thanks to the efforts of Fine Print and other distributors. We lose money on newsstand sales, but they are an important means of reaching new readers and spreading our ideas.

This issue includes for the first time in our history an International Standard Serial Number (ISSN)—a device for helping libraries and others locate journals. We requested an ISSN more than two years ago, the Library of Congress deigned to

calist movement of that country and may be cutting itself off from the majority of Russian syndicalists. Bringing IREAN into the IWA may give the international another affiliate, but does this serve the cause of international unity?

This is not the first time the IWA has permitted sectarian syndicalist groups to draw the international into internal feuding. In 1984 we warned the IWA about a similar situation with a group of anti-IWW syndicalists, the Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA), who were seeking recognition as the IWA's U.S. affiliate. The IWA ignored these warnings, and the WSA was given a blank check to carry on sectarian warfare against the IWW and pro-IWW anarcho-syndicalists, all in the name of the international. Perhaps it is not surprising that when the IWW passed a referendum in 1990(?) to affiliate with the IWA, this received no follow-up from the IWA. The IWA decided it must rely on the judgement of WSA, who told them to ignore the IWW's prospective affiliation.

The policy of the IWA should be to seek the widest solidarity between syndicalist organizations of all countries. IWA Statutes allow only one affiliate in each country. This is supposed to discourage sectarian feuding. Ironically this rule has been used as a weapon by splinter groups to encourage it. Knowing that the IWA rarely refuses a request for affiliation from a country where no IWA section

reply only a few weeks ago. Our hope is that this will help increase the extraordinarily small number of libraries (three in the U.S., and another three in Europe) carrying our Review.

A Word About Money

Regular readers have no doubt grown accustomed to our gloomy financial reports. Unfortunately our financial situation remains unsatisfactory, seriously handicapping our ongoing efforts to expand the Review's circulation and influence.

In the six months since LLR #14 went to press (Dec - May) we took in \$302.86 in subscriptions and bundle payments and spent \$940.60 on printing and postage. Contributions to our Publication Fund totalling \$94.25 reduced our 6-month deficit to \$543.49, bringing our accumulated deficit since the Review was established in 1986 to \$1817.06.

Our thanks to the following for their generous donations to the Publication Fund: Mike D'Amore, Allentown PA \$10; Toivo Halonen, Cleveland OH \$5.50; Raven's Banner Collective, Pinellas Park FL \$3.75; Abe Dolgoff, Desplaines IL \$25; Jon Bekken, Cortland NY \$50. Total: \$94.25

WOBBLES:

JUST FOLLOWING ORDERS: Managers at the A.E. Staley plant in Decatur, Illinois—where the Allied Industrial Workers are working without a contract—fired AIW committeeman Dan Lane for following orders to remove all union logos and slogans from the plant. Lane complied by cutting the AIW logo from a sign at the plant entrance that also displayed the Staley logo and the words "Partners in Quality." (from *Labor Notes*)

SELLING UNIONS LIKE SOAP: That's the headline on an April 21 New York Times story about New York city workers' unions efforts to build public sympathy. The teachers, police and firefighters unions are criticizing the mayor (who most of them endorsed and helped finance in his last election) after working without a contract for two years or longer. The United Federation of Teachers has mounted the slickest campaign, spending more than a million dollars for one month of television ads. One analyst refers to the ads as a form of "surrogate striking." New York state law penalizes workers two days' salary for each day they strike.

CLINTON A REPUBLICAN ANDROID? Sixty percent of Reagan's cabinet was composed of millionaires or near millionaires, a figure that rose to 71 percent under Bush. But 77 percent of Clinton's nominees are millionaires, or within spitting distance. How's that for a cabinet that looks like America?

ANARCHISTS FOR CONGRESS? "Anarchists" have mounted candidacies for legislative office in Australia and Britain in recent months. In Britain, Tim Scargill stood (he was not elected) as a Class

Editorial:

exists, these minority splinter groups take advantage of the IWA's goodwill. Once they are in the international, the IWA feels it must support these minority sections in their political feuds, without making a serious investigation into what these disputes are all about.

To build a strong international, the IWA needs to reassess its affiliation process. The goal must be to federate with the majority syndicalist organization in each country. Where splits have occurred or where a small propaganda group seeks IWA affiliate status, the IWA should try to get input from the majority organization before committing itself. Certainly foot-dragging by the larger group should not stop the IWA from having contact with sympathetic minorities. The IWA, however, needs to be more aware of the consequences of giving these minorities official recognition.

War Federation candidate (though Class War says he was expelled) in a parliamentary by-election. Meanwhile, in Australia two members of the Anarchist Media Institute filed as candidates for the Australian Senate. They intended to use the candidacies not to seek election (indeed, both declared they would not vote) but as a platform to urge people to spoil their ballots, but were stopped short by a change to the Australian Electoral Act making it a crime to encourage people to spoil ballots. So their non-campaign changed to a protest of the gag act.

SOCIALISTS LOSE BURLINGTON: Meanwhile, the People's Republic of Burlington was overthrown in March when voters booted Bernie Sanders' "Progressive Coalition" from power, instead electing a conservative Republican who entered the race just six weeks before the election.

SOLIDARITY ILLEGAL: A U.S. federal court has issued an injunction barring the International Longshore-men's Association from asking unions in Japan for help in dealing with two non-union stevedoring companies. The companies load citrus in several Florida ports, and the ILA hoped Japanese dock workers would refuse to unload the ship when it arrived there. The ILA argued that U.S. courts have no authority over the actions of unions outside the United States, but the court said the ILA's request for help from Japanese workers amounted to an illegal secondary boycott.

BUY AN AMERICAN CAR: U.S. and Canadian trade officials argued for three years over the nationality of engines Honda assembles in an Ohio factory for shipment to a Canadian plant where they are put into Civics, before the Free Trade Agreement rendered the issue moot. The engines are made from American and Japanese parts, and U.S. customs officials argue as a result that they are Japanese engines, and that Honda should have paid import duties on the cars they ended up in. Canada insists the engines are American.

The money to build the engine factory, the boss and the camshafts were imported from Japan; the workers, the aluminum the engines are built from, and most of the parts are "American." Customs officials audited the engine and decided that both the top and bottom half were predominantly "American." But, showing the advantages of an education in new math, they concluded that when you put the two American halves together they became a Japanese whole. Since the engine is the heart of the car, once it became Japanese so did the entire car.

Under the Free Trade Agreement, auto manu-

facturers are now required to track the nationality of each of the 5,000 or more parts that go into the cars. The parts are then weighted by cost to determine the car's nationality.

We, of course, don't care whether Honda has to pay the 2.5 percent import tax or not. Nor do we care what nationality its cars or, or whether American citizenship carries with it the right for Honda cars to vote.

We are much more interested in whether the workers who assemble the cars, and who make the parts, make decent wages and work in safe conditions. We are less interested in the nationality of

BORING-IN AND HOLLOWING-OUT

The Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA) has turned over a new leaf in its rivalry with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). No longer does the group discourage IWW membership or prohibit its members from holding office in the IWW. (A few years ago a WSA member, Gary Cox, was forced out of WSA when he was elected to the IWW's General Executive Board.) Now belonging to the IWW and holding IWW office is tolerated, since it is a good way for WSA to get funding for its projects.

In the February/March 1993 issue of *Workers Solidarity*, WSA's bulletin, two articles on page six about WSA projects have something in common: both projects were started with IWW funds. One, the "Education Workers Network" was started up by IWW-and-WSA member Mike Kolhoff with \$1000 in IWW funds. Kolhoff has since resigned from the IWW and reorganized this IWW project as "an independent nation-wide organization" (ie. a WSA front group). Second, is an "independent union" formed for temporary office workers in San Francisco, the "Temp Workers Union." Nowhere does the article mention that this was started by IWW General Executive Board member Bill Meyers (another WSA member) using \$500 in IWW funds.

This policy of getting the IWW to donate union funds to support "independent" worker organizations, in reality WSA groups, constitutes a policy of "boring within" directed at the IWW. There is no sound reason why IWW funds should be used to support "independent" organizing instead of organizing IWW job branches or industrial unions. IWW job branches have as much autonomy as any independent union, with the added benefit of the solidarity a larger union can provide. The only advantage of organizing "independently" is that it leaves WSA organizers free from any responsibility towards the IWW. Thus if the local is successful, they can affiliate with an AFL-CIO union. If not, well, there's always more where that came from.

the bosses than in the extent to which workers are able to demand a larger share (all) of the product of their labor and to wrest control over their workplaces. Nationalism makes no more sense for cars than it does for people.

NO ECONOMISTS NEEDED: The Canadian government's new list of job skills in short supply is headed by bakers, physiotherapists, computer software programmers, blacksmiths, die-setters and power-hammer operators. Those with the lowest rankings were grain-elevator managers, animal skinners, flying instructors, psychologists, public relations agents and economists.

TIMBER WORKERS NEED REAL UNION: In the 1920s, IWW timber workers denounced lumber companies for the way their irresponsible practices were decimating the forests, destroying the environment, and endangering their jobs. Now they are in a business union, the International Woodworkers of America, which embraces the devastation. The April 16 *Woodworker* condemns environmentalists for their efforts to slow timber cutting, and embraces clearcutting. In addition to being cheaper, the IWA says, clearcutting encourages forest growth, protects the soil from erosion, and is safer for logging workers. (The latter may even be true.)

The IWA is not arguing for an unlimited assault on the forests, of course. They criticize past overcutting and argue that "it is possible to have a national timber harvest program and viable national (sic) habitat," embracing the views of one Jerry Franklin, who claims it is "possible to create old growth habitat in as little as 60 years."

The *AFL-CIO News* weighed in April 12, praising President Clinton for "swift action... to ease the suffering of workers and their communities" in the Northwest timber fields. It seems Clinton directed his cabinet to conduct a study and prepare a plan. Curiously, the AFL-CIO claims that timber cutting has been prohibited by court orders for the past two years—surely news to our fellow workers who live in the region and have been battling to stop the devastation of the surviving forests.

U.S. UNION RANKS EVEN THINNER: Union membership dropped to 15.8 percent of U.S. workers in 1992, the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. About 16.4 million workers were union members in 1992, three-fifths of them in private industry, where they made up 11.5 percent of employment. The remaining union members were in government, where they constitute 36.7 percent of employment. Clearly the field is wide open for organizing workers into revolutionary unions.

ILLEGAL TO STEAL JOBS? Michigan Circuit Court Judge Donald Shelton has ordered General

Motors to continue making cars at the Willow Run assembly plant. The city argues that GM promised to keep the factory open when it demanded and got huge tax breaks. In a one-paragraph order Shelton wrote, "There would be a gross inequity and patent unfairness if General Motors ... is allowed to simply decide that it will desert 4,500 workers and their families because it thinks it can make these same cars a little cheaper somewhere else."

GM lawyers called the ruling unprecedented and said they would seek an expedited appeal. This may well be the first time a bosses' court has ruled that the bosses cannot simply toss workers on the scrap heap when that is the profitable thing to do. It seems unlikely that such a ruling will be permitted to stand. After all, if workers have rights that the bosses are required to respect, then society as we know it would come to an end.

"MORAL" MAJORITY: While Jerry Falwell's political inclinations lean towards the Stone Age, his financial talents rank right up there with Charles Keating, Mike Milliken and Ivan Boesky. Dollars and Sense reports that Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church, the cornerstone from which he build his Christian empire (Old Time Gospel Hour, Moral Majority, etc.), was mortgaged eleven times over to raise funds to build Falwell's Liberty University. Not surprisingly, the S&L that made the loans has collapsed, and the mortgage is now held by the U.S. government's bailout agency. When Falwell's empire collapsed it was \$73 million in debt.

BUYING UNION: A recent study of Chicago supermarkets conducted by United Food and Commercial Workers Local 881 shows that on average nonunion stores charge slightly more for groceries than do UFCW-represented stores. The UFCW concludes that "nonunion operators pocket even higher profits at the expense of their workers and customers... union stores serving the same communities compensate their employees with decent wages and benefits and still manage to charge their customers less..." Unfortunately, the researchers do not report wage levels at union and non-union stores—critics suggest that a third of UFCW members work part-time in minimum wage jobs without benefits, as a result of concessions over the past decade.

FACTORY WORK KILLS: A Cornell industrial management specialist has published a study demonstrating that the production methods employed by Japanese auto makers take a heavy physical toll on the people who build the cars. By contrast, Sweden builds cars with a production system that is more supportive of individual workers, but the cars are more expensive to produce.

Christian Berggren reports that Japanese auto workers are subjected to intense time pressure to

perform highly repetitive and physically demanding jobs. Pace is determined not by workers but by the movement of the assembly line. In contrast, the Swedish auto industry emphasizes human-centered work organization, ranging from a modified assembly line to a process of integrated assembly in which a single worker can build a complete vehicle.

"The further from traditional line assembly a plant moves, the better the outcomes in terms of variation, prospects for personal growth, the taking of responsibility and the opportunity to use one's skills," Berggren writes. Volvo's practices developed because unions are strong and unemployment historically quite low.

However, "advanced labor market policies, solid social security and regulation of the work environment raise costs in the short term." But he is optimistic: "In the long run, if firms, financiers and management are committed to their industry, such selective disadvantages will stimulate innovation, upgrading and sustainable competitive positions." Swedish employers, meanwhile, are speeding up protection and eliminating worker protections.

WILDCAT: More than 100 workers struck a General Electric Silicones plant Feb. 23 after a union worker was ordered to do work outside his job classification. When he protested, more than 100 day-shift workers (of 900 production and maintenance workers who work around the clock at the plant) walked off their jobs in solidarity. All but two of the silicone adhesive and sealant plant's 200 buildings were shut down, according to the union. Pickets turned back deliveries and pickups at the plant, and construction workers building a new facility also downed tools.

Workers ended the strike when a new shift arrived, instead filing a grievance over the issue. GE is pushing a labor-management cooperation scheme at the factory called "work-out" which management says has cut costs and improved productivity. Local unionists say the policies increase workloads and cut jobs. "They want a self-directed work force," one striker said. "This is where we'll direct it from, right out here."

CAPITALISM AT WORK: In an effort to maintain profits in the face of a deepening recession, Japanese companies are increasing exports to the rest of the world and cutting back on purchases from other countries. As a result, Japan's trade surplus with the rest of the world hit an all-time record high in 1992. The Clinton administration is vigorously protesting this transfer of social wealth created by our Japanese fellow workers to the U.S. and other parts of the world. In a rationally organized economy, one would instead expect Japanese workers to object to having the goods they produce

shipped overseas while they receive nothing (except worthless pieces of paper) in return. But the bosses would rather ship goods around the world than make them available to the workers who produced them.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION: The Spring 1993 issue of the "socialist" magazine *Dissent*, in discussing "The Future of Unions," offers proposals to the Clinton administration that should chill the spine of any rebel worker—and for that very reason seem likely to receive serious consideration. The author suggests that labor law should actively encourage labor-management cooperation schemes, that union leaders should be sent to business schools to learn the requisite skills, and that unions should be compelled to submit to binding arbitration, among other limits on the right to strike. In this regard, he points to a Packwood proposal (apparently supported by AFL officials) to bar employers from hiring "permanent replacements" for striking workers only if employers rejected settlement recommendations from the government. Similarly, if unions rejected government terms strikers could be legally fired. This is pointed to as an example of "true reform where society asserts broader interests against shortsighted management or labor behavior." It sounds like industrial slavery to us.

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Mid-Atlantic Anarchist Gathering: Friday July 30 - Monday August 2, at The Lea School, 48th & Spruce Streets, West Philadelphia. The sponsors seek contributions to help cover costs, welcome comments and suggestions, and would like to hear from people planning to attend (especially if you need crash space). Write: Box 31889, Philadelphia PA 19104, or call 215/724-1469.

International Anarchist Exposition: Exhibits on Francisco Ferrer and the modern school movement, art and anarchy, Iberian anarchism. Film, theatrical and musical programs. Forums on anarchism during the crisis of ideologies (ethnic, national, state, community, social, north-south, etc.), ecology, alternative work, militarism, feminism, anarcho-syndicalism, etc. The exposition will run Sept. 27 through Oct. 10 in Barcelona. Information: Exposició Internacional, Ronda Sant Antoni, 13 pral, E-08011 Barcelone Spain, telephone 329-7566.

Education Workers Organizing Bulletin: This IWW newsletter features an article on "lifeboat management" in education, discussion of IWW efforts to organize education workers into its Education Workers Industrial Union, a report on graduate employee organizing efforts, and reviews of articles and other materials on education issues and organizing. \$1 to: IWW, Box 762, Cortland NY 13045.

The Labor Video Project distributes several labor videos on labor history and struggles in the U.S. and around the world (including Howard Zinn on The Uncovered Truth of American Labor History, Russian Unions

at the Crossroads). For a listing write Box 425584, San Francisco CA 94142, email: lvpsf@igc.org. Labor videos (including Unions and the Media, Two Generations of Labor Singers [Utah Phillips, Billy Bragg] and The Road to Haymarket) are also available for \$25 each from Labor Beat, Dept. L, 37 S Ashland, Chicago IL 60607.

International Labor Communications Conference in Moscow October 15-17. The need of trade unions for modern communications technology is growing by the day and taking on an international character. Meanwhile, information links between unions in different countries are relatively sparse and undeveloped. Workers' organizations in Russia and other countries of Eastern Europe are also virtually excluded from the computer communications network.

In an effort to aid the development of national and international trade union information networks, the Independent Labour Information Centre "KAS-KOR" (Russia), the Association of Users of Computer Networks "GlasNet" (Russia), and Labortech Communications (USA) are sponsoring a conference: "Modern Communications: New Vistas for International Workers' Solidarity." A simultaneous international festival of labor videos will also be held. For information write: Labortech 93, Box 425584, San Francisco CA 94142, E-Mail: lvpsf@igc.apc.org Or: Moscow Labor Communications Conference, Box 16, 129642 Moscow, Russia. E-Mail: krazchenko@glas.apc.org

Kate Sharpley Library Anarchist History Series: The Kate Sharpley Library is an international anarchist archive, which has six titles available in its pamphlet series: Personal Reminiscences of British Anarchists 1883-1939, The Origins of Anarcho-Syndicalist in Britain, Life in English Prisons (100 Years Ago), The Plot to Assassinate Franco from the Air (1948), The Italian Glass Blowers Takeover of 1910, and The life and struggle of an Agitator and the fight to free the catering slaves in London's West End. Each is 2 pounds, post-paid. They hope to bring out other titles as funds permit, including: The Spanish Resistance 1939-51, John Creaghe of Sheffield and Buenos Aires, Race and Class, The Syndicalist Horse Transport Union of East London, and Makno's Visit to the Kremlin. Available from KSL, BM Hurricane, London, England WC1 3XX or from AK Distribution (3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, Scotland)

Kropotkin Museum: Restoration of the Kropotkin museums closed by Stalin is now underway. They ask anarchists to send in editions of Kropotkin's works and literature about him, as well as anarchist periodicals, leaflets and other publications from 1917-21 connected with Kropotkin's activity in his final years. They are also interested in modern periodicals and other documentation of anarchist groups. Materials should be sent to: 141 800 Dmitrov, Moscow region; Istoricheskaya ploschad 12; Istorico - Hudozhestvennyy muzeum; Hohlow Romuald Fiodokovich.

Autonome Distribution: anarchist and alternative books, buttons and magazines both locally and by mail. (Box 791191, New Orleans LA 70179-1191)

Labor History Calendar: The 1994 IWW "Solidarity" continued page 11

INTERNATIONAL NOTES:

SWEDISH SYNDICALISTS FIGHT BACK: The Stockholm Local Federation of the Central Organization of Swedish Workers (SAC) has organized a rank-and-file negotiating committee to handle the many grievances that arise each month in the workplaces where the SAC has a presence, however small. The committee handles about 30 grievances monthly, working to increase members' self-sufficiency, knowledge and readiness to fight back while not ignoring the various laws that regulate employers. Because SAC is a minority union in most workplaces, most of the grievances it processes involve individual problems such as lay-offs or harassment for SAC membership. The May issue of the SAC Newsletter reports on several such grievances:

There are many syndicalists in the Postal Service, and unlike the LO (the main Swedish union) SAC has not signed a truce with management, and thus retains the legal right to strike or take other job actions. As a result of SAC's willingness to use this weapon, it reports that it is gaining respect from management and from their fellow workers. Most recently, SAC acted against a new distribution terminal designed to speed-up the processing of parcels by eliminating work rules and health and safety protections. These plans were implemented in violation of government regulations, and so SAC set up a blockade of the new work areas. "Because of this blockade, many members of the reformist union left their organization and joined SAC." Management threatened SAC pickets, and ultimately transferred all SAC members to other, safer workplaces. Meanwhile, the new terminal is proving highly inefficient, requiring more workers to handle machines that rarely work.

In a struggle at Sweden's largest mail terminal, Tomtebodan, more than 20 workers who blockaded a mechanical letter sorter two years ago to enforce their demand for consultations on work organization recently won a judgement (from the employment court) that Postal Service management illegally threatened and harassed them. SAC's members received damages of 12,000 SKR each, while SAC received damages of 60,000 SKR.

At the state railway, two SAC members threatened a strike when management insisted on meeting with them without having SAC representatives present. Twenty workers left LO to join SAC when they learned that SAC retained the right to strike.

SAC also won a victory against the AMICA restaurant, which fired a worker on five-minutes notice more than a year ago because he refused to withdraw a strike warning stemming from racist

incidents at the restaurant. The restaurant manager's wife was later convicted of telephoning death threats to a member of the SAC negotiating committee; the restaurant was ordered to pay 13 months back wages to the fired worker, as well as damages of 40,000 SKR. In another case, an Irish pub that refused to hire a SAC member because she was a woman also agreed to pay damages.

On March 8, International Womens Day, women members went out in a one-day strike to protest continuing sexism manifested in lower wages, discrimination, cut backs in social services, sexual harassment, and restrictions on the right to strike in social service industries. Hundreds of women participated in the strike, which was supported only by SAC. "In LO there had been talk about a women's strike, but the men at the top decided that the situation in the marketplace wasn't suitable because third parties would be negatively affected—the children, the elderly and the sick that women usually take care of in their work. Not to mention that women in LO obey a truce that LO has signed with the Swedish Employers Confederation."

SAC also issued a statement condemning "all nationalism, ethnic chauvinism and totalitarianism," and the attacks on civilians in the former Yugoslavia. SAC also denounced talk of military intervention, warning that "this aggressive politics of war will only add fuel to the hate and violence." Instead SAC called for support for independent media, unions and democratic organizations that take a humanistic, anti-nationalistic stance, and demanded that all people fleeing from the war zone, or from repression in Kosovo province, be given asylum in Sweden.

SAC reports that unemployment in Sweden continues to climb, and is expected to reach 12 percent in the near future. The Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP), which had high employment as its central policy for more than 60 years, has been silent even though it is no longer in the government, while the government is dismantling social services—claiming that this is necessary to overcome the economic crisis. The cutbacks affect the school system, care of the elderly, social insurance, day care centers, hospitals, etc. Many workers (primarily women) have been laid off from the service agencies. SAC's May Day statement called attention to this ongoing crisis, noting that there was indeed a crisis when society could not afford to support its children, sick and elderly, to provide sanctuary to those who have fled their countries for their lives, and when governments built well-

equipped armies while people starve to death. "Indeed there is a crisis. The basic problems... [are] that the people in power exist because crises occur [and] that ordinary people have no power over their lives and their reality, which ought to be their basic right. The basic crisis is that those who the crisis concerns do not yet have the power to resolve it. Let us take control of that power together!"

END OF THE BANANA ERA: *Direkte Aktion*, published by the German Free Workers Union (FAU-International Workers Association), reports that the price of bananas is set to double (bananas had been exempted from tariffs, but no longer) as the government puts the screws to the workers in order to resolve the capitalist crisis.

Three and a half million workers are officially unemployed, as employers abandon the decades-old Social Pact under which workers gained extensive holidays and benefits in exchange for industrial peace. Millions of workers cannot find adequate housing (even though a quarter of wages go to rent, on average). And the "promised" Europe without frontiers is taking shape—on the one hand the capitalists are free to produce and sell their goods wherever they wish, free of local quality restrictions and worker protections. On the other hand, borders are being tightened to keep refugees and immigrants out. The FAU is actively combatting the resurgent fascist menace, as well as the government's firm response—firm not against the fascists but against the immigrants the fascists too wish to attack.

LIBERTARIAN DAYS: An anarchist festival took place in Frankfurt under this title April 8-12, with more than 2,000 participants at all times including a generally well-carried-off demonstration "Against domination, state and racism—for Anarchy, self determination and freedom." The FAU distributed thousands of copies of its newspaper, *Direkte Aktion*, to participants and coordinated workshops on union strategy, anti-fascism, strikes and direct action, European unification and Eastern Europe.

EAST EUROPEAN SYNDICALISTS MEET: Anarcho-syndicalists from several Central and Eastern European countries met in Berlin Nov. 25-29 to discuss the prospects for anarcho-syndicalism in their regions. Delegates attended from Bulgaria, Hungary, Russia and the Ukraine, as well as the

from the German Free Workers Union, the International Workers Association and the SAC. Delegates decided to launch a bilingual (Russian and English) information and coordination bulletin, *A.S. Info*, which will be financed by the IWA and produced by IREAN, a Russian anarchist group. A follow-up meeting is planned for this summer in Zaporozie, East Ukraine, to be hosted by the Confederation of Independent Unions of Zaporozie.

AUSTRALIAN SPLIT: Rumors have been circulating regarding a split in the Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation, the Australian affiliate to the IWA. *Burning Issue* #6 reports that the *Rebel Worker* and its editorial group were expelled from the ASF for unspecified breaches of ASF organizational agreements. LLR contacted the ASF and was given the following explanation:

Last year a group of anarchists organizing unemployed workers—calling themselves the "Unemployed Workers Movement" and publishing *Burning Issue*—affiliated with the ASF. These new ASF members were not interested in organizing workers or in labor issues, however, and

wanted to replace the ASF's long-established anarcho-syndicalist paper *Rebel Worker* with their own paper. The new group tried to pack the ASF's annual meeting with their sympathizers, but the anarcho-syndicalists were able to block this by citing a clause in the ASF constitution establishing a waiting period before new affiliates could vote on organizational questions. Finding their efforts to reorient the ASF away from industrial activity blocked, the "Unemployed Workers Movement" and *Burning Issue* withdrew and decided to "expell" the original members of the ASF, including *Rebel Worker*.

A member of the ASF referred to the incident as a "storm in a teacup" brought about because the ASF had been overly anxious to recruit new members. The ASF continues to publish *Rebel Worker* as its official journal and remains committed to a policy of industrial and workplace organizing. The ASF has had some success in organizing among transport workers, and also publishes the transport workers' paper *Sparks*.

ASF is not the only syndicalist group to have problems of this sort. Spain's CNT also had problems after the collapse of the Francoist regime when anarchists and radicals of all stripes flocked to join it and wanted to use it as an umbrella organization

for activities having nothing to do with labor. The IWW, here in the U.S., is plagued by such groups from time to time too. These problems will only go away when the leftist and anarchist movements recognize that joining a working-class organization to seize its names and assets and use them for other purposes is unethical opportunism. Until that happens, syndicalists beware!

BULGARIA ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT FOUNDED: Anarcho-syndicalists established the ASM at a June 1 1992 conference. The conference was opened by comrade Mladenov, who was among the volunteers who took up arms to defend the Spanish Revolution. Mladenov told delegates that the basic ideas of anarcho-syndicalism and of the IWA are peace, freedom and solidarity. Unions are capable of rejuvenating and perfecting society by their unswerving adherence to these principles. But every totalitarian regime detests anarchism and is determined to crush it.

Delegates discussed the long history of syndicalist organizing in Bulgaria, the prospects for re-establishing a strong anarcho-syndicalist presence, and the need for literature. Capitalism is rushing to fill the entire political, economic and social space left vacant by the fall of the Bolshevik empire, making the presentation of the anarchist alternative all the more urgent. Their organization is the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement, the Bulgarian Confederation of Labor (crushed by the Bolsheviks in 1944-45) will be re-established after syndicalists develop stronger roots in industry and agriculture. The ASM will fight for self-management in industry, promote agrarian cooperatives and fight the ongoing destruction of the already devastated environment.

KROPOTKIN CONFERENCE: On the morning of Dec. 9, 1992, Kropotkin's birthday, an international group of about 50 people comprising academics from various disciplines, anarchists of various tendencies and surviving members of the Kropotkin family (descended from his brother Aleksandr), gathered outside the gates of the Novodevichi Cemetery in Moscow under red-and-black blags. After a brief wait, we went inside to stand beside the grave of Petr Alekseyevich and celebrate his life. Speeches were made by representatives of all the groups. We were then taken to Fyodorov's, the cooperative restaurant on Kropotkin Street (which has now reverted to its pre-revolutionary name, Prechistenka) for lunch. After this we were bussed to the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which organized the conference.

The first session lasted over four hours, punctuated by appeals from the chairman for contributors to abbreviate their papers. The six papers were delivered under a sign bearing a Lenin quotation: "Marx's teaching is omnipotent because it is

true!" First came an appeal from the conference chairman, L.A. Abalkin, for international help to publish the works of Kropotkin. A two-volume Russian-language collection, which includes among other items a reconstruction from Kropotkin's notes of the second volume of *Ethics*, is ready for publication but foreign sponsorship or partnership is essential in the current economic crisis.

The next speaker was the senior representative of the surviving Kropotkin clan, Aleksei Petrovich, a natural scientist. He spoke about scientific universalism as imagined in Kropotkin's *toime* and as imagined in ours. He began his paper by questioning whether, as observers of the world, we are standing on the shoulders of our predecessors or have instead fallen down: his answer seemed to be the latter.

Martin Miller from the United States sought to trace the roots of Kropotkin's early "readiness to become an anarchist" in his early family life. A.A. Nieman from Russia spoke on Kropotkin's views on biology and evolutionary theory, emphasizing the relevance of ideas of mutual aid in nature to environmentalist concerns for the maintenance of biodiversity.

Haruki Wada of Japan spoke about Kropotkin and Vera Figner, the titular chair of the Kropotkin Commemorative Committee until the end of the 1930s, and herself a revolutionary and long-term prisoner under Tsarism. The Committee established a Kropotkin Museum in his Moscow birth-house and administered it until its nationalization in 1938. At the beginning of the war, in 1941, the Kropotkin Museum, like many others in the Soviet Union, was packed up and taken away for safety. A young, enthusiastic Russian Anarchist, V.V. Damie spoke last in this session, eloquently showing how Kropotkin's ideas had filtered down, sometimes directly and sometimes through mediators like Murray Bookchin, into modern ecological thinking, and how workers' self-organization could work in a post-industrial world as the embodiment of Kropotkin's anarcho-communist ideal.

The next two-and-a-half days were filled with sessions relating to Kropotkin's life, thought and historic role. At one point the conference broke into simultaneous strands pursuing each of these subjects separately. In spite of multiple simultaneous sessions, individual contributors were largely held to a maximum of 30 minutes and little time was left for questions or discussions at the sessions themselves: anyone who wished to discuss particular papers had to seek the authors and speak to them alone. On the positive side, the conference was extremely informal. Reaction to the conference arrangements was not always favorable, especially after a day of sessions at which no translation facili-

ties were provided.

In general, all the foreign contributors I spoke to were struck by the hagiographical attitude to Kropotkin shown by our Russian counterparts. There was an uncritical acceptance of him and his writings which wasn't dissimilar to that shown by the cultic Marxists in the old Soviet Union and exemplified by the Lenin quotation hanging over the speakers' heads in the main hall. Little attempt was made to discriminate between those parts of his writings which have survived the test of time and those which have not. A contribution on Malatesta and Kropotkin, which might have focussed on earlier criticisms of Kropotkin, was cut cruelly short, the Japanese contributor being unable (and justifiably unwilling) to summarise her points in a tenth of her allotted time.

On a more positive note, the conference organizers also gave us the chance to visit the houses where Kropotkin was born and died. The latter is at Dmitrov, some 50 miles from Moscow... It has recently been cleaned and redecorated and is being turned into a museum—so far without any contents other than photographs taken during Kropotkin's residence there between 1918 and 1921.

His birth-house is on Kropotkinski Pereulok (Kropotkin Lane) in central Moscow. This is the address of a number of embassies and other diplomatic buildings. The Kropotkin family house is presently the official residence of the Moscow representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. During our visit, speeches by representatives of the PLO and the Kropotkin Commission made it apparent that the Palestinians would not mind moving if alternative premises were provided, thus freeing the building for restoration as a Kropotkin Museum, as it was until the 1941 evacuation.

Finally, after a plenary session Dec. 12, which included several contributors squeezed out of earlier schedules through lack of time, the conference moved to St. Petersburg. On Dec. 13 there was a tour of the city, including a look at the military hospital from which Kropotkin made his famous escape—unfortunately only from outside the grounds because the building is still a military base some 116 years later! On Dec. 14 there was a final session held at the Russian Geographical Society.

As a first international Kropotkin conference this was undoubtedly a success. There were of course problems, but on the whole they were easily outweighed by the benefit to all concerned of gathering together large numbers of people interested in Kropotkin in one place for a period of nearly a week. The presence of anarchists in addition to academic specialists made for a lively mix, though the domination of the schedule by academics gave rise to some dissatisfaction. A number of Western con-



tributors were inspired to think of the next Kropotkin conference to continue the series so auspiciously started in Moscow. Perhaps in view of his long stay in Britain, this would be a desirable venue for such an event in, say, 1997. (excerpted from an account by John Slatter in the Feb. 6 *Freedom*. For more information, write him at the Centre for European Studies, University of Durham, South Road, Durham DH1 3LE, England)

IRANIAN ACTIVISTS FREED: Saeed Saedi and Zahed Manouchehri, two labor activists imprisoned since mid 1991 by the Islamic Republic, were released recently following a two-year international solidarity campaign. However, many labor activists remain in jail, and authorities continue to execute labor militants as well.

News of Iranian labor struggles is slow to reach the West; the most recent *Labor Solidarity* (issued by the Labor Committee on Iran) reports a wave of layoffs in the textile industries, and successful strikes by workers at the Kanaf-Kar textile plant, the Kerman-shah power plant, and others. Workers at the huge Isfahan steel mill occupied the plant September 6 to demand that management honor an earlier agreement to raise wages. The government has reached an agreement with the Austrian Faust Alpine steel company to modernize the Isfahan plant. The plans would boost annual production by 20 percent while reducing the workforce from 29,000 to 10,000 workers over the next five years.

The government has eliminated subsidies and price controls on food and other necessities, resulting in plummeting living standards. A series of

strikes have swept the country as workers struggle to feed themselves and their families, and to drive the government-sponsored Islamic associations out of their workplaces.

Government officials admit that unemployment has risen to unprecedented levels. According to the Labor Ministry, 400,000 people enter the work force each year, while only 35,000 new jobs are being created each year. Despite the executions, arrests and beatings, workers have not succumbed to the government's efforts to intimidate workers. Several strikes have broken through the state censorship of news on strikes, and even some government officials now argue that the regime must adopt a more conciliatory attitude.

LANDLESS WORKERS ORGANIZE: Although Brazil is the world's fourth-largest food exporting country, 40 million of the country's 155 million people go hungry even in good times. Millions of peasants are landless, while American, Japanese and European multinationals control 36 million hectares of prime farmland. The Movement of the Landless of Brazil (MST) has been organizing against these conditions, organizing landless rural workers to expropriate large estates and work them themselves. One such encampment lasted for more than two years with some 600 families.

Some 1,400 families are camping on lands in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, while there are another 30 encampments in the state of Parana. The landless share the work to run these encampments, organizing hygiene, education and food cooperatively. Decisions are discussed and taken by general assemblies after discussion in smaller groups. Obviously, the authorities don't sit around with their arms crossed—police regularly attempt to evict peasants from the camp, and more than 100 activists have been assassinated in the past two years. But a government study found that participants in the occupations have seen their purchasing power double, while infant mortality has fallen well below the national average. (excerpted from *Freedom*)

MULTINATIONALS RAVAGE EUROPE: The European Metalworkers' Federation has blasted the U.S.-based manufacturer Hoover for "exploiting the present economic recession to undermine the position of trade unions in France and Britain." Hoover has announced plans to transfer production at its plant in Dijon, France, to Scotland. EMF member unions in France and Britain condemned Hoover's strategy of withholding information and not consulting workers in the plants concerned, leaving the way open for workers in both countries to be played off against each other.

Meanwhile Leyland-DAF, formed by a merger

of the British and Dutch firms, announced that it was eliminating more than 1,600 jobs Feb. 12. Jim Hamill of the international business unit at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, Scotland says this is the first salvo of multinational labor wars set to rage across Europe.

An unprecedented number of cross-border acquisitions between 1985 and 1991 raises the specter of mass-layoffs and multinational labor crises as merged firms try to rationalize their business. "When you get two big companies operating in the same industry, you don't need two sales offices, you don't need a large number of plants, you concentrate production." Nestle, which recently acquired British confectioners Rowntree, plans to close one of its Glasgow plants as well as rationalize its production in Newcastle and Dijon.

CUBAN UNIONIST STILL IN JAIL: Rafael Gutierrez, president of Cuba's independent trade union, the USTC, was arrested in Havana February 6 and is now being held at state security headquarters, Villa Marista. His arrest is linked to the establishment, on February 5, of a national commission of independent trade unions, a merger of the four existing independent trade union groupings in Cuba.

Announcements...

Forever" calendar will be available in mid-August. Copies are \$7.50 each (\$4.50 for five or more) from IWW, Box 204, Oak Park IL 60303. Individual copies can also be ordered from LLR, Box 762, Cortland NY 13045.

LaborTech 1993: This annual conference on labor and communications technologies (computer networks, cable, etc.) will meet November 12 - 14 at the University of Minnesota. A conference call is available from: John See, Labor Management Service, 437 Management Economics Building, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis MN 55455. email: jsee@csom.umn.edu

International Conference...

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fallen, we anti-authoritarian socialists make up the only active alternative left! The internationalization of capital must be met with international organization and mobilization. An undogmatic and federal IWA is a good form for the necessary cooperation. Let us hope that the SAC once again can take place where we belong: as part of a world-wide, anti-authoritarian, revolutionary workers movement.

BRITAIN'S DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

The following article appeared in Number 4 of K.S.L., the bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library. The Kate Sharpley Library publishes several interesting pamphlets on syndicalism in Britain and other countries. Write them at: KSL, BM Hurricane, London W.C.1 3XX, United Kingdom

The DAM (British section of the International Workers Association) was founded in 1979. The founders of the DAM, which included the Manchester Syndicalist Workers Federation, rump of what had been since the 40s a national organization, recognized the need for better organization and for anarchists to address working class issues in a more coherent way than the existing Anarchist Federation (last of many such attempts) which was grounded in disorganization and with too many interested only in pacifism and the punk scene. In a way, the DAM could be said to have fulfilled part of its original aims. The DAM's early years were spent in finding its feet and consolidating the organization as well as intervening in industrial disputes wherever possible.

The big break for the DAM came with the miners' strike [in 1984]. This had a twofold effect. Firstly it shook a lot of the anarchist movement out of its life-stylist torpor and into activity. More importantly for the DAM it showed the relevance of syndicalist ideas for the British working class. The sterling work done by DAM members and other anarchists won them the respect of many of the most militant miners.

The middle to late eighties saw a number of other disputes which the DAM supported, including Kent Messenger, Silent Night Traders, Meathouse and the printers' dispute at Wapping. Particular mention must be made of the Ardbride workers. DAM members mounted a consumer boycott of Laura Ashley, Ardbride's chief customer, which was later mounted internationally through the IWA. This forced Laura Ashley to threaten Ardbride and force them to make concessions. Unfortunately, the union (for recognition of which the workers had been fighting) called off the strike at a critical moment and the strikers failed to get their jobs back.

Experience of these disputes led the DAM to develop a new industrial strategy. This broke decisively with the previous syndicalist tactic of working within the [TUC] unions. The unions were seen by the DAM as beyond reform and to have failed the working class. New strategies are needed, based on direct action, workplace assemblies, and strike committees. The first step is to form 'industrial net-

works' of militants in the service industry whose long-term aim is to form an anarcho-syndicalist union. (The change of direction was not unanimous and a number of people left the DAM, some of whom went on to set up the short-lived Anarchist Workers Group.)

The DAM tried to implement this strategy over the last few years, with mixed success. Workplace groups, which would be the basic building block of any union, have yet to be established. Nor is the DAM able to develop the ideas much further than at present. This is in part due to the nature of the DAM—a political group with its own share of dogmatism. But it is also because any further development must come from the practice of workers organizing rather than the theory of those who aren't.

This lack of progression on the industrial front is linked to the DAM's high turnover of members, and stagnation of the last few years. However, the DAM was never going to be perfect and it's easy to criticize such things as the poor internal education, but it doesn't look so bad compared to other anarchist groups.

The DAM has been involved in a number of campaigns where it had a disproportionate influence to its numbers. In the anti-Poll Tax movement, the only challenge to the dead hand of the Militant [a British Trotskyite group] came from the DAM. Needless to say, others who hadn't heard of the Poll Tax before Trafalgar Square were quick to claim responsibility. Nor will it surprise us when the historians say these organized it!

DAM played a capital role in the re-launching of Anti-Fascist Action, the organization which actually fights fascists rather than just talking about fascism (or shouting at fascists, like the SWP-organized Anti-Nazi League).

Whatever the future of the DAM, it has certainly made a great impression on the anarchist movement in Britain. Anarchists are now better organized than they were in 1979. The task now is not to organize the anarchists, but for the workers to organize.

M.H.

LLR Note: The author unfortunately left out DAM's one industrial success, the Despatch Industry Workers Union. DAM members successfully organized a number of urban messenger businesses in the early 90s. A report on the DIWU was printed in LLR No. 10. A pamphlet published by DAM on its industrial strategy, Winning the Class War, was reviewed in LLR No. 13.

A CONFERENCE IN SPAIN

by Mattias Gardell

The following article appeared in the December 1992 issue of SAC-Kontakt, journal of the Swedish Workers Central-organization, the syndicalist federation of Sweden. It was translated for LLR by Christina Dagberger of the SAC. The article is significant because it suggests a thaw in the relations between the SAC and the IWA (syndicalist international federation).

RELATIONS WITH THE IWA AND CNT

The Spanish Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) invited anarchist and syndicalist worker-organizations from the entire world to a conference in Barcelona in August 1992. When the invitation arrived at the Internationella Kommitten (IK—International Committee) it was a clear sign that our continuous work over the past years was finally beginning to pay off.

The background—which some readers are certainly familiar with—consists of a conflict and a series of misunderstandings which since the 1950's have characterized the relations between Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation (SAC—the Swedish Workers Central-organization) and the International Workers Association (IWA), as well as the split of the CNT after the Franco dictatorship's fall, which caused similar fissures in larger portions of the anti-authoritarian European workers movement.

The following is a short description of these unfortunate events as well as a description of the IK's effort to reach a friendly and constructive relationship with the IWA and the CNT. Following that is a detailed report from the conference as well as my impressions of the CNT and the IWA.

The Conflict between the IWA and the SAC

The conflict with the IWA (AIT in Spanish) has two sides. Post World War II Europe was characterized by the cold war and the well-documented attempts of the CIA to influence West European workers organizations into an anti-revolutionary and anti-communist direction. In 1952, SAC adopted a Declaration of Principles which, compared to its predecessor, was clearly more reformist. It was decided the same year by referenda to build a state supported unemployment fund, which became reality in 1954.

The IWA, which at that time organized very few working unions (in practice only the SAC and the French CNT), and therefore was able to hold a more "orthodox" anarcho-syndicalist line, disapproved of

such "co-operation" with the state and supported opposition to this reorientation, which not the least came from SAC's older revolutionaries. The IWA, which worried about reformist tendencies, decided to give their secretariat the responsibility of observing different sections' tactical and principal stances.

In Sweden, this was perceived as the beginnings of a centralized opinion watchdog—something completely alien to an anti-authoritarian and federal movement. In 1956, the SAC withdrew from the IWA by not paying its membership dues.

The Spanish Split

The Spanish CNT, which during the Franco dictatorship was forced to go underground and into exile, returned upon the fascist collapse as the revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalist mass-movement it had once been during the 1930's. In the summer of 1977, when the CNT held its first mass meeting since the civil war, 300,000 enthusiastic supporters were present in Barcelona. Its revolutionary power, however, was soon subdued by internal struggles caused by intricate patterns of personal and political conflicts. These conflicts escalated until the 1979 congress, where a minority (according to the CNT, but a majority according to those who became the CGT) of more reform-minded comrades left.

The situation became worse as both groups claimed the name "CNT" as well as the resources confiscated by the Franco dictatorship [ie. the funds and union buildings included in the "Patrimony"—LLR]. The ideological and material legacy conflict was not settled until 1989, when a Spanish court rejected the splinter group's claims. They then changed their name to Confederation General del Trabajo (CGT).

The Spanish conflict had immediate effects upon the global movement. The IWA supported the CNT and anarcho-syndicalist groups in different countries split up into enemy camps along the lines of the internal Spanish division. Three camps crystallized in Sweden: one pro-CNT, one pro-that-which-was-to-become-CGT, and one completely uninterested or unknowing group.

These three groups within SAC were united in their determination not to split upon the basis of the Spanish conflict. None other than the employers and their collaborators—the reformist unions—would benefit if the SAC split. The SAC decided therefore to remain neutral (a Swedish tradition wouldn't you say). We regretted the Spanish conflict, but at the same time we explained that it could

hardly be the Swedish workers responsibility to decide which of the opposition groups was the legitimate CNT. During the congresses of 1983 and 1990, we declared our intention to cooperate and hold channels open to both parts. The Swedish door was open for both.

The Problems of Neutrality

One of the many problems with neutrality is that the decision does not appear quite as clear to the groups involved in the conflict seeking international support. For those caught up in an intensive, emotional struggle, thought of as decisive and a matter of life and death, the lines of distinction between good and evil are crystal clear. A naive Swedish attitude of we-want-to-be-friends-with-everyone is destined to misunderstanding. The thought that anyone who talks to the enemy are my enemy, is hard to ignore.

The fact that we even communicated with and visited the "renegades" in the soon-to-be CGT was enough for the CNT to suspect Swedish foul play. When in 1986, the SAC decided to lend 250,000 SKR [at 1993 exchange rates this would be about \$35,000 U.S.-LLR] to the soon-to-be CGT—money they would use for participating in union elections—the situation became interpreted as: "The SAC, those reformists, supports the trotskyst/reformists in the splinter group!" That we could just as easily have lent money to the CNT was unimportant. The SAC "schemes for those traitors and for nothing less than the despicable purpose of the Francoist, class-collaborationist institution of union elections." After that, many members of the CNT and IWA saw the SAC as a sworn enemy. Confusing and vicious rumors, which had the purpose of smearing SAC's reputation, soon spread and of course, outraged the Swedish syndicalists who were confronted with them. All this created a situation of mutual suspicion, misunderstandings and hurt feelings.

The IK's Long Range Plans

The IK works under these circumstances. In the IK's "International Program," which was ratified by the 1990 [SAC] congress, it is clearly stated that we are "especially open...to good relationship with ideologically similar organizations...both within and outside the IWA." Over the years, the IK has participated in many international events. As well as much else, we have worked towards building up a working co-operation between non-political-party-tied, anti-authoritarian, revolutionary unions both

in Eastern and Western Europe. This has included many trips and meetings where we have either met or contacted IWA sections.

Meeting on a personal level has many benefits. As long as the personal chemistry works, one soon understands that the other is actually human and not the devil that rumors portray. Once a political discussion begins, one discovers the other as an anti-authoritarian socialist and a brother in a common revolutionary struggle. Details about "who said what to whom in 1953" lose their importance and a series of misunderstandings can be cleared. Slowly, but surely, the SAC and the IWA sections could lower their guard and begin to communicate with each other.

Untangling a Mess

When the CNT invited the SAC to participate in their international conference, Certamen Anarquista Mundial (CAM), a milestone was passed which clearly marked that we were well on the way to the goal which we had set for ourselves—good and constructive relationships with the CNT and the IWA. We have much more in common than not. We understood, of course, that our presence would be controversial, and I, who had the honor to be our representative, prepared myself for many confrontations with hardened anarcho-syndicalists who were still caught up in the old patterns of conflict. I, however, felt confident that I could accomplish that which I set out to do and looked forward to tackling the Spanish bull by the horns.

And rest assured, I explained at least a thousand times over our position in a series of central points:

- No, the SAC does not support the state. We are a revolutionary union that fights both capital and the state.
- No, the SAC does not receive money from the state, however, the individual member receives a grant if she becomes unemployed ("Oh shit, we have about the same system in Spain...")
- No, the SAC has not tried to split the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement. You have done a good job of that yourselves, which we regret.
- No, the SAC did not give money to the CGT so that they could participate in union elections. We lent them money but what the CGT decided to do with it was their responsibility, not ours.
- No, the SAC does not participate in union elections. We don't even have such a system in

Sweden.

• No, the SAC does not only support the CGT. Just look at the decisions of our congress which clearly points to the fact that we also want good contacts with the CNT.

• No, we do not need to take a position in the Spanish conflict. The majority of our members are neither knowledgeable of nor interested in the conflict. We can not demand that our new members begin to study Spanish or Spanish anarcho-syndicalist history. We are a working, direct-democratic revolutionary union which has other issues that our members find more pressing to engage in, such as the struggle in the workplace. For many members, it is about as important to take sides in the Spanish conflict as it is to decide which of the two guerilla groups in Cameroon to support.

• No, we are not trying to build a new international to compete with the IWA. However, we seek constructive co-operation with non-political-party-tied, ideologically similar, unions. Be my guest and read this yourself in the International Program our congress drafted.

• Yes, our Declaration of Principles in 1952 was more reformist than it had been. Did you know that we decided upon a new Declaration in 1972 that was ratified 4 years later? No? Be my guest, see for yourself. Yes exactly, there is a difference. Not to mention that we are revising and updating it now and it will hopefully be even more radical and clear.

• Yes, we have employed functionaries. No, it is not the state but our members who pay their salaries. Their salaries are based upon the principle of equal pay and we see it as no more reformist to work for our own union than to work for a capitalist company.

And that is how it went. My saving grace was that the Spanish young people quickly understood the points and stepped in to correct the older members as soon as they saw that I was bombarded with the same questions that I had just answered. During the final days, the Spaniards, English and French discussed amongst themselves and a clear, positive view of the SAC spread throughout the conference. We could unite behind the fact that in today's circumstances, where the anti-authoritarian left is the only left that is left and therefore the only organized resistance to robber-baron-capitalism's havoc, it would be devastating to waste our energy upon internal differences when we have a revolution to organize. More about these concrete proposals later. It is now high time to get into the actual conference.

International Workers Conference

Every Swedish syndicalist, who has ever taken part in an international conference on the conti-

nent, be it in France, Italy, or Spain, are acquainted with those special characteristics we associate with problems in organizing a conference: an impossible time table, endless philosophically oriented arguments which challenge Fidel Castro's reputation for length, and poor—if even that—translations (God knows that French, Italian and Spanish are international languages spoken by all the workers of the world).

Mentally prepared to endure yet another conference under these conditions, I was nearly bowled over by my confrontation with the opposite reality: the time schedule was respected by the participants and those who arrived late blushed in an almost Nordic manner, simultaneous translations worked perfectly the entire conference, every session was introduced by a prepared leading statement, the following debates were disciplined and for the most part pertinent and towards the end a five minute limit was set—and it worked!

During three days, we worked with four main themes—the fall of planned state capitalism in Eastern Europe; the capitalist crisis in general; the situation of the anarchist workers movement; as well as which types of methods that we should use to build a dynamic and strong anti-authoritarian movement today.

The first two introductions of themes as well as the following discussions, were predictable and held no surprises. The SAC and most of the other participating organizations and individuals had the same analysis and opinions regarding these subjects. The only variation from an average Swedish syndicalist debate was the portion which zeroes in upon and attacked the church. The process of secularization has come further in Sweden than in Spain.

As expected, the last two themes were more interesting. Most of the participating organizations presented the situation in their own countries under the third theme. Participating in the conference were, among other IWA sections, Italy (USI), England (DAM), Germany (FAU), France (CNT) and Bulgaria (CNT). There were as well, many autonomous groups and communes from Spain, Grupo Malatesta from Portugal, autonomes and anti-fascists from Germany, the French Anarchist Federation, Italian railway workers and many more.

One interesting topic, among others, which I would like to highlight is that of an anarchist school in Estremadura, Spain. We watched a video and listened to a pair of teachers who worked there. The presentation was impressive. The school was located in town and the children picked up by a school bus, just as all the other children in the area. It was directed towards a balanced, overall view, with a well thought out pedagogy, which was truly revolu-

tionary and a brilliant anarchistic alternative to the bourgeois indoctrination that otherwise characterizes the western school system. If we had something similar here, I would send my children without a moment of hesitation. And why not? We have enough teachers in our organization to start similar schools in Sweden, at least in the larger cities.

I have two personal reflections concerning the third theme. The first is that this conference, despite its global claims, was clearly Euro-centered. With two exceptions, Morocco and the Spanish colony in Africa (known as the Canary Islands), everyone at the conference was from Europe. This points out the importance of attempting to tie new knots and establish contact with worker organizations in, above all Asia and Africa (we already have good contacts in America). In this context, we must understand that anarcho-syndicalism is a western phenomenon, which is why we cannot expect to find groups who actually call themselves "syndicalists" or "anarchists." In both Africa and Asia, there are other traditions which mean that anti-authoritarian ideas are clothed in other words. The second observation, which was immediately noticeable, was that the conference was overwhelmingly dominated by men. Not that we have anything to brag about but I hope that Swedish anarcho-feminists establish contacts with Mujeres Libres, the CNT's "Free Women," who expressed such a desire.

The conference ended with more concrete, action-oriented discussion. The debate was both intensive and interesting. The same type of contradictions that we usually find at home arose: tensions between union and political poles, between intellectual and anti-intellectual workers, between a men's and women's perspective and between generations. It was quite comforting to note that those stances which I thought the sensible "won the debate." The importance of a wide and anti-authoritarian mobilization against the right-wing was emphasized. In order to realize this, we must set dogmatic beliefs aside and be more flexible. Many speakers noted the positive in SAC's participation: we must respect the fact that the anarchist workers movement will express itself differently in different countries depending upon different circumstances, and find the necessary forms for a working co-operation in our common struggle against capital.

How to Continue?

As usual, the unofficial parts of the conference were the most rewarding. Many long discussions lighted up the breaks and nights and good personal contacts could be made. Those which were most important for the SAC and the future deserve to be documented: the unofficial bargaining with the CNT and IWA.

The CNT's new general secretary, Jaime Pozas, was easy to get along with. He had lived in Sweden where he worked as a cook, and had been a member of the SAC. He is therefore quite familiar with the Swedish situation. We agreed that we must work towards a good and friendly relationship and should cooperate on questions of mutual interest. My impression of the CNT is that it is a well working anarcho-syndicalist organization—contrary to what is occasionally said by CGT-influenced comrades in Sweden. They are similar to us on a series of ideological and practical questions, even if there are, naturally, points upon which we differ. The CNT is absolutely not a small, orthodox, dogmatic sect; but a revolutionary, anarchistic, workers organization which we should take a positive stance towards and cooperate with.

The IWA's new secretary, Pepe Jimenez, was even more easy to get along with. The IWA's secretariat moved to Valencia after the 1992 IWA Congress. We had a very long and constructive meeting where we ventilated opinions on everything from the IWA's organization and internal democracy, the controversy with the SAC, to a series of burning political questions. We soon found that we had similar points of view concerning the most serious questions and problems facing the working class today. We also agreed that we had everything to gain by cooperating. The SAC's participation in the conference is a beginning to normalizing relations between the IWA and the SAC. We should begin by cooperating on general questions and slowly work towards expanding the level of contact.

Today, the IWA consists of only two working unions, the CNTs in Spain and France. The rest are actually best seen as propaganda groups. It is also from these propaganda groups—due to that lack of practical experience of the realities that a union works under—that the most confusing attacks against the SAC come. It is quite clear that we need each other—the IWA, the CNT and the SAC!

Invitations Delivered

I delivered an invitation to both the IWA and the CNT, to come and visit Sweden and the SAC to have the opportunity to find out who we really are. Likewise, members of the SAC should visit the CNT, travel around in the country and form our own opinions instead of listening just to what others say. We should also begin working towards the goal of improving our contacts with the IWA (including forgiving the mistakes that have been made on both sides). In the long run—and when the time is right—my personal opinion is that the SAC should seek to be reinstated in the IWA. In times such as these, when the supposed "truly existing socialism" has

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"REFORMING" THE TEAMSTERS

by Jon Bekken

Ron Carey began his five-year term as president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Feb. 1, 1992. Carey and his reform slate—heavily backed by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (most of the slate, though not Carey himself, were TDU members)—swept the elections in a three-way race in which barely a fourth of the Teamsters' 1.5 million members voted, half of them for Carey. The election capped a 17-year struggle to reform the Teamsters, but was made possible only after the government put the union under federal trusteeship (in March 1989) under U.S. racketeering laws. The effort to reform the Teamsters union has been taken as an example by many other union activists who find themselves in corrupt or undemocratic business unions—indeed the foremost advocate of this union reform movement, *Labor Notes*, is firmly aligned with TDU. The Carey/TDU experience is thus important not only for what it means to members of the Teamsters union, but also as an example of where similar efforts to reform other business unions are likely to take us.

Although the Teamsters began as a union for drivers of horse-drawn wagons, today they organize anybody they can get dues from—truck drivers, warehouse workers, grocery store clerks, flight attendants, state employees, etc. The Teamsters' "International" (U.S. and Canada) Executive Board can place local affiliates in trusteeship for corruption or mismanagement, but otherwise has little authority over Teamster locals. Locals pay \$3.90 a month per member to the International, the bulk of members' dues stay with locals or with powerful regional boards. About a fifth of IBT members are covered by national contracts, mostly United Parcel Service workers. Teamster benefit plans and grievance boards are controlled by regional Teamsters conferences, most of which remain solidly in the grip of old-guard officers backed by entrenched local union bosses. Regional (conference) officers are elected by local union officers, not by the membership—just as national officers were before the government take-over.

A Nest of Thieves

That the Teamsters was thoroughly corrupt is a truism so well-known that it hardly needs repeating. Three of the most recent six previous presidents went to jail, a fourth died while under indictment for embezzlement, and a fifth led the mob drain the union's pension funds. Carey's predecessor (who has thus far not been indicted for any

crime) rigged contract procedures to give his son-in-law the union's printing work. But in recent years, mob control of the Teamsters had weakened—whether as a result of repeated prosecutions of mob-affiliated Teamster leaders or because the weakened union since deregulation the Teamsters no longer control interstate trucking) and its looted pension plan were no longer as attractive as other rackets.

And the extent to which the union is being cleaned up is easily overstated. To Carey's credit, he has dumped the jets and limousines that symbolized the lavish lifestyle of his predecessors, and also dumped many double- and triple-dipping Teamster officials from the headquarters payroll. (These hardworking piecards simultaneously held down two or more full-time jobs with the Teamsters on the local, regional and national level; when Carey dumped them from the headquarters payroll they were forced to fall back on their second jobs, from which they have become bitter opponents of the Carey regime.) Carey replaced them, and other opponents, with labor activists who support his policies.

In many ways the Teamsters are as corrupt as ever. Outright control by the mob is, by and large, passe—especially as this sort of corruption invites critical attention from the government trustees still overseeing the Teamsters. Long-entrenched mob regimes have been ousted from several locals, and other Teamster officers have been ousted for using union treasuries as their personal checking accounts—among them New York Teamster boss Barry Feinstein. (Interestingly, the *New York Times* and other union officers were unstinting in their praise of Feinstein's labor statesmanship as he was being forced from office.) But government-run locals have not shown themselves to be notably committed to improving wages or working conditions, or to conserving the members' dues for legitimate union purposes. Instead the government is systematically looting the Teamsters and making the union even more subservient to employers than it was under mob control.

Under the consent decree which old guard Teamsters officials signed to keep themselves out of jail, a three-person Independent Review Board is supposed to investigate corruption charges and recommend appropriate action to the appropriate local, regional and/or "international" union bodies. If the Board isn't satisfied with their action, it has the right to conduct its own hearings and take what-

ever action it chooses, subject only to appeal to the courts. One board member was appointed by the Teamsters, a second, former federal judge (and trustee over the Teamsters) Frederick Lacey, by the government. The two were supposed to select a third by mutual agreement, but when they didn't immediately agree on one the government appointed former CIA and FBI director William Webster to the "neutral" seat—a finer exemplar of dirty tricks and corruption would not be easy to find. Webster sits on the Board of Anheuser-Busch (as well as the

In many ways the Teamsters are as corrupt as ever... The government is systematically looting the Teamsters and making the union even more subservient to employers than it was under mob control.

Pinkerton Agency) and thus is indisputably a member of the employing class. Worse still, he is not only an employer—he is an employer of Teamsters! So the government has given the bosses the swing vote in deciding "union" policy.

To add insult to injury, the government refused the Teamsters' very reasonable request to limit the amount of money Lacey could soak their treasury for. Having witnessed Lacey's high-spending ways in the two years Lacey oversaw the union as federal trustee, Carey was reluctant to give him a blank check. Lacey charges the union \$385 an hour (about \$775,000 a year, if he works a 40-hour week); Carey, by contrast, makes "only" \$175,000 (after he cut the salary by \$50,000). Carey asked that Lacey be limited to no more than \$50,000 a year in fees, but Lacey demanded and got a minimum fee of \$100,000 plus expenses, with no upper limit. Even the highest-paid Teamster bosses never soaked the working members for that much.

Some union reformers (most notably the Association for Union Democracy) have defended the Independent Review Board as necessary to ensure that local and regional officers do not abuse members' rights, though criticizing its cost and Webster's appointment. But having government officials determine union policy, settle union grievances, determine who will hold union office and dictate union rules is corruption of the worst sort. The members have somewhat of a chance (however slim) fighting against mobsters and bureaucrats; with the government running their union they are left powerless when the bosses attack.

While Carey has vigorously denounced this government interference, his record of opposing corruption is unimpressive. In one of his last actions as

federal trustee, Lacey vetoed Carey's attempt to appoint one Ronald Miller as international union representative on the grounds that the "appointment would further a racketeering activity—the extortion of the rank and file's right to a democratic union." Despite Carey's reputation as a union reformer, it seems that he is willing to turn a blind eye to harassment of union dissidents when those doing the harassing are his supporters.

Teamster Local 30, in Pennsylvania, is home to newly elected (on the Carey slate) Teamster General Secretary-Treasurer Tom Sever, Miller (local business agent), and Tom Felice, a persistent critic of the Sever administration. When Felice was laid off from his job he had to find another job in its jurisdiction in order to maintain his membership. He found one, but Local 30 officers would not sign the necessary paperwork so Felice lost the job and was forced out of the local. He sued, the federal judge hearing the case ruled that Sever and Miller "without doubt... acted in bad faith" and forced him from the union through "despicable" "bullying tactics." Lacey decided that violating rank-and-file rights violated the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (under which the government took control of the Teamsters).

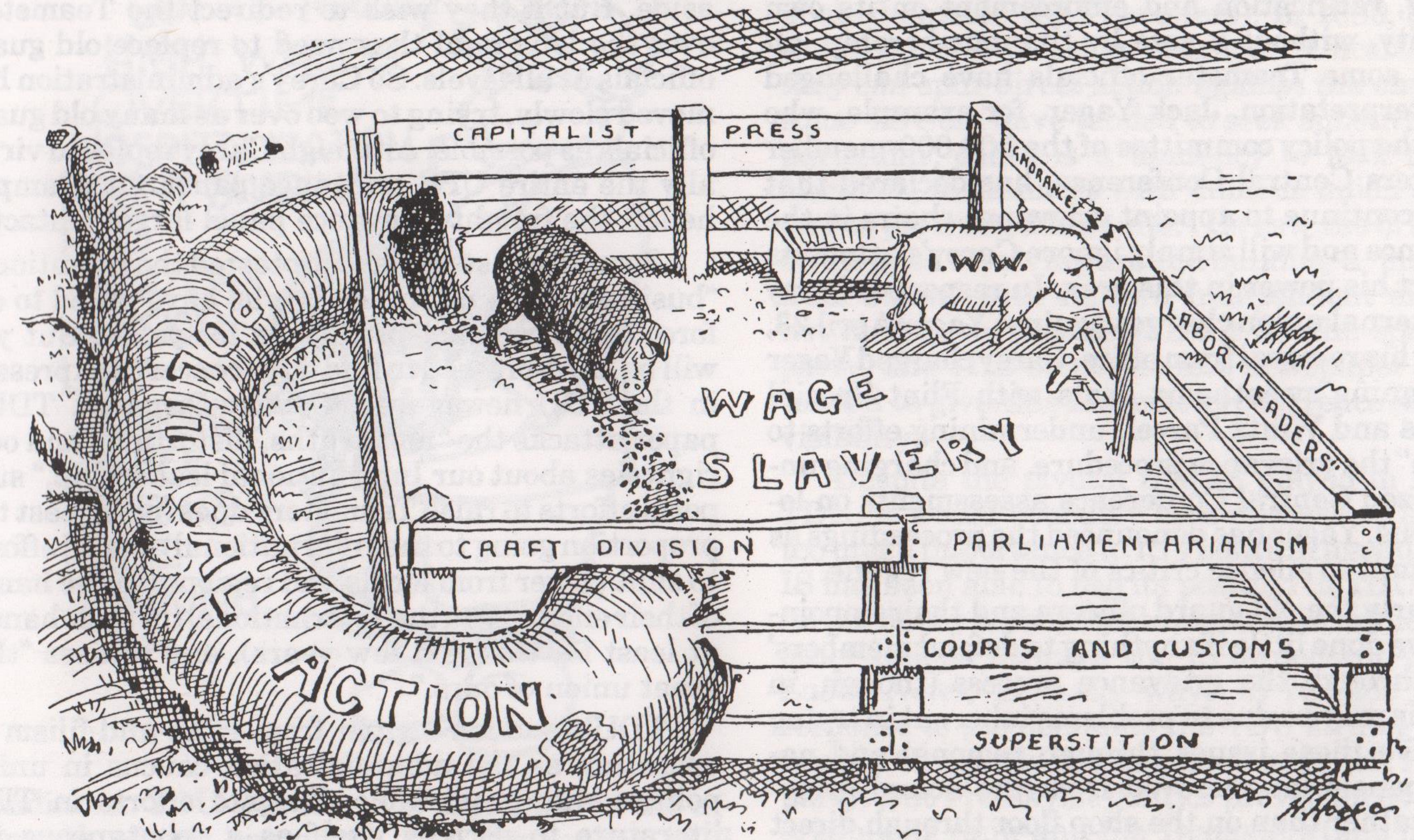
This decision is interesting on at least two counts—on the one hand it illustrates Carey's disregard for the democratic rights of rank-and-file Teamsters; on the other, it marks a dramatic extension of government power. Under the logic of this ruling, any union dissident whose civil liberties were violated in their unions could turn to federal prosecutors and ask them to bring criminal or civil charges. But at the same time, the logic is easily extended to allow prosecution of union officers and seizure of unions for virtually any violation of government policy—say, refusal to handle non-union goods or honoring a picket line (indeed there is far more precedent for such an interpretation of RICO than to support Lacey's innovative reading of the law).

A Model Piccard

Carey himself is the very model of the piccard. He has been a full-time union bureaucrat since 1967, representing United Parcel workers in Long Island. (Though Carey got his start in the Teamsters as a UPS driver, unlike that other darling of the union reform crowd, Rich Trumka, who put in only a few months working a summer job in the mines before going on the UMW payroll as a staff attorney.) By all accounts, Carey proved an effective union president, and he got 97.5 percent of his local's vote for IBT president.

Since taking control of the Teamsters international, Carey has generally argued for a more militant posture—threatening strikes and boycotts in

A MODERN FABLE



Once upon a time there lived a Piggy. Piggy lived in a pen which was known to men by the name of Wage-Slavery. Piggy conceived the idea of breaking out of this pen into the Land of Plenty, called **Industrial Freedom**. But Piggy's Boss, who was called Mr. Capitalist, did not want Piggy to break out of the pen; so, as he knew that Piggy was strong enough to smash the pen, Piggy's Boss conceived and brought forth the Brilliant Idea of letting Piggy out—and still keeping him in. So Piggy's Boss furnished a Hollow Log that was bent in the middle, and so arranged it that when Piggy went out of the pen by means of this Log, he eventually found that he had not been out of the pen at all, but merely occupying himself with Getting Nowhere. But Piggy's brother, who was not long on philosophy, but who saw things as they were, decided to use a small bunch of Direct Action on the pen, and at last reports was in a fair way to getting the goods.

Moral—If you come in where out you went, you will never arrive. Also, **Don't Use the Crooked Log.**

from: *Industrial Worker*—August 27, 1910

situations where his predecessors might have called for cooperation or concessions. The new administration has promised programs to educate local officials on labor-management cooperation schemes, a major organizing drive, and concerted efforts to involve rank-and-file members in the ongoing fight for a new contract from United Parcel Service (last time around, the Teamsters granted major concessions).

The catch is the word "promised." Teamster watchers report that the UPS effort has been sidelined by attempts to work through often-hostile local officers, and that very little actual mobilizing work has been done. And the Carey administration is handicapped by a major financial crisis. The old guard spent millions of dollars on court battles to keep themselves out of jail and in office, and mil-

lions more on high salaries and lavish perks. They took \$34 million out of the strike fund to cover these deficits. Although Carey has cut spending on officers, legal fees and perks, many of his programs will cost money—and a UPS strike would exhaust the depleted strike fund in only two weeks.

Carey has also pressed for a more powerful International union structure. Where the Teamsters have always been a decentralized federation of largely autonomous locals, Carey's vision calls for a centralized structure with a powerful president (himself). Carey's General Executive Board has unilaterally amended the Teamsters' constitution to give the president the power to appoint the chairperson and other members of the grievance panels that administer the Teamsters' national contracts. The Teamsters constitution apparently gives the

Executive Board the authority to amend any section of the constitution dealing with contract bargaining, ratification and enforcement on its own authority, without a vote by the membership, although some Teamster officials have challenged this interpretation. Jack Yager, for example, who chairs the policy committee of the 500,000-member Teamsters Central Conference, has declared that he will continue to appoint grievance chairs in the conference and will simply ignore Carey's attempts to assert his power in this area. In response, Carey filed internal union charges against Yager April 23, seeking his removal from office. Carey charged Yager with signing sweetheart deals with Flint Special Services and Wintz Parcel, undermining efforts to "reform" the grievance procedure, and charging unauthorized Central Conference assessments on local unions. Yager has denounced the proceedings as an attempt to silence critics of the new regime.

Clearly the old guard officers and their appointees have done little if anything to defend members' rights through the grievance process (though, in part, this may be due to problems inherent in trying to resolve these issues through regional and national panels far removed from the actual grievances, rather than on the shop floor through direct action). But Carey's effort to pack these panels with his own loyalists is unlikely to do much to empower the rank-and-file. It will, however, greatly strengthen the powers of the central bureaucracy over the lives of working Teamsters—and there may well come a time when rank-and-filers will learn to regret that power (whether exercised by Carey or his successors).

Teamsters for a Democratic Union

Ten of Carey's 14 slate members were TDU members, and TDU handled most of the get-out-the-vote activities. Carey's entire slate was elected, and so TDU now ostensibly controls the Teamsters' executive board. Those TDU activists find themselves in an awkward position—to the extent that they carry out their reform agenda, they must encourage the rank-and-file to be more active and to challenge old guard Teamsters officials. Indeed, TDU is organizing election challenges against several local officers (with mixed results). They are also pressing for changes in local union bylaws in an attempt to ensure fairer election procedures.

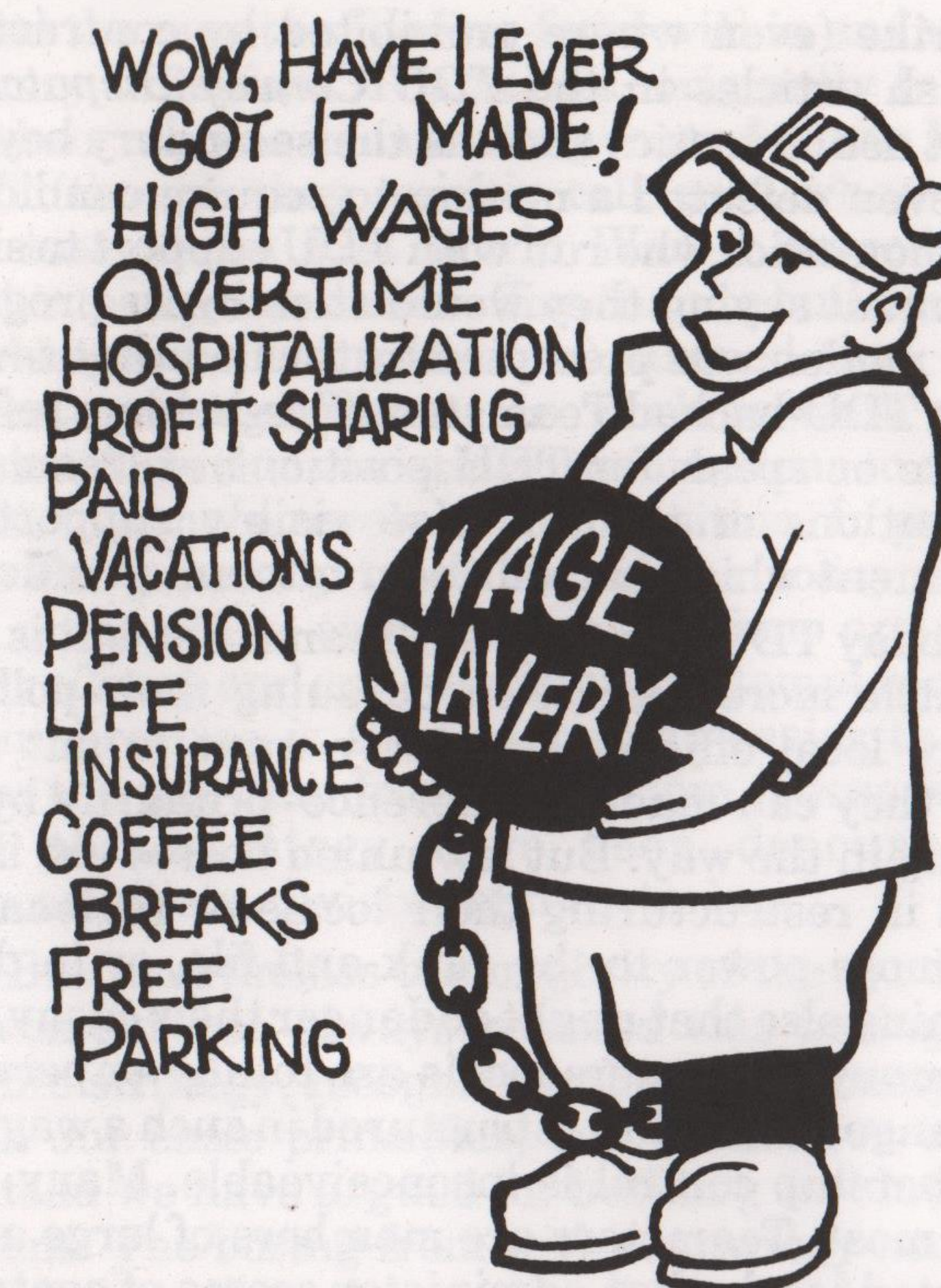
This, of course, has the effect of further polarizing Carey's relations with local and regional officials who control the union's pension funds, grievance panels and most of its contracts. Joint Council 53, for example, recently passed a resolution calling TDU "a cancer eating away at the teamsters' union" and demanding that Carey keep its executive board members away from locals in Council 53's jurisdiction. If Carey and TDU are to revitalize the Team-

sters from above, they need the cooperation of those officials—at the very least they need them to stand aside. But if they wish to redirect the Teamsters over the long haul they need to replace old guard officials at all levels. So Carey's administration has moved slowly, trying to woo over as many old guard officials as possible. Although Carey replaced virtually the entire UPS grievance panel, for example, he left the freight grievance panel largely intact.

Some Teamsters have protested the retention of "business as usual" officials who have failed to enforce basic contract provisions for years. But you will be hard-pressed to find such concerns expressed in the TDU newspaper, *Convoy-Dispatch*. TDU's paper attacks the "half-truths, distortions and outright lies about our International leadership," supports efforts to raise Teamsters dues (or at least the proportion going to the International), backs efforts to shift power from locals and regions (in the hands of their enemies) to the International (in their hands, at least for the next few years), and praises "this great union of ours."

TDU's sudden switch from rank-and-file to operating as the administration caucus in union politics was predictable. Despite efforts in TDU literature to portray itself as a spontaneous response to a series of sell-outs by a mob-ridden union bureaucracy, TDU represented a continuation of efforts by Trotskyists to bore from within the Teamsters union and capture it under their leadership. Members of International Socialists were among the many leftists who sought out jobs in unionized heavy industry in the late 1960s and '70s as part of a strategy of implanting their ideas among the workers. IS ultimately adopted a strategy of deep entryism in which their "socialism" became all but invisible as they focussed instead on gaining influence by organizing around short-term reforms.

These borers benefitted from an upsurge of unrest in the Teamsters: steel haulers were demanding their own union, nearly 50,000 wildcat strikers fought for better contracts, and Ralph Nader's Professional Drivers Council (PROD) was pressing the Teamsters to take on health and safety issues and soon expanded its focus to corruption and union democracy. With supporters spread across the country, a dedicated core of activists used to spending long hours on organizational activities and the ability to draw upon IS resources to help get their efforts off the ground, IS members were in a strong position to take charge of this unrest and reshape it. They began with a single-issue campaign around the 1976 freight contract—and with about three dozen Teamsters (by no means all of them ISers) in 14 cities. But they distributed tens of thousands of leaflets and struck a cord among Teamsters determined to halt their eroding wages and working



conditions. TDU was formally organized in the aftermath of this campaign, at a September 1976 meeting in Kent, Ohio. To quote from TDU's account of the founding convention's approach:

They rejected the strategy of "dual unionism" or secession from the Teamsters which some other reform groups had advocated... They decided that TDU was not going to confine its activities to the truck drivers and dock workers in the freight industry... Finally, the men and women who founded TDU committed themselves to fight for real democracy in the Teamsters. They demanded that the members have the right to elect everybody from union steward to General President.

The Fraternal Order of Steelhaulers (FASH) had been the most prominent of those advocating secession. They figured they had enough unity among their fellow workers to build a genuine, fighting union if they could just get the Teamster bureaucrats off their backs. Unfortunately, this program brought them up against the Teamsters bureaucrats, the employers (who hardly wanted a militant union), and TDU—which ultimately persuaded many steelhaulers to abandon efforts to build their own union which could improve their conditions immediately in favor of a long-term (pie in the sky, when you die) boring-from-within strategy of trying to take over the entire International. In 1979, TDU merged with PROD and began lining up local officers, either by signing up existing officers or by electing "reform" candidates.

Those early victories reinforced an already existing tendency to focus on taking over union of-

fices, rather than build a genuinely democratic, grassroots union (a strategy more easily accomplished outside the Teamsters). In 1980, TDU activist Dave Wolfensohn warned: "Uncertain that they can spur direct action against the employers, some TDUs have tended to seek substitutes... In particular, there is a tendency to look to union elections, to alliances with dubious union officials, and to protracted lawsuits." He saw the original IS strategy as revolving around building a "movement from below" with its own independent existence, not merely serving as a front for the sponsoring party. The TDU structure and newspaper were intended to give this movement coherence and some visibility.

Despite the pivotal role IS played in building TDU, it would probably be a mistake to attribute too much importance to IS's political agenda. While IS has been able to use its position in TDU to push its pet hobby horses and to expand its influence into other unions through the IS-owned-and-operated *Labor Notes*, in many ways IS remade itself in response to the demands the TDU strategy placed upon it. Originally IS was a fairly open, left Trotskyist party. But Trotskyist politics proved an obstacle to organizing rank-and-file Teamsters (and indeed to IS's boring from within the labor movement as a whole), and the politics were quickly reduced to attempts to reach out to minority workers and occasional bouts of internationalism (although this can be abandoned when opportunism demands—TDU raised no objections to Carey's fiercely nationalistic flag-waving, America-first rhetoric).

Even the traditional Trotskyist chimera of the Labor Party was kept out of the TDU program (although IS advocated it fervently in their magazine, *Changes* [now merged into *Against The Current*], and in *Labor Notes*). Instead, TDU and IS have bulled inexorably toward "pragmatic" policies—particularly towards efforts towards electoralism and alliances with "out" officials. IS split over these issues and entered a seemingly irreversible decline resulting in large part from its submersion into union reform efforts. IS could not recruit effectively in the unions it operated within for fear of alienating the rank-and-file, but so much of their energy and resources went into boring-from-within that IS by and large ceased to function in the outside world. The result was that IS became increasingly irrelevant to its own members (once the union reform efforts got off the ground they were largely self-perpetuating) and to broader movement politics. And so, a few years ago, IS (after rejecting a proposal to bore from within Democratic Socialists of America and take that organization over) dissolved itself into a new "multi-tendency socialist organization," Solidarity—which brought

former IS members, exiles from the Socialist Workers Party, and freelance Marxists into a looser, but larger organization.

IS's collapse is of little concern to syndicalists. Far more important is the ways in which its policies diverted Teamster rank-and-file efforts from building shop-floor resistance to the bosses into the seemingly easier channels of electing "reformers" to union office or revising union bylaws. Over the years TDU had many successes with this strategy—that is, several TDU-backed candidates did in fact become union bureaucrats (and many union bureaucrats made alliances with TDU). With the U.S. government take-over of the Teamsters, TDU was able to follow the logic of this position into the union's highest officialdom.

Boring from within necessarily implies that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the business unions—that with a change of officers or a little tinkering with the bylaws they could be made into effective working-class organizations. Revolutionary unionists know that nothing could be further from the truth...

But there is little reason to expect that these TDU Executive Board members will make much difference. As Wolfensohn noted 13 years ago, "Anyone who takes top office... without having first built an independent organization of the rank and file (not just voters) committed to direct action by the ranks... will hold office but not be able to do anything with it." He pointed to the conservative influence of the entrenched bureaucracy, to the inability to win against the bosses without strong rank-and-file action, and to the sorry results of TDU's early forays into union elections. TDU won several elections in 1978, only to see the "rebel" bureaucrats quickly assimilated. TDU's emphasis on working within the Teamsters structure led it not only to reject secession, but also to undermine efforts to build wildcat strikes (instead pressuring the bureaucrats to call official strikes—even when successful, the bureaucrats controlled the resulting strikes and settled them on their own terms).

TDU relied upon lawsuits, union elections and appeals to union officers instead of organizing the rank and file to act in their own behalf. Efforts by more militant members to broaden this approach were uniformly rejected as irrelevant or likely to scare off potential recruits. TDU's 1981 convention rejected efforts to declare TDU support for the right

to strike (even where prohibited by contract), to publish articles in the *TDU Convoy Dispatch* on direct action tactics such as the secondary boycott, and even defeated a motion to require candidates for union office who run with TDU support to sign a statement saying they would stick by its program. (This motion was prompted by the fact that several dozen TDU-backed Teamster office-holders refused to vote or speak for TDU positions at Teamsters conventions or to otherwise visibly support the movement which helped them into union office).

Today TDU sits atop the Teamsters, but is having little more success in pursuing their policies. Where local officers genuinely want to put up a fight they can make a difference—primarily by not getting in the way. But few union bosses are interested in restructuring their locals or regionals to give more power to the rank-and-file, or in doing anything else that might endanger their cushy jobs. And many Teamsters locals are totally impervious to change from below—structured in such a way that membership control is inconceivable. Many, perhaps most, Teamsters are members of large amalgamated locals that administer scores of contracts covering workers at different companies in a wide variety of industries, often scattered over vast territories. Members rarely meet Teamsters members outside of their own workplace; even if they were able to mount an effective electoral challenge to the entrenched incumbents (hardly likely under the circumstances), this organizational model separates the "union" local from its membership in ways that are extremely difficult to overcome. But these locals are not run by reformers, they are run by veteran bureaucrats who run their fiefdoms like businesses, collecting the dues (and paying themselves handsomely from the proceeds), making sure the members don't get too uppity, and often undercutting other union locals in their dealings with employers so as to get as many dues-paying members as possible under their umbrella.

Boring from Within

In fairness, TDU never was a syndicalist organization—it aimed not to abolish the capitalist system, but rather to make the Teamsters union a more effective weapon in the battle for a bigger piece of the pie. But it is often pointed to as an example of what revolutionaries might accomplish were we only to switch our efforts from the admittedly difficult task of building revolutionary unions to the seemingly easier route of transforming the business unions from within. In many ways TDU has been successful—the "reformers" have taken control of the highest levels of the "union" (though their control is far shakier at lower levels), even if they have had to make major compromises to do so.

For more than 100 years, syndicalists have de-

bated the merits of boring-from-within and revolutionary unionism. The borers, originally inspired by their success in capturing control of the French CGT (though they quickly collapsed when put to the test of the first World War—it proved much easier to capture union office than to build genuine working-class organizations), argued that it was necessary to go where the workers were and to work within their existing organizations to convert these to a more revolutionary position. In practice, this has generally translated into a policy of seeking union office, since business unions are run by their officers and any "pragmatic" attempt to change their direction is thus seemingly easier to direct from the top than from the bottom. Those who reject this strategy have been denounced as impossibilists, divisive and sectarian.

But nonetheless the majority of the syndicalist movement has always rejected this boring-from-within strategy, recognizing that it is incompatible with our basic principles, and ineffective to boot. Instead we have argued for building revolutionary unions. The boring from within strategy necessarily implies that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the business unions—that with a change of officers or a little tinkering with the bylaws they could be made into effective working-class organizations. Revolutionary unionists know that nothing could be further from the truth.

The business unions are based upon fundamentally flawed premises—that labor and management, at some basic level, have interests that can be harmonised, and that workers are incapable of running their own unions. While we support workers—whether members of business unions or not—when and wherever they find themselves engaged in the class war, we recognize that the business unions are organized not to prosecute the class war but rather to smooth over disputes. They are dues-collecting machines, whose continuity and stability rely upon a passive membership and industrial peace. The prized accomplishments of business

unionism—their cadres of full-time union officers, their mandatory dues check-off, their national arbitration procedures, government-certified union representation—are directly contrary to the real interests of the workers whose dues support the business unions, and indeed were developed precisely to circumvent workers' control of their own organizations.

Revolutionary unionists propose a fundamentally different concept of unionism—one based upon the workers themselves, organized at the point of production. We recognize that anti-hierarchical, democratic organizations cannot be built within hierarchical organizations—let alone from the hierarchy itself. Revolutionary unionism requires that we develop new ways of relating with each other, and of pursuing our struggles and our vision for the future—one based on direct action and self-organization.

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PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTARIAN ECONOMICS: PART 2 OF 3

by Abraham Guillen
(translated by Jeff Stein)

As part of our continuing efforts to present anarchist economic theory, we offer this translation from Abraham Guillen's book, Economía Libertaria. Because of its length, we are publishing it in three parts. The first part was in LLR #14, the conclusion will be in LLR #16.

The Demystification of Politics

The experience of more than half a century of "velvet socialist" [ie. social democrat], Christian democrat and liberal governments practicing Keynesian economics in the West, as well as the totalitarian communist governments of the East with centralized planning, has been that the workers remain wage slaves either way, building up surplus value for the private or State owner. They are exploited as much on one side of the world as another, whether under the governments of Olaf Palme, of Kohl or Honecker, of Thatcher or Reagan, of Gorbachev or Yeltsin.

From this it can be deduced that "state socialism" is neither socialism nor communism, but is instead the collective ownership, usufruct, of the totalitarian bureaucracy over the surplus value extracted by the State. This bureaucratic socialism is the formal critic of private capitalism, but allows it to be transformed in the West into multinational capitalism, and in the East allows capitalism to be restored. Consequently, this leaves "libertarian socialism," essentially anarchism, as the rational and necessary critic of both private capitalism and of state socialism as bourgeois socialism.

But if libertarian socialism wants to be an alternative to the bourgeois socialism of the West and the social-economic chaos of the East, it must be able to make the beauty and seduction of anarchist utopia compatible with a realistic economic, social and scientific vision of the world, consistent with our time. It must present a social-economic program which overcomes the crises in economy, society, politics, ecology, demographics, energy, of moral and intellectual value. It must seek to harmonize natural resources and human resources in a new social-economic order in which all people have the right to labor and education, in a way that overcomes definitively the old division of manual and

intellectual work.

"Is it necessary," asked Bakunin, "to repeat the irrefutable arguments of socialism, which no bourgeois economist has yet succeeded in disproving? What is property, what is capital in their present form? For the capitalist and the property owner they mean the power and the right, guaranteed by the State, to live without working. And since neither property nor capital produces anything when not fertilized by labor, that means the power and the right to live by exploiting the work of someone else, the right to exploit the work of those who possess neither property nor capital and who are thus forced to sell their productive power to the lucky owners of one or the other." (*Obras*. Volume III, p.191)

But let us again insist that the workers, within a self-managed economy where the means of production and exchange are socialized, without either bourgeois owners, or technocrats and bureaucrats of centralized state economic planning, would be capable of conducting the economy themselves.

Now then, a libertarian economy of the self-managed type has to be capable of producing an economic surplus greater than under private or state capitalism; of converting a large part of this surplus to the reproduction of social capital, improving the productivity of labor. Therefore the workers will achieve a higher rate of growth in productive forces than private or state capitalism. There will be, thus, better and greater production with less expense of human effort and greater and better use of automated machinery. This is because only the automation of labor makes it possible to create the technical basis for libertarian communism. Socialism or communism can be justified neither economically, politically nor socially as popular misery. A dominant class backlash would be justified as necessary if the workers eat all their capital without replacing it, or without increasing it more than the soviet bureaucracy or the western bourgeoisie.

Proudhon, quoted by Guerin, concerning the self-managed economic regime, said: "The classes ...must merge into one and the same association of producers." [Would self-management succeed?] "On the reply to this ...depends the whole future of the workers. If it is affirmative an entire new world will open up for humanity; if it is negative the proletar-

ian can take it as certain....There is no hope for him in this poor world." (Daniel Guerin, *Anarchism*, p.48)

In sum, there is no need to lament, there is a need to educate, to become the protagonist of the future; to prepare oneself to improve things and to make revolutionary changes; to understand the sciences, sociology, economy, and revolutionary strategy; since without a successful revolution, there can be no liberation of the workers, an outcome which cannot be delegated to others but must come from the exertion of their own self-powers.

Planning and Self-Management

The planned economy has been praised by the technocrats and bureaucrats of socialism, East and West, as the rationalization and codification of national economies, with the goal of giving them a harmonious law of development, both economic and technological. According to this scheme, all the sectors of production and services will be coordinated so that none of them advances ahead or falls behind so much that it causes a crisis of disproportional development between the branches of industry, agriculture and services. However this supposed "law of harmonious development of national economies" directed by an army of bureaucrats and technocrats has in reality only introduced alongside private capitalism the capitalism of the State, leaving the workers, as always, as dependent wage workers. In both cases the workers are wage slaves that produce surplus value for the capitalist entrepreneurs or the State-entrepreneur.

Apologizing for the planned economy, as the scientific economy par excellence which can predict the future with rigorous calculations, able to conduct national economies according to prior objectives based upon macroeconomic calculations, to guide the desired economic development with the help of "control equations" for the month, year, four-year, five-year, all the economic science which was the hallmark of central-planning, was declared as vulgar economic science. Particularly has this been the case in the Soviet Union, although now Yeltsin under the IMF has discovered capitalism, pure and simple, as a new "democratic" economy, even though it impoverishes the workers.

But after many years of centralized planning the national economies have revealed a crisis of underproduction, or undersupply of the market and a crisis of disproportional and unequal development between industry and agriculture, in the USSR and all the countries of the ruble zone. Indicative planning, as advocated in the West by the technobureaucratic thought of Keynes, Schumpeter, Galbraith and Burnham, was an economic doctrine, of center and left and including some of the right,

taken up by the parties of the social-democrats, socialists, christian-democrats and neo-liberals. These parties mobilize the politicians of the middle class professionals, who aspire to a State-benefactor where, as the first enterprise of all, the technocrats are the directors more than the capitalists properly speaking.

If libertarian socialism wants to be an alternative... it must be able to make the beauty and seduction of anarchist utopia compatible with a realistic economic, social and scientific vision of the world, consistent with our time.

By means of the welfare-State the reformist middle class, from right to left, comes robbing the usufruct of the government. Thanks to the sector of nationalized enterprises, of social security insurance, of public services, and the nationalization of many banks, a "bureaucratic-technocratic bourgeoisie" is created, more solid, if possible, than the old bourgeoisie. Thereafter, if their businesses register a deficit, there is no one who will cancel it, or even less keep account of credits and debts or if things go bad force the enterprise into bankruptcy. On the contrary, the abundant existence of nationalized enterprises in the West has created a whole series of directors, executives and "businessmen" with inflated salaries, regardless of whether their enterprises can show benefits greater than losses. This "bourgeoisie of the State" is shoving aside the classic bourgeoisie, since the former has political parties monopolizing the State, the nationalized banks, the machinery to print inflated money and to tax with discretion. The only beneficiary from the growing productivity of labor, growing like a foam on the waves, is not a private owning class, but those who indirectly own public property in the form of State property, as a political class.

Accordingly, indicative planning or centralized planning, which aspires to impose a balanced national economic development, has distorted the law of harmonious social division of labor. The welfare State expands the unproductive sector (middle class functionaries, bureaucrats and technocrats), while increasing the productivity of labor in industry and agriculture. This creates an aberrant economy of inflation of the unproductive population which sterilely devours the wealth of societies and nations. It can lead to a total economic crisis, of systematic nature, since in order to resolve it requires more than simply changing leaders. Instead a corrupt, contradictory and antagonistic socio-economic re-

gime of multi-national capitalist monopolies opposed to the general interest must be replaced with universal libertarian socialism.

The economists and politicians of the middle class parties, including in their ranks the reformist union bureaucrats, the professional politicians, the phoney savants (political, economic, and technical), would submit to a social economy, as much in the East as in the West, of a dictatorship of the techno-bureaucracy as "new dominant class." The bourgeoisie, due to the centralization of capital in both large and small enterprises, diminishes in statistical number, according to the law of mercantile competition, liquidating in the market those capitalists who are smaller and thus equipped with less productive machines which produce at a higher cost. But, in contrast, the bureaucracy, the technocracy, the professional of all types, are augmented more by the very same thing that diminishes the bourgeoisie annihilated by economic competition, the centralization of capital in the multinationals.

The Totalitarian State

In this sense, the State tends to convert itself into the largest of all business enterprises in the West, and as the only business in the East, that is to say, the enterprise which owns all the nationalized enterprises. And thus, under these conditions, the State which owns everything also is the master of all persons who by virtue of their political alienation see the State as God-protector, although the State as sole protector of Society takes from them by taxes, charges or low salaries more than it gives in return. Meanwhile the poor people are hoping that the State is a benefactor, and that a middle class political party will offer to save them in return for their votes. Each day things go from bad to worse, because the countless bureaucrats consume from above the capital which is needed below to maintain full employment in industry and agriculture.

Without debureaucratization and debourgeoisification there is no way out of the growing economic and social crisis which is caused by the excessive economic waste involved in the sterile consumption of the parasitic classes: the bureaucratic apparatus of the State, the superfluous institutions filled with supernumerous personnel, the administrations of enterprises which have begun to have more "white collars" than productive workers, and finally, a whole series of "tertiary" and "quaternary" services that spend without contributing much to the social wealth. And we are not saying that this happens only in the capitalist countries, but that this affects equally badly the so-called "socialist" countries. By means of centralized bureaucratic planning of their economies, all social capital, labor, national income

and economic power is placed in the hands of a techno-bureaucracy of planning, for whom workers and their products are only ciphers in five-year plans.

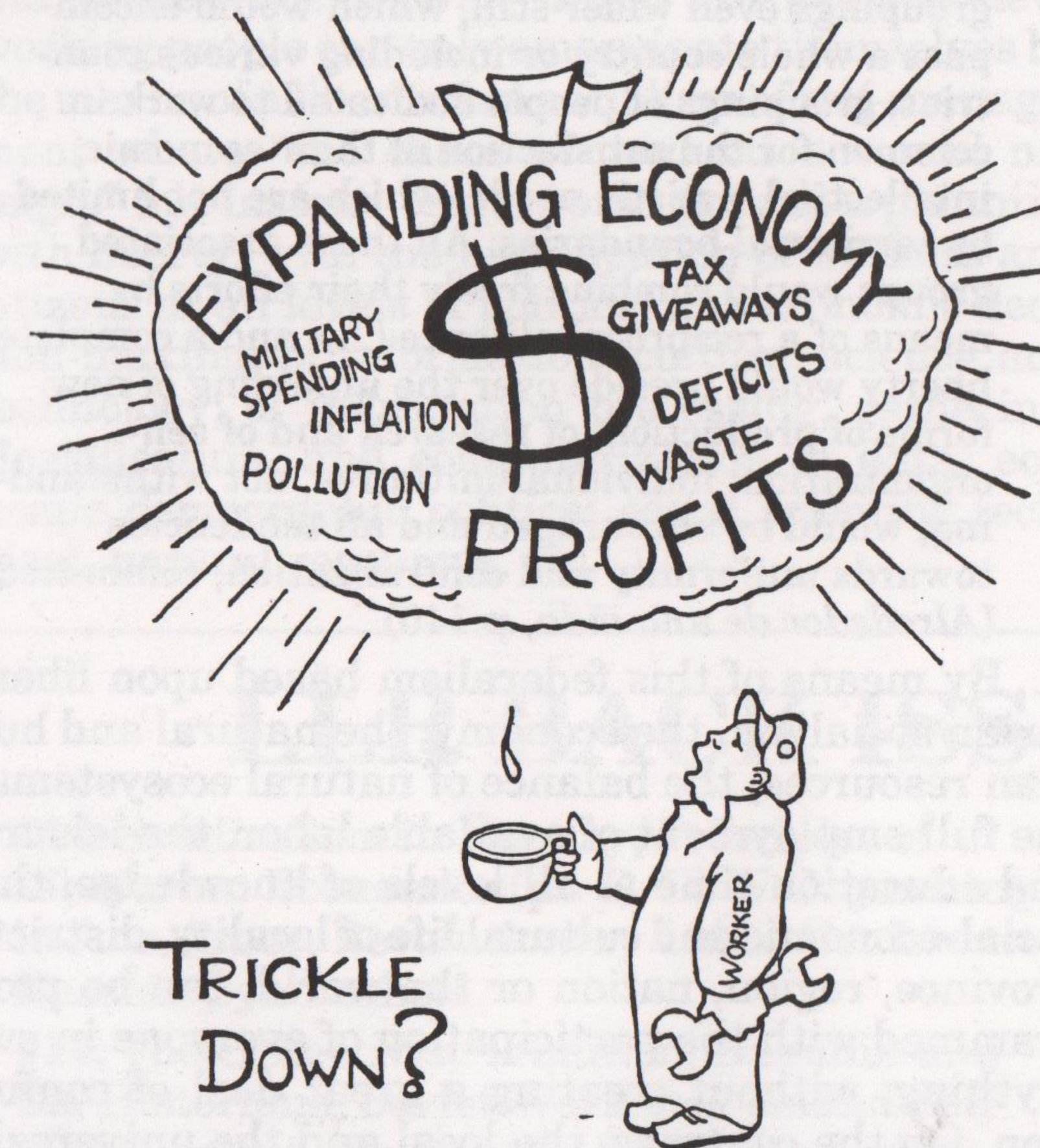
In this way they create social relations between those who have Power and those who suffer as wage workers not essentially different than those existing in the capitalist countries. So it is that the worker continues as the producer of surplus value, whether for the State or private businesses. Meanwhile the workers do not have the right to self-manage their own workplaces, to democratically decide its organization and the economic surplus produced, nor to elect their own workplace councils by direct and secret vote. Without these rights, centralized planning creates a bureaucracy based upon state property instead of social property, and endeavors to substitute State capitalism for private capitalism. Thus eventually it ends up by alienating into an external power outside of the wage workers, whether under the western capitalist or the soviet model.

The large western capitalist enterprise, national or multi-national, when it concentrates multi-millions in capital and exploits monopolies in production and thousands of workers (for example Fiat, Siemens, I.C.I., General Motors, Unilever, Nestle, Hitachi, or nationalized industrial complexes like IRI, British Steel and INI) leads to a bureaucratic and totalitarian condition within the enterprise. The workers neither know nor elect the administrative councils of these gigantic corporations, any more than the workers in the former USSR. The directors are forced upon them from above, just as in other ages the mandarins and satraps were designated in the regimes of Asian despotism.

For the Soviet regime to have qualified as socialist, not just semantically but in reality, it would have had as its economic basis the social ownership of the means of production and exchange, the direct democracy of the people instead of the bureaucratic dictatorship of the single Party, the decentralization of power (economic, political and administrative) by the means of a federalism which would have assured the popular participation at all levels of decision-making, political, economic, social, cultural, informational and self-defense. In this way a self-managed, libertarian, self-organized society, would have replaced the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, in which society was regimented and watched over by the State-employer, all-powerful permanent leaders and the political police of the KGB.

It could be argued that a vision of such nature is utopian or too good to be true, but historical experience shows that centralism cannot create more productive forces than can decentralization and feder-

alism. Centralism is always bureaucratism and consequently consumes unproductively in the salaries of supernumerous personnel. In our epoch computer networks—if they are well programmed, if their memory is updated and constantly renewed, if they register all the fundamental data of a country, a society, an enterprise, a locality, district and region—are more efficient and cheaper for the management of the enterprise or society than the professional politicians or technocrats and bureaucrats of all types.



If the State is given too much power, as under the Soviet model or under the western welfare-State, it will tend towards state control over capital, labor, technology, science, information, industry, of social security and public services. Therefore this absolute power will create a totalitarian State, even though disguised as a parliamentary regime, symbolically under the Soviet model and rhetorically but not in practice in the West. In either case, the totalitarian bureaucracy or the pseudo-democratic political class collectively controls the business of the State as *its* business, but parasitically as a cancer on Society.

Popular Self-Government

In our school of thought, economic growth, the right of work for all, economic, cultural and technological progress, are developed with fewer obstacles in a libertarian society than in a society under the totalitarian dictatorship of large capitalist monopolies or the capitalism of the State. In both cases, given the great progress realized by our society, the dictatorships of private capital or State capital can

be overcome. A self-managed society can be established with social ownership of the means of production and exchange, uniting capital, labor and technology without antagonism over classes or forms of property. This would create an egalitarian society in culture, economics and technology, thanks to an economy of abundance.

It is possible to give power of self-government to the local communities, districts, provinces and regions, by means of an economic federalism and self-administration which would be integrated into a Supreme Economic Council. This would not be a Gosplan as in the former USSR, but a co-government of things by means of federations of production and services. These federations would function democratically and be self-managed, with the goal of the total process having a law of harmony of development without economic crises of disproportionality between all the branches of production and services. In other words, they would function without relative crises of underproduction or overproduction as occurs, respectively, under State capitalism or private capitalism.

For this to happen, it is necessary to have democracy and economic growth, with an increased productivity of labor. This would also require the full employment of the active population, along with the full participation of all in the decisions and the knowledge for this within reach of everyone. It is necessary to create a libertarian society, in which the elites of power and knowledge and social estates of every type, would be transcended in work, science, capital and technology, by means of effective self-management, the real participation of the people. Thus it would be possible to abolish all class domination, whether that of the bourgeois State and its capitalist economy or that of the bureaucratic, totalitarian State and its centrally planned economy. It is necessary, therefore, to liberate oneself ideologically from parliamentary socialism, from totalitarian communism, from bourgeois democracy which is economic dictatorship, from corporatism of every type—and establishing in their place a democracy of association, self-managed and libertarian, where everyone would be equal in rights and responsibilities, with privileges for no one. Only this type of self-government is government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Federations of Production and Services

The planning of economic, cultural and technological development must arise from the putting of social wealth in common and not under the domination of the State and its techno-bureaucracy. The first case involves a program of harmonizing the proportion of growth of the branches of production and services with full participation from bottom to top, based on a libertarian and federative socialism.

The second, the concentration of all power in the hands of the State, leads to centralized planning from top to bottom, without popular participation, so that the workers are more objects than subjects, so many ciphers in the Gosplan, according to the soviet model.

If the worker remains separated from worker by means of private property or State property, there must be between capital and labor a power of domination over those who labor for a wage. The working people can never be emancipated within this mode. Emancipation can not be won individually but only collectively, although each may have free will. The realization of full liberty and personality for the worker requires a self-organized society without the need for State oppression, whether it is called right or left, bourgeois or bureaucratic, conservative or revolutionary. Without self-managed socialism, social property and self-government, all systems are the same.

The salvation of humanity is collective and not individual, because the human is a social being, solidaric, with the aim of self-defense from other species since the paleolithic period. It is the class division of humanity, in the wake of private property and the State, which makes possible the exploitation of man by man, of the proletarian by the proprietor. Along these lines, Bakunin said to his friend Reichel: "All our philosophy starts from a false premise. This is that it begins by always considering man as an individual and not, as it must, as a being who belongs to a collective." (*Oeuvres*, Volume II, p.60)

On this sentiment, Proudhon agreed with Bakunin to the extent that man is a social being, needing community and solidarity: "All that reason knows and affirms—leads us to say—that the human being, just the same as an idea, is part of a group... All that exists is in groups; all that form the group are one, and consequently, what is ...Outside the group are no more than abstractions, phantasms. By this concept, the human being in general...is from that which I am able to prove positive reality." (*Philosophie du progress, Obras*, Volume XX, pp. 36-38)

The human being, in reality, does not exist outside the society from which he/she has appeared as a free subject; but at the same time solidarity with others in daily life, at work, in education, in self-defense, particularly at the beginning of humanity, "mutual aid" was the basis of existence of man associated to man, even though under capitalism man is possessed by an appetite for wealth and the cult of the money-god.

Developing the doctrine of "mutual aid," Kropotkin, who studied the behavior of many ani-

mal species, predicted that this would evolve in a future society:

Society would be composed of a multitude of associations united among themselves for everything which would require their common effort: federations of producers in all branches of production, agricultural, industrial, intellectual, artistic; communities for consumption, entrusted to provide to all everything related to housing, lighting, heating, nutrition, sanitation, etc.; federations of communities between themselves; federations of communities of production groups; groupings even wider still, which would encompass a whole country or including various countries; groupings of people dedicated to work in common for the satisfaction of their economic, intellectual, artistic needs, which are not limited by territorial boundaries. All these associated groups would combine freely their efforts by means of a reciprocal alliance (...); and a complete liberty would preside over the unfolding of new forms of production, of research and of self-organization; individual initiative, not withstanding, would be encouraged and all tendencies towards uniformity and centralization, combatted. (*Alrededor de una vida*, p.140)

By means of this federalism based upon libertarian socialism, the economy, the natural and human resources, the balance of natural ecosystems, the full employment of available labor, the leisure and education time at all levels of knowledge, the social-economic and cultural life of locality, district, province, region, nation or the world, can be programmed with the participation of everyone in everything, without creating a great deal of confusion. On the contrary, the local and the universal, the individual and the society, the particular and the general, would be understood perfectly by reason of complete information from computer networks which would register all the important data to accomplish at the end a perfect database. By virtue of this, everyone would know all, avoiding thus a condition in which those with knowledge have the power, as occurs in the totalitarian, bureaucratic, centrally planned countries, where the people are ignored.

The federations of production and services, dividing into natural associations, from the bottom to the top, create the democratic conditions for a planning with liberty. Unlike what happened in soviet Russia, the economic planning would not be entrusted to a dictatorship of technocrats who want to substitute themselves for the old bourgeoisie. To be employed by the total State instead of by an individual boss does not change the condition of dependency and alienation for the worker, except to make the situation worse; since this makes the law into a fraud, a law that does not limit the absolute powers of the State, which corrupts absolutely the few who

govern absolutely, the few oppressors and exploiters written in the lists of the "Nomenclature." To change, therefore, private capitalism for State capitalism from a western pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie to a totalitarian bureaucracy is a poor trade for the wage workers since they do not cease to be what they are, the producers of surplus value for the bourgeoisie or bureaucracy, for the private boss or for the State.

In consequence, as the founders of the IWA put it, "the emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves." From this point of view, working people can only emancipate themselves by the means of a libertarian socialism of self-management where "the chaos of production would not reign," but instead there would prevail a planning with liberty, with the participation of workers and citizens at all levels of political and economic decision-making; of information, culture, science and technology; of information processing, gathering, classification, and computerization of data, economic, demographic, political, social, scientific, technical, natural resources, etc.

A social-economic program, with continual popular participation (not indirectly through municipal, regional or national elections), must be by the means of federations in industry, agriculture, and services, integrated into a Federative Council of the Economy, in which all the federations producing goods and services must be represented. By way of example, this "Federative Council of the Economy" would have to integrate, among others, the following federations: Fruits and horticultural products; Cereals; Feed for livestock; Food industry, including imports; Hostelry and Tourism; Wine, beer, and alcoholic beverages; Oils and greases from vegetable and animals; Fishing: boats and canning; Textiles; Furs and leather; Timber and cork; Paper and graphic arts; Chemicals; Construction; Glass and ceramics; Metal machining; Steel; Non-ferrous minerals: metals and alloys; Energy: petroleum, coal, gas, electricity, and atomic energy; Information and the construction of computers, integrated microcircuits, and semi-conductors; Electronics: numerically controlled machines; Biotechnology; Aerospace; Research and Development, uniting technol-

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ANARCHISM IN RUSSIA

by Mikhail Tsovma

Tsovma notes that this article reflects his personal views, though he is an activist in KAS. He has attempted to be objective, but notes that his positions are inevitably present.

The majority of anarchist groups remain at the margins of social and political life, unable to propose any significant alternatives. The groups that were created by dozens last year have tended to disintegrate, the number of participants in anarchist groups stabilized approximately at the level reached in 1989, when the first country-wide anarchist federation (KAS) was created. Today the movement is still split in spite of all the talk of cooperation between different tendencies. In major cities like Moscow, anarchists can enjoy the luxury of creating 5 groups of four people, but in the provinces the number of activists is usually not more than ten people.

This year has seen feverish activity by the Federation of Revolutionary Anarchists (FRAN)—numerous pickets, leftist meetings and organizational attempts. Created in 1992 as a federation of libertarian communist groups, FRAN now has activists in half a dozen towns in Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine. Its local groups usually cooperate with various Trotskyist and Communist sects (usually the most “revolutionary” ones). On Nov. 7, 1992, they even organized a demonstration to commemo-

Libertarian Economics...

ogy with work.

This list of industrial federations does not include all the social and public services, which would be too tedious to number but would have to be represented in the Federative Council of the Economy as well. By example, commerce, banking, sanitation, security and social security, which are enormous, would have to be reorganized, since these entail much unproductive work that would have to be reduced. The goal must be that concrete production is not exceeded by unproductive work, since this would restrain or slow real economic growth. In other words, there must be no false increase in the Gross Internal Product, which occurs when it is incremented solely by services and not in the branches of industry, in either the primary sector (agriculture, fishing, livestock, lumber, minerals, etc.) or the secondary sector (industry of diverse types).

To Be Continued

rate the anniversary of the Bolshevik coup d'état (which they consider to have been an anti-capitalist revolution). The poster which advertised the demo was signed by IREAN (Moscow group of FRAN) and two Trotskyist groups (each one consisting of only one to two members). The flags of the Fourth International and CNT-AIT and wildcat symbols were put together at the demonstration. After their own march through the streets of Moscow they went to the Stalinist demonstration—an odd place to try to recruit members for an anarchist group.

FRAN is also attempting to create a union which would become the Russian section of the International Workers Association. During last year's East-West syndicalist conference in Berlin, IREAN was made the publisher of the East European bulletin “of the friends of IWA.” Two issues have been published (in Russian) and the tendency is quite clear—the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS) is in fact cut off from this bulletin.

It is very characteristic that the decision to become an IWA section preceded the creation of the union—very few of the FRAN activists previously made syndicalist propaganda or tried to organize independent unions. Obviously, the attempt to become the Russian section of the International is a great motivation in itself as it gives those people seeking high esteem the requisite status.

At the same time, the oldest and still the biggest anarcho-syndicalist federation in Russia, KAS, declared (in May 1991) that it does not yet seek affiliation to any specific international tendency, but is open to cooperation with various anarchist and syndicalist groups. The results to date are not so great, but still they are much more real than the claims of FRAN.

Another field of activity which attracts activists from different anarchist groups is ecology. Every summer this or that source of pollution (nuclear power plant, chemical or other heavy industry enterprise) becomes the target of anarchists and radical ecologists. This year two campaigns will be organized—one against the storage of nuclear wastes in Siberia, and the other against a metallurgical plant in Cheropovets. Though there's still a lot to be desired in the efficiency and organization of these actions, they at least have the potential to unite the libertarian viewpoint and popular protest movements.

Recently some groups revived their publications. Thus at the end of 1992, Moscow anarcho-syndicalists relaunched *Obschina* magazine, and anarchists

in Irkutsk and Kemerovo are also thinking about launching new papers. Small publications oriented mainly to other anarchists also seem to be developing. This is a good sign as for quite a long time the anarchist press was constantly collapsing.

It is necessary to mention that many groups declaring themselves “anarchist” do a good job of discrediting the anarchist movement in general. Thus at the end of last year, at the Congress of the Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA), a group was created called the “Association of Anarchist Movements (Marxist-Leninist). No comments about this group, but its worth mentioning that many people equate anarchist with various foreign Marxist-Leninist guerrillas. Anarchist news bulletins constantly inform that this or that “anarchist” group made a protest to support the RAF, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), the IRA, Basque terrorists or Red Brigades. Moscow IREAN is particularly notorious for this kind of action.

The liberal wing of the anarchist movement also seems to be quite confused about anarchist theory. Thus, at the end of last year the St. Petersburg Anarcho-Democratic Union declared its sup-

port for the government's economic “reform” policies. Two Moscow-based libertarian capitalist “anarchist” groups—the Moscow Union of Anarchists and the Union of Anarcho-Universalists—have degenerated into commercial distribution enterprises. The leader of the Moscow Union of Anarchists, Alexander Cheryakov, even started publishing an advertising paper full of ads featuring “pretty girls for wealthy businessmen.”

The conclusion is obvious. The Russian anarchist movement is in a terrible state and a lot needs to be done before we can present a real alternative to the present destructive developments in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. One of the tasks will be a clearer definition of what anarchist ideas are and how they can be implemented here and now. Surely this process won't lead to the creation of the “united anarchism” that some people dream about, but it will help activists from different groups try out their ideas. At this point the anarchist press both here and abroad is filled with short sloganistic manifestos which stand in for serious analysis and careful programs. Today the KAS program, adopted in 1989 and devoted mainly to an

RIOT TROOPS ATTACK MAY DAY MARCHERS

Russian labor activists have challenged media accounts of Moscow demonstrators attacking police on May Day. While distancing itself from the “extremist elements” that organized the May Day rally, called to protest the Yeltsin government's economic policies, the Party of Labor condemned the government's response as a “brutal assault.” “The Yeltsin regime is interpreting the results of the referendum in its own distinctive fashion: as a mandate to use clubs and water-cannons against attempts by workers, women, children and old people to say “No” to a policy of plunder.”

Similarly, the KAS-KOR Information Center (a joint project of Moscow-based unions, the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists KAS, and others) suggests that the demonstrators should have been allowed to march to Red Square. KAS-KOR notes that past outbreaks of violence at demonstrations have occurred only when authorities used force to block marchers from proceeding to the city center. The government ban was hypocritical, as the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions was permitted to march to an adjacent square earlier that day.

“About 10,000 people took part, and there were no incidents. To judge from the banners, a considerable number of the trade union demonstrators were communists who later went to Oktyabrskaya Square for the other main demonstration. Did they abruptly turn vicious in the course of the metro ride between the two points?”

The police then prevented marchers from follow-

ing an alternate route, meeting them with clubs and water cannons in the narrowest part of Lenin Prospect, toward which the march was directed by a solid row of dozens of heavy vehicles and hundreds of armed and trained “guardians of law and order”. Police and troops ordered marchers to disperse when they were bunched between high buildings that left no room to scatter—demonstrators had to either turn and retreat, or go forward. “By choosing to block further progress at this point,” KAS-KOR says, “the authorities guaranteed that the demonstrators and the OMON would confront one another as massed formations.”

The report concludes that “the Moscow City Government regards democratic rights as a privilege not to be wasted on its opponents... The argument that [they] had a responsibility to “deal firmly” with the demonstrators because of their alleged violent propensities is deeply flawed. Most people can be provoked to anger, and even violence, if their human rights are violated outrageously enough.”

KAS-KOR rejects the idea that demonstrators were looking for a fight, noting they were largely older people and that few had weapons. “The main weapons used by the demonstrators were banner poles, bricks and masonry gouged from nearby buildings, and curiously, spades; many of the “communist fighters” obviously intended to go from the demonstration to their dachas and dig their gardens.”

Nonetheless, authorities are using the incident as a pretext to crack down on dissent and strengthen the government's powers.

"Democracy has meant that there are now even more scroungers living at our expense. We workers should be bosses over the managers and directors. In the West the manager and the administrative staff are employees of the owner of the business, and that's the situation we should have here too! But the owners... should be the workers' collectives.

"Nobody is going to give us power, freedom and money—we have to take them ourselves! Our strength lies in organization and unity... Only when we workers become boss over our managers... will we be able to defend ourselves from the arbitrary control of these rule-benders and law-breakers. If we're on the defensive we'll always be the losers."

—from a leaflet issued by *Rabochy*, newspaper of the free union at St. Petersburg Automotive Transport Association plant #1.

analysis of the Soviet regime, remains the only such consistent attempt to put forward a libertarian socialist program. The realities of a "free market" Third World capitalism are still waiting to be considered by Russian anarchists.

For readers of anarchist publications from other countries Russian anarchists may seem rather weird, and so they are. It is quite doubtful that anarchists should try to copy all the ideas and actions of their comrades in the First World. But surely there is a difference between difference and idiocy.

There's a very long way to go, and we should start moving.

Wages and Living Standards

Inflation in February 1993 was 29 percent a month. A recent economics ministry study found that one-third of Russia's population was living below the officially defined subsistence level. While prices rose by 26 times last year, the average wage increased only 13.5 times.

Unemployment continues to grow, but at a slower pace than predicted. Russia's "official" unemployed, fewer than 1 percent of the workforce, account for only a fraction of the number who are chronically out of work. Starved of credits and raw materials, factories shut down for as many as several weeks a month rather than carry out mass layoffs.

The Russian government's "solution" to unemployment is a familiar line—"Women: back to the

home." More than 70 percent of Russia's officially unemployed workers are women. But Labor Minister Gennady Melikyan says he sees no need for special programs to help women return to the workforce. "Why should we try to find jobs for women when men are idle and on unemployment benefits?" Melikyan said. "Let men work and women take care of the homes and their children."

A few years ago women made up 51 percent of the Russian workforce. But government cutbacks, aimed largely at middle-level administrative staff, have disproportionately hit women. The government's drive to turn women back into housekeepers and baby-minders is reflected in a new law on the family pending in the Supreme Soviet. The first draft would have nullified women's right to abortion and banned women with children from working more than 35 hours a week. Following protests from women's and human rights groups, the most controversial clauses were dropped, but the current draft eliminates the state's obligation to provide day care for the children of working women.

Unions/Workers Movement

Solidarity, the newspaper of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions (MFP), which since the coup tended to be a forum for various left groups—socialists, greens, anarcho-syndicalists—is in serious trouble. This started in Spring 1992 when the paper began taking a pro-Labor Party course (Labor Party founders include the paper's editor, a former KAS member—LLR). Anarcho-syndicalists were the first victims of the undeclared ideological war. At the end of 1992 the war against Marxism started, and today the Labor Party is almost the only group defining the paper's policy.

An attempt to create a union group on the paper was prevented by the editors' interference. People who speak about cooperation between the new and the old unions (the editors) declared their position—either you affiliate to the MFP or your union will be crushed. Creation of an independent union was denounced as treachery to the MFP, though none of the workers ever gave a promise of devotion. An administration campaign has forced several people to quit. This seems to be the last attempt of anarchists to cooperate with official structures.

But as a result of a more than three month long propaganda effort by the local anarcho-syndicalist group in Seversk, workers in one of the departments of Siberian chemical plant #45 have decided to leave the official union and form an independent one. Anarcho-syndicalists also played a key role in a fight at a local manufacturing plant—winning substantial salary increases and limits on payments to top managers. Workers continue to struggle for

guaranteed job security, payments during "compulsory vacations," cost-of-living adjustments and management non-interference in the affairs of the new independent union.

Interview with SMOT

The following is extracted from an interview with SMOT (Free Inter-professional Workers Union) Paris representative Alesandr Chukaev which originally appeared in issue 91 of the German anarcho-syndicalist newspaper *Direkte Aktion*. The translation, by Kathrein of the FAU, is reprinted from *East European News* #7:

Is the SMOT a union with anarcho-syndicalist principles?

That's difficult to answer. I would say that SMOT is an anarcho-syndicalist union, since it is for decentralization. But ... SMOT consists of a jumble of left and right-wing groups...

SMOT is an organization of all jobs and branches, i.e., an inter-professional organization. Normally we would try to unite trade groups in branches. But since we are only a few people at the moment this aim is less important...

In the SMOT there are a lot of older people, having worked for SMOT before perestroika, but, and that's bizarre, [some of them] are right-wing socialists or monarchists. I don't know why they are monarchists. It is very stupid, and I had a lot of discussions about these people about SMOT's primary aim, decentralization in every social aspect, which is in opposition to monarchy whose main aim is centralization. It is funny, but these people are working for SMOT and they do very good work....

The political leaders are trying to change from a planned economy to a private capitalistic economy. What are people's reactions to these efforts?

It is true that... Yeltsin is talking a lot about liberalizing the economy, but they have not done as much up to now. Still the main characteristics of the Soviet economy are control and bureaucracy. Reactions to the verbal efforts of politicians are different. Some are hoping that a private capitalistic economy is the way out of the crisis, on the other hand people are afraid of higher unemployment and inflation. Partly they do not even know what means "free market" economy.

What's SMOT's position concerning a private capitalist economy?

I asked SMOT in Moscow about this and they told me: "Our problem is not the 'free' market

economy by the bad situation of the workers..." SMOT is against the privatization of factories, firms, etc. because it is of no use to the workers. The result of such privatizations was that only those who have always been at the top, the functionaries, could participate. Because they have the money. But we are for the abolition of a state-planned economy...

Can you tell us about SMOT's work now?

The main point is to fight for free unions, independent of the state. At the moment we are trying to build up a library, including all the books which have previously been forbidden. And SMOT does a lot of work issuing an information bulletin in which the situation in the ex-USSR is described. This is very important at a time when there are so many problems for workers and there is such a lack of information and analysis about the changes now taking place. SMOT talks a lot about decentralization in the sense of less bureaucracy... This is a problem for a lot of workers who only know centralism and are not used to working independently...

What are Free Prices without Free Labor, Free Production and Free Enterprise? Robbery.

From a December 1991 SMOT leaflet translated by Will Firth:

After the collapse of the Communist Party, the Bolshevik bastards are now about to come out from under cover where they've escaped with masses of public money—the headquarters of joint-ventures, stock exchanges, small businesses, etc. They've nicely privatized for themselves houses and villas, resorts, hospitals and health centers.... They're waiting for the right moment to come into the open and use the public money they've plundered to buy out whole businesses and their workers...

"Communists are always at the forefront!" as the old slogan had it. And it's still true today... How can they take for granted the situation of people living on a wage below the poverty line and standing in queues for hours for so-called food which even hungry street dogs wouldn't touch? While at the same time the warehouses and factory store-rooms are full to bursting...

Nobody can give us freedom! We can only win it for ourselves! Freedom for People, not for prices! ... Don't let prices be "set free," our belts can't be tightened any further! Organize free unions! It's time for resistance!

Reviews:

NEW ANARCHIST PRIMER

What is Anarchism? An Introduction, by Donald Rooum and edited by Freedom Press, London, 1993. Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX, U.K. (72 Pp., 1.95 Pounds U.K.)

This is a new introductory pamphlet on anarchism, including an essay written by Donald Rooum, the creator of the "Wildcat" cartoon series in the British Anarchist tabloid, *Freedom*, and an appendix of excerpts from various anarchist classics. Rooum's essay is divided into three sections, "What Anarchists Believe," "How Anarchists Differ," and "What Anarchists Do." The first section is a general philosophical treatment, which covers the usual stuff, about anarchists wanting a society which is supportive of individual freedom, and wanting to get rid of coercive institutions, like the State. This part is okay, if rather uninspired. It is the next two sections, however, where the pamphlet fails to give a true picture of the current movement and anything resembling an anarchist program for achieving anarchist goals.

In "How Anarchists Differ," Rooum makes the ridiculous assertion, that inspite of all the arguments between anarchists of various sorts, that deep down they really all agree. The differences between "class struggle anarchists" and individualist anarchists, between "intellectuals" and "workerists," between humanists and animal liberationists, and so on, which have caused the anarchists to divide into a myriad of sects and sub-sects, are not real ideological differences, according to Rooum, but only differences in "emphasis" or "style of presentation." It is therefore no surprise that Rooum is unable to explain why a movement which has so much potential, never seems to make any real progress. A movement which cannot agree on what social changes it wants, cannot possibly be effective.

Therefore when Rooum moves on to "What Anarchists Do," rather than describing an actual movement, he details a list of scattered campaigns, one-shot demonstrations, and short-lived propaganda efforts carried out by equally short-lived groups. Under the circumstances it should be no surprise that Rooum concludes elsewhere (p.19) that the sort of social revolution called for by the classical pre-World War II anarchist movement is unlikely, and that the best the anarchists can do is act as the

direct action wing of the civil liberties movement. Ironically Rooum refers to his position as "the anarchist revolution is now" approach, when in fact it amounts to an "anarchist revolution is never" approach. The importance of making immediate demands and winning them, of course, cannot be disputed. However, the ultimate goal of these campaigns must be to build a movement which will eventually be strong enough to replace the State and capitalism with federalism and self-management. Otherwise we are no longer talking about anarchism, but some sort of radical liberalism.

The major failing of Rooum's essay is it doesn't mention the pre-WWII history of anarchism. I suspect this is deliberate, and that the editors at Freedom Press rationalized it on the grounds that they wanted an up-to-date presentation of anarchist ideas which didn't suggest anarchists were hopelessly mired in the 19th or early 20th century. The problem is that if you leave out mention of this history, there remains little to show of anarchism as a mass social revolutionary movement. Without a sense of history it is easy to conclude along with Rooum that the days of mass anarchist movements are over, and to settle for being a small ideological minority. A study of history, however, shows that there are periods of mass social ferment, when enough people question the existence of the status quo and start to look for alternatives. Anarchism was born during such an historical period, and may rise again under similar conditions, if it can articulate a credible alternative. A movement of tiny bickering sects, each more holier (or "anarchistic") than its rivals, unwilling to make the compromises necessary to arrive at a common program, is simply not a credible alternative. [JS]

FREE I GOT

Free I Got, by Ernest Mann. Little Free Press (1011 6th Ave NE #21, Little Falls MN 56345), 1993, \$8.95

Free I Got expands the ideas in Mann's first book, **I Was Robot**. Mann details how he found freedom by eliminating the useless pursuits and conspicuous consumption that we have been conditioned to value. He defines utopia as a practical possibility. On page 229: "If we look at Utopia as, not a perfect society, but as one that is as near to perfect as we can make it—then we can start working on it." Mann argues that we need only change our work arrangements to find freedom. He offers, on page 95, some basic guidelines: Eliminate profits and wages, money, political representatives, government, armies and laws—and provide all prod-

ucts and services free of charge.

He reminds us that working for wages is a form of slavery—wage slavery—and that we can escape this slavery by eliminating both profits and wages. He describes how we give away our freedom. On page 249: "We don't actually need to take freedom... we merely need to stop giving it away... We give some of our freedom away every time we vote for a representative, every time we take pay for our work, every time we pay taxes, enlist or allow our self to be drafted into an army." Mann suggests that instead of giving away our freedom by working for pay and for profit we could keep our freedom by giving away what we produce.

Freedom includes finding meaningful purpose in the work we do. On page 201: "Individual freedom means this kind of power over one's work... Otherwise you don't have freedom—you just have another ant colony." On page 68: "We would have everything that we needed free of charge, so we would work for the fun of it." On page 69: "Free access to vocational guidance testing will help people recognize their abilities, aptitudes, attitudes and potentials... mak[ing] it easier to choose an occupation that is pleasing. People will no longer select their job by how much it pays." Freedom means more than just being free of constraint and restriction. Freedom means the responsibility to develop our potentials to their fullest—a serious responsibility that only a few of us ever realize.

Mann discusses how the media works to control our thinking and our attitudes. On page 243: "Allowing the mass media to lead our minds is... allowing a slave collar... around our necks."

How would we accomplish the change-over? On page 102: "The way to implement this Priceless Economic System... is to first publicize it. Now, for the first time in history, we have the means to publicize... by using copy shops, instant printers..." And on page 206: "Just by being an example of a person who is more 'Free' and enjoying life more... we are teaching."

Force is out. On page 101: "To use force... would be contradictory to... volunteerism and freedom... Force... would give Power to the few." And would only perpetuate existing evils. On page 269: "Who really wants a dictatorship of the people to rule them?" On page 271: "There is no advantage to belong to a party or a group... One becomes one's own leader." And on page 65: "There are campaigns telling us to be 'anti' just about everything... Some groups tell us to 'Smash the State!' and steal, vandalize and sabotage the big corporations. But attempting to 'destroy' the present System wastes our energy and creativity. It's what the Monster provokes us to do and then feeds on our energy."

Mann admits his ideas are not new. On page 104: "I do not pretend to own these ideas. The American Indians, the South Sea Islanders and the Eskimos and many other peoples lived these ideas long ago until they were invaded and their Utopias destroyed." Mann's ideas can be found in other libertarian writings. But Mann puts these ideas into a simple and readable form. His writing is down to earth. His examples are concrete and everyday. You can open his book to any page and start reading with easy understanding. And the book fits readily into pocket or purse. [Lynn Olson]

UNIONS & CLASS STRUGGLE

Goodbye to the Unions: A Controversy About Autonomous Class Struggle in Great Britain, edited by Echanges et Mouvement. Available from Echanges et Mouvement, BM Box 91, London WC1 3CXX, United Kindom. 43 Pages, 0.90 Pounds U.K.

This pamphlet consists of a crude condensation of a work by Dutch council communist Cajo Brendel critical of the British trade unions, the National Union of Miners in particular. The condensed version was translated and published in Britain without Brendel's knowledge. David Douglas, a local N.U.M. official who has contacts with the anarchist and syndicalist left in Britain, wrote a rebuttal to what he thought was a pamphlet by Brendel, taking Brendel to task for the many historical inaccuracies it contained. Brendel, himself, then wrote a reply to Douglas, taking Douglas to task for criticizing Brendel for things he had never written (as if Douglas should have known the original pamphlet was unauthorized). The pamphlet concludes with an interesting essay on the unofficial shop stewards movement in Britain by Theo Sander, telling how the movement became bureaucratic when it was integrated into the trade union.

The "controversy," as opposed to the comedy about who wrote what, is over whether the trade unions can bring about social change if under the leadership of left-wing militants, i.e. boring from within, or whether (because of their institutional role as mediating force between capital and labor) they are inevitably pro-capitalist in nature, ie.the councilist position. Neither side seriously considers the third alternative, revolutionary unions, and thus, in my opinion, both dance around the real issues. [JS]

SHORTER HOURS

6 for 8, by Solidarity Organizing Committee (Box 44116, Detroit MI 48244), 15 pages, no price listed.

This brief pamphlet addresses a centuries-old issue—the need for shorter working hours. It opens

with a simple declaration that sums up the authors' approach: "The work-day and work-week should be shortened, at no loss in pay, until every worker has a job." **6 for 8** argues that a 30-hour work week would force employers to add workers to their payrolls, would enhance job security, would encourage greater rank-and-file militancy (given the likelihood that bosses would not agree to such terms without a strong mass movement), unite workers across racial, sexual, age and craft boundaries, reduce workplace industries and provide the impetus for a revived union movement. They then briefly review and rebut common arguments for longer hours, and provide an outline of how they think the 6-hour day can be won.

Although the S.O.C. emphasizes shop-floor and community organizing and direct action as the key elements in winning, they also argue, in bold type, "The biggest single element of such a mass struggle is leadership... a leadership committed to fighting on our feet, not dying on our knees." Workers would

Anarchist Pamphlets

LLR has received a shipment of pamphlets from Australia which are available while supplies last.

We have many copies of Graham Purchase's **Social Ecology, Anarchism & Trades Unionism**, praised in LLR #14 as "a serious attempt to lay the foundation for a synthesis of... anarcho-syndicalism... and the emerging ecological anarchism" and more specifically for its critique of capitalism (12 pages—enquire for bulk orders).

Also reviewed that issue and available in smaller quantities are Purchase's **Anarchist Society & Its Practical Realization** (15 pages) and **Anarchist Organization: Suggestions and Possibilities** (31 pages). Our reviewer saw the first as a good summary of the classical anarchist position, but criticized the second for its emphasis on bio-regionalism.

We also have some copies of three classic pamphlets reprinted by Monty Miller Press in its Rebel Worker series. Rudolf Rocker's **The Methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism** (24 pages) is excerpted from the long-out-of-print *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, and a useful introduction to its subject. G.P. Maximoff's **Program of Anarcho-Syndicalism** (63 pages) is a more comprehensive treatment. While somewhat dated in its specifics, it is an important historical work and has much to say of contemporary relevance. Issac Puente's **Libertarian Communism** (31 pages) was an influential summary of anarchist principles for the reconstruction of post-revolutionary life published just four years before the Spanish Revolution.

Please send \$1.50 (\$2 for Maximoff) for each pamphlet desired to: LLR, Box 762, Cortland NY 13045.

do better to reduce their reliance on leaders, in my view, and instead work to transfer the direction of their struggles from the union piecards to the rank and file.

I cannot conclude without calling attention to the S.O.C.'s neglect of what is for me the most powerful argument for shorter hours--the need to take back more of our lives from the employing class to use as we will. But for all its flaws, these fellow workers have produced a short, readable introduction to what should become the labor issue of the 1990s--the fight for shorter hours. And once we organize for and win the 6-hour day, we can keep right on going to four. [JB]

T-BONE SLIM

Juice is Stranger than Friction: Selected Writings of T-Bone Slim, edited by Franklin Rosemont. Charles H. Kerr, 1992, 159 pp. \$8.80 post-paid from IWW Lit., 1476 W. Irving Park, Chicago IL 60613.

Kerr publishers has once again raided the archives of the IWW and come up with a treasure. T-Bone Slim wrote a popular column for the *Industrial Worker* and other IWW papers in the 1920s and 1930s, while working his way across the country in a variety of occupations. His columns ridiculed the sky pilots, plutocrats, politicians, piecards and press pundits, as well as the fakirs who sought to ride workers' struggles to political power.

After a rather lengthy introduction, Rosemont presents nearly 100 selections from T-Bone's pungent, often bitingly satirical, writings. But let's let T-Bone speak for himself:

"Wise men of the past have held that 'abstention from work is the secret of intelligence.' They were not wholly crazy but their wisdom was mediocre and incomplete. When they formed their opinion they were appraising unintelligent work and not the natural, sensible performance.

"A grave error to condemn all work because some work is off-color. I myself admit highballing is highly destructive of the finer brain fibers or tissues, and when the boss hollers 'hurry up' he is trying to drive us crazy, arrest the development of our intelligence or kill the rosy thought of the moment. Workmanship is ruined, better way of doing it prevented. How they hate to advance?

"The remedy is not... 'stop working.'

"The remedy is, *stop the boss*.

"You can't have boss and brains at the same time. *Get rid of one of them!*

Or, more succinctly: "Wherever you find injustice, the proper form of politeness is attack."

ANARCHY & ECOLOGY

DEEP ECOLOGY & ANARCHISM: A POLEMIC, edited by Freedom Press. London, 1993. Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, U.K. 76 Pp. Price: 2.50 Pounds.

This is a collection of essays originally intended for *The Raven*, Freedom's quarterly magazine, but which the publishers decided to make into a pamphlet instead. This may explain the rather uneven quality of the material. Included are essays by Robert Hart ("Can Life Survive?"), Rodney Aitchtey ("Deep Ecology"), Brian Morris ("Reflections on Deep Ecology"), Chris Wilbert ("The Apple Falls from Grace"), a condensed version of Graham Purchase's "Social Ecology, Anarchism and Trades Unionism" and Murray Bookchin's response to Purchase.

For anyone who has been following developments in the radical wing of the ecology movement, there is little new here. For the uninitiated, the material is more likely to be confusing, since it really does not get to the core of the debate between social ecology (or "eco-anarchism") and deep ecology. Purchase's essay, a critique of Bookchin's position on anarcho-syndicalism, clearly doesn't belong here since it does not deal with deep ecology. Unfortunately Bookchin wastes the space he was allotted, venting his spleen against Purchase, rather than taking the opportunity to explain clearly the difference between social ecology and deep ecology.

What Bookchin's social ecology has going for it, that deep ecology and other radical ecology theories do not, is its rejection of any sort of ecological determinism. Whereas deep ecology lumps all of humanity together as being somehow equally to blame for the earth's ecological problems, claiming that it is the over-populated human species' "anthropocentrism" which is at fault, Bookchin has emphasized the complex social causes behind the ecological crisis. Bookchin has argued that no solution to the ecological crisis is possible which does not at the same time abolish consumerist capitalism and political hierarchy. Neither does Bookchin have any sympathy for the technological-determinism of the "anarcho-primitives", nor the spiritual-determinism of the new age nature-shamans.

It is therefore ironic, that instead of taking on the deep ecologists, as clearly *The Raven* editors wanted him to do, Bookchin proceeds to try to demolish Purchase, whose views on ecology are much closer to his own. Like Bookchin, Purchase argues that the ecological crisis cannot be resolved without changing the dominant social institutions, and Purchase includes the wage system as one more of those institutions that must be abolished. Purchase, however, commits what in Bookchin's eyes are an even more cardinal sin than the deep ecologists, by saying that the labor movement is worth a damn and that anarcho-syndicalism is still relevant. But in writing off anarcho-syndicalism, Bookchin resorts to the same crude determinism, which he rejects in the ecology movement. He argues that people can only be radicalized as part of "communities", never in their "workplaces". Certainly this is nothing more than the flipside of the vulgar Marxist economism, which he so disdains. [JS]

LIBERTARIAN LABOR REVIEW #15



from: Solidarity Unionism

SOLIDARITY UNIONISM

Solidarity Unionism: Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below, by Staughton Lynd. Charles Kerr, 1992, 63 pages. Available from IWW Lit. for \$7.70 post-paid.

In this slender volume, veteran activist Staughton Lynd argues that we need to build an entirely new kind of labor organization--democratic, voluntarist, based on rank-and-file control and solidarity. The text is illustrated by five excellent cartoons by IWW artist Mike Konapacki, and concludes with an inspiring direct action story by Wobbly Ed Mann.

Lynd offers examples of rank-and-file, community-based labor organizations working in Youngstown to bring together workers in several different unions (and in no union at all) to rekindle a grassroots labor movement. He offers a critical review of the rise of the CIO and the labor law regime that outlaws most forms of solidarity action. Lynd is far more explicitly critical of both than in his earlier writings, noting that the CIO was essen-

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tially a government-sponsored initiative to derail the emerging class struggle and that the Wagner Act was not a bill of rights for the labor movement, as often claimed, but rather an instrument for domestication and restraint.

So what solutions does Lynd offer? First he calls for what he terms "solidarity unionism." Merely replacing the current labor leaders with more militant officials can not accomplish the fundamental changes that are necessary. Instead the structure of the hierarchical business unions must be changed to shift power from the leadership to workers on the shopfloor. But while Lynd insists that these solidarity unions would refuse to accept the existing economic order, instead fighting for genuine socialism, his vision remains fundamentally statist. Indeed, the notion that workers could run our own lives without government telling us what to do is clearly inconceivable from Lynd's perspective, even if he would like to see power redistributed. [JB]

SABOTAGE

Sabotage in the American Workplace: Anecdotes of Dissatisfaction, Mischief and Revenge, edited by Martin Sprouse. Pressure Drop Press, 1992, 175 pages. Available from IWW Lit. for \$13.20 post-paid.

This slickly produced, large-sized book brings together more than 100 stories from workers about their efforts to get some pleasure—or at least some revenge—on the job. The editor defines sabotage broadly, as anything people do at work that they're not supposed to do. And he argues that sabotage is rampant, so widespread that is barely noticeable.

Because of this eclectic approach, the stories here range from inspiring tales of workers looking out for each other—shutting down production lines to give themselves a much needed break—to slacking on the job to cutting the bosses' prices. The book starts well, with a bus driver telling how he and his fellow workers slowed down bus runs in order to compensate for management's refusal to maintain the buses in safe condition. His story is followed by several stories of workers shading the rules just to get by or to get back at the boss. Others tell of how they told customers or students the truth, instead of the lies the boss wanted.

But then a computer programmer tells of the day he sabotaged the computer system so that it erased the payroll data instead of printing workers' checks. "Granted, I fucked with the workers, but I really ruined Bank of America's credibility" (p. 24). Other antisocial acts, such as deliberately serving restaurant patrons spoiled food or not giving patients their medication so they'll die faster, are similarly glorified. But, as Walker Smith noted in

his classic **Sabotage** (1913), "It is quite natural that the employing class try to have it generally understood that sabotage means poisoning soup, putting ground glass in bread, dynamiting buildings and the like, so revolutionists must at all times emphasize the point that sabotage is not aimed at the consumer but at the heart and soul of the employing class—the pocketbook." In fairness, most of the sabotage detailed in this book was aimed at the boss—but relatively little is the sort of collective action that could actually result in better conditions or build solidarity.

Sprouse is a fan of sabotage, seeing it "as a necessary and valid reaction to dissatisfaction caused by work... Sabotage can be used to improve working conditions and give people greater control of their jobs... Several people explained that they felt trapped by meaningless work, while others made it clear they didn't like working for other people. These conflicts might be commonplace but they are also the most basic reasons for sabotage. As long as people feel cheated, bored, harassed, endangered, or betrayed at work, sabotage will be used as a direct method of achieving job satisfaction..." No doubt he is right, and these sabotage stories certainly offer a certain vicarious satisfaction. But while the book makes an entertaining read, by and large this is not the sort of sabotage which offers any real prospect of building a better world. [JB]

DIRECT ACTION

Worker's Guide to Direct Action, by Lehigh Valley IWW Branch (Box 4133, Bethlehem PA 18018), 37 pages, no price listed.

How to Fire Your Boss—A Worker's Guide to Direct Action, by Bay Area IWW (1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco CA 94103), 9 pages, no price listed.

These two recent pamphlets, brought out by IWW branches on opposite sides of the country, attempt to update the IWW's direct action message. The Lehigh Valley edition is based upon a slimmer pamphlet by the same name produced several years ago by the IWW's Chicago branch, but adds a discussion of anti-labor law and several recent examples of successful direct action. The San Francisco pamphlet is better edited and better produced, but also far less detailed (and also lacks the IWW Preamble and membership information). Both acknowledge the hostile legal climate, but argue that it is time workers begin using what works, whether the bosses and their courts like it or not. And both end with a cautionary note about the importance of organization and solidarity. As the Lehigh Valley edition puts it, "All the tactics discussed in this booklet depend for their success on solidarity, on

the coordinated actions of a large number of workers. In solidarity, workers can stand up to the bosses and beat them."

COOPERATING WITH BOSSES

Negotiating the Future: A Labor Perspective on American Business, by Irving and Barry Bluestone. Basic, 317 pp., \$25.

The Bluestones start from the premise that both corporate America and the labor movement are in serious trouble, and that our system of adversarial labor-management relations is to blame. Not surprisingly, many find this an attractive message, the book comes with endorsements from president Clinton, U.S. Senator Paul Simon, the head of the National Association of Manufacturers, two former Labor Secretaries and Steelworkers' President Lynn Williams. Such an unsavory cast of characters serves as ample warning both of the anti-working-class thrust of the arguments within the book and of the very real danger that the Bluestones' prescription may soon be crammed down our throats.

Labor-management cooperation schemes, they argue, offer the potential for increased productivity, quality and profitability. The Bluestones are not put off by the many failures, seeing these as a failure to go far enough. Where workers are not genuinely empowered, where they live with the ever-present fear of lay-offs or are not rewarded for increased productivity, then the commitment and mutual trust needed to make labor-management plans effective is lacking. And, the Bluestones say, the most effective plans are often found where workers are represented by a union which can ensure that their voice is heard in developing and implementing participation schemes.

The Bluestones present several examples intended to prove that both labor and management benefit from a non-adversarial approach to labor relations. It would be unkind to hold them accountable for the massive lay-offs at IBM (one of their examples—though IBM is largely unorganized, not for lack of effort by IBM workers desperate to gain some semblance of *real* control over their working lives), for the way Weirton Steel workers have been denied control of the company largely built on their pension funds (though Irving Bluestone served on its Board of Directors), or for the way the UAW-Saturn contract has strengthened tendencies towards company unionism present in the UAW from its origins. So I pass by such unsavory incidents quietly, only noting that fellow workers might wish to give these "success" stories a closer look before staking their futures on them.

The Bluestones worship at the altar of produc-

tivity—they blame stagnant productivity for everything from falling wages to the trade deficit. They criticize authoritarian, bureaucratic control systems not on moral grounds but because they are inefficient and wasteful, and discourage innovation on the shop floor. The ratio of supervisors to workers at Ford, for example, rose from 1 to 58 in 1915 to nearly 1 in 20 today—and rigid procedures and work rules proliferated along with the functionaries to enforce them. Obviously industry would run more efficiently without foremen and bosses, but only if we work willingly.

By bringing workers, if only in a formal way, into decision-making, the Bluestones hope to reduce bureaucratic waste and encourage innovation and flexibility. They envision a social compact in which unions would surrender work rules and peg wages to productivity growth targets and profitability in exchange for job security and a role in price setting and other corporate decisions. Employees—through unions and elected representatives—would be incorporated in all levels of decision-making, ideally up to the Board of Directors (UAW President Doug Fraser's seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors is held up as an example—Chrysler workers might well take a different view). And workers and managers would share responsibility for the business' well-being and funneling profits to the shareholders. The Bluestones do argue against a strategy of short-term profit maximization, because long-term viability requires continued investment, employment stability and attention to environmental and other social concerns.

One could easily demonstrate how this solicitude for the interests of the employing class ultimately can only undermine the very different—indeed fundamentally opposed—interests of the working class. But this is not necessary, the Bluestones explicitly offer the lion's share to the bosses. A sample "enterprise compact" (pp. 226-40) starts from the premise that workers would receive only half the value of their productivity increases, plus limited cost-of-living protection (they suggest removing "external price shocks" such as increased oil prices from COLA formulas, with workers simply swallowing these losses)—the rest would go to lower prices (to increase market share), new investment and profits. (Of course, if we start out asking for half, you can be sure we'll get a lot less.)

While part of the anticipated productivity increases would come from new technology, the bulk would come from work-rule and organizational changes. No doubt, in many workplaces there is room for some increased productivity. But how many of us work in situations where we could accomplish 12 percent productivity increases year after year (as UAW Local 731 has committed itself to do) with-

out working ourselves into an early grave? The Bluestones do address the speed-up problem, but not convincingly.

The Bluestones' prescription for America's industrial ills will ultimately probably fail--rejected both by management and by workers (whether organized, or through passive resistance). The Bluestones have a solution for us recalcitrants--binding arbitration--buried in the end notes. But even if adopted, it cannot solve the competitiveness problem--strangely, the Bluestones entirely ignore the fact that "our" foreign competitors are, by and large, the very same companies that exploit U.S. workers here. If workers come up with new work processes that increase productivity, there is nothing to stop the bosses from introducing them in their plants in Mexico and Taiwan as well--and thereby restoring

the competitive field to its original condition. Workers' participation is certainly a desirable goal; indeed, we should refuse to settle for anything less than full control of our workplaces. But participation needs to be on our own terms. Otherwise we're simply handing the bosses our jobs (or, if they honor no lay-off policies and reduce the work force through attrition instead, the jobs of our fellow workers) on a platter. This book is worth reading for a glimpse at the strategies "enlightened" bosses are likely to use against us, but keep your salt shaker close at hand and a firm grip on your wallet. [JB]

PSUEDO-HISTORY

Solidarity Forever: An oral history of the IWW, edited by Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas and Deborah Shaffer. Lake View Press, 1985, 247 pages, \$11 post-paid from IWW Lit.

The publishers recently sent a "delayed review copy" of this book, which the IWW recently added to its Literature offerings. I reviewed this book when it first came out (*Industrial Worker*, March 1986, p. 6), noting that while it was a good read the book is deeply flawed. "No attempt was made to ensure that the interviews were accurately transcribed or to check people's recollections for accuracy. Names of ships, shipping lines and newspapers, along with textile-industry terms, are frequently misspelled or otherwise incorrect." Several interviewees protested misquotations then (ranging from changing the outcome of a trial to the claim that the IWW was a patriotic organization during World War I). Many of these errors will creep into other works on the IWW, adding to the host of inaccuracies in the field.

When **Solidarity Forever** was published, the IWW refused to distribute it and protested the use of the IWW's universal label on the cover (it is covered over on the copy at hand). My review said the book could have been a valuable contribution had the editors shown more concern for accuracy and concluded, "This is a book which many will find of interest, but which could have been made much better with a little more effort." That was, if anything, too generous. [JB]

The Four Hour Day

OK, here's how you might get a 4 hour work day--if you organize. The figures below have been gleaned from the *Survey of Current Business* and publications of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. As is shown, output per worker has been growing in real terms since 1950. Yet it seems that the general standard of living for people who are employed (as opposed to people who are employers) has gone down. Look around you. See what's happening and then, if you can bear the freedom, organize.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, or Wobblies) offer you the opportunity to do something about crawling out of this abysmal situation. But you have to take responsibility for your actions or non-actions. Why not get wise and organize? Anyone who is an employee should take this advice to heart and call (415) 863-WOBS or write: IWW, 1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco CA 94103.

	Gross Ntnl Product in Billions of Constant 1982 dollars	Number of Workers Producing GNP	Average Value of Output per Worker (Constant 1982 \$)
Year = 1950	\$1,203.7	63,377,000	\$18,992
1960	\$1,665.3	65,778,000	\$25,316
1970	\$2,416.2	78,678,000	\$30,709
1980	\$3,187.1	99,303,000	\$32,094
1989	\$4,117.7	117,957,000	\$34,908

Averaged over the same time span in constant 1982 dollars, wages ran between \$7,000 and \$10,000. Remember that's an average, nationwide and in 1982 dollars. Is it any wonder that the top 1 percent of households in this nation control more wealth than the bottom 90 percent?

"By 1989, the top 1 percent (834,000 households with about \$5.7 trillion of net worth) was worth more than the bottom 90 percent of Americans (84 million households, with about \$4.8 trillion in net worth)." *New York Times*, April 21, 1992, p. 1. Information based on Federal Reserve's Triennial Survey of Consumer finances.

The top 1 percent are not the wage slaves producing the wealth. They are the owners of the stocks, bonds, real estate... the owners of the wealth and the means of producing the wealth. They employ the rest of us to produce the commodities which are measured by dollars and called the GNP.

It stands to reason that if we can produce this much wealth now, most of it not even coming back to us because of the robbery inherent in the wage system, we could produce the same amount for ourselves in half the time. Onward to the four hour day, probably even less.

excerpted from posting by Mike Ballard on I-Union computer discussion list

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Action & Defiance (IMWU, Box 882191, San Francisco CA 94188)
Action Information Newsletter (FAM, c/o Antonio Grozdev, 18 Nikola Slavkov St., Et. 1 Ap. 6, Sofia 1463, Bulgaria) [Federation of Anarchist Youth]
A-Infos (Humeurs Noires FA, BP 79, 59370 Mons en Baroeul, France) [Anarchist news briefs]
Alternative Press Index (Box 33109, Baltimore MD 21218)
ANA (Caixa Postal 78, Cep 11500, Cubatão, SP, Brazil) [Anarchist]
Anarchist Age Monthly Review (Box 20, Parkville 3052, Australia)
Anarchy (Box 1446, Columbia MO 65205) [Neo-situationist, many reviews]
Anti-Power (1916 Pike Place #12-367, Seattle WA 98101) [Anarchist, animal rights, resistance]
A Rivista (cas. post. 17120, 20170 Milano Italy) [Anarchist bi-monthly]
Asian Labour Update (444 Nathan Road 8-B, Kowloon, Hong Kong) [indispensable quarterly, also issues book-length reports]
A Voz do Trabalhador (CP 5036, Porto Alegre-RS, CEP: 90041, Brazil) [Brazilian Workers Confed., COB-AIT]
Bayou La Rose (Arthur Miller, 302 N. J St. #3, Tacoma WA 98403) [Anarchist paper; ecology, native americans, labor...]
Bibliothèque CIRA (ave. de Beaumont 24, Lausanne CH-1012, Switzerland) [Archive]
*Black Flag (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, England) [Anarchist Black Cross]
Buiten de Orde (Postbus 1338, 3500 BH Utrecht) [syndicalist]
*Bulletin of Anarchist Research (J. Moore, Box 556, London SE5 0RL, UK)
Burning Issue (Box 199, East Brunswick 3057, Australia) [Anarchist quarterly]
CNT (Apdo. Corr. 282, 48080 Bilbao, Spain) [CNT-AIT monthly]
Collagamenti Wobbly (c/ Lungo Dora, Agrigento 77, Torino .1012, Italy)
Cultura Libertaria (Apdo. 1687, Citoria 01080, Spain) [Archive]
*Direct Action (Box 574, London SE4 1DL, England) [Direct Action Movement, IWA/AIT, anarcho-syndicalist]
Direkte Aktion (FAU, Sudstrasse 5, D-

3542, Usseln-Willingen, Germany) [Free Workers Union, FAU-AIT]
Direkte Aktion (Postboks 303, 1502 Kobenhavn V, Denmark) [Anarchist]
Discussion Bulletin (Box 1564, Grand Rapids MI 49501) [libertarian socialist]
Draft Notices (Box 15195, San Diego CA 92115) [Anti-draft monthly]
Echanges et Mouvement (BP 241, 75866 Paris Cedex 18, France) [councilist, excerpts international workers groups]
Education Workers Organizing Bulletin (Box 762, Cortland NY 13045) [IWW industrial newsletter]
Freedom (84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX, England) [Anarchist fortnightly]
Green Synthesis (Box 1855, San Pedro CA 90733) [Greens]
Guangara Libertaria (Box 1525 Riverside Station, Miami FL 33135) [Cuban anarchist exiles]
Industrial Worker (1095 Market St. #204, San Francisco CA 94103) [IWW monthly]
Kapinatyolainen (9 PL 7, 00801 Helsinki, Finland) [syndicalist]
KAS-KOR Information Digest (Box 16, Moscow 129642, Russia) [Workers Information Center monthly]
Kate Sharpley Library Bulletin (c/ BM Hurricane, London WC1 3XX, England)
Kick It Over (Box 5811 Stn. A, Toronto Ontario M5W 1P2, Canada) [Anarchist quarterly]
Labor Solidarity (Box 241412, Los Angeles CA 90024) [Labor Committee on Iran]
Le Combat Syndicaliste (33 rue des Vignoles, 75020 Paris, France) [CNT monthly, CNT (France)-AIT]
Left Business Observer (250 W. 85 St., New York NY 10024-3217)
Lehigh Valley IWW Bulletin (Box 4133, Bethlehem PA 18018)
Le Monde Libertaire (145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris France) [French Anarchist Fed. weekly]
*Libertarian Mutualist (Box 40391, St. Petersburg FL 33710) [Tuckerite]
Libre Pansamiento (Calle Sagunto 15, Madrid .28010, Spain) [CGT magazine]
Lonnsslaven (Postboks 1920 Vika, N-0125 Oslo, Norway) [Independent syndicalist semi-annual]

Lotta di Classe (USI, c.s.n. via Dalmazia 30, 60126 Ancona, Italy) [Italian Syndicalist Union, AIT]
Love and Rage (Box 3, Prince St. Stn., New York NY 10012) [Anarchist bimonthly]
Motiva Forlag (Boks 9340, Valerance .N 0610, Oslo 6, Norway) [Newsletter on workers struggles]
National Boycott News (6506 28th Ave NE, Seattle WA 98115) [Quarterly]
*O Anarco Sindicalista (c.p. 02-0266, CEP: 70001, Brasilia DF) [Brazilian Workers Confed., COB-AIT]
Obschina (c/o Mikhail Tsovm, Volzhsky blvd. 21-62, Moscow 109462, Russia) [KAS, anarcho-syndicalist]
Practical Anarchy (Box 173, Madison WI 53701-0173) [personalist]
Rebel Worker (Box 92, Broadway NSW 2007, Sydney Australia) [Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation, AIT]
Rojo y Negro (Sagunto 15, pal. 28010, Madrid Spain) [CGT monthly]
SAC Kontakt (SAC International Committee, Box 6507, 113 50 Stockholm, Sweden) [Swedish Workers Centralorganization, SAC]
SAC Newsletter (International Committee, Box 6507, 113 50 Stockholm, Sweden)
Slingshot (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley CA 94720) [Anarchist]
*Social Anarchism (2743 Maryland, Baltimore MD 21218)
Solidaridad Obrera (Ronda San Antonio 13 pral., Barcelona 08011, Spain) [CNT-AIT monthly]
*Sorte Kors (c/o Peter Baach, Strandvejen 93, DK-4200, Slagelse Danmark) [Anarchist Black Cross bulletin]
Sparks (Box 145, Moreland 3058, Melbourne, Victoria Australia) [Anarcho-syndicalist transport workers]
*Tierra y Libertad (Apdo. Corr. 107, 12540 Vila-real, Castellon, Spain) [Iberian Anarchist Fed. monthly, FAI]
Umanita'Nova (c/ GCA Pinelli, via Roma 48, 87019 Spezzano Albanese, Italy) [Anarchist Federation biweekly]
*Zettai Jiyuu Kyoushanshugi (c/o Gendai Shisou-sha, Misaki Shinai-ldg. 502, 2-2-13 Misaki-chou, Chinyoda-ku, Tokyo Japan) ["Libertarian Commu-nism," RRU-AIT]

* not received in past 6 months