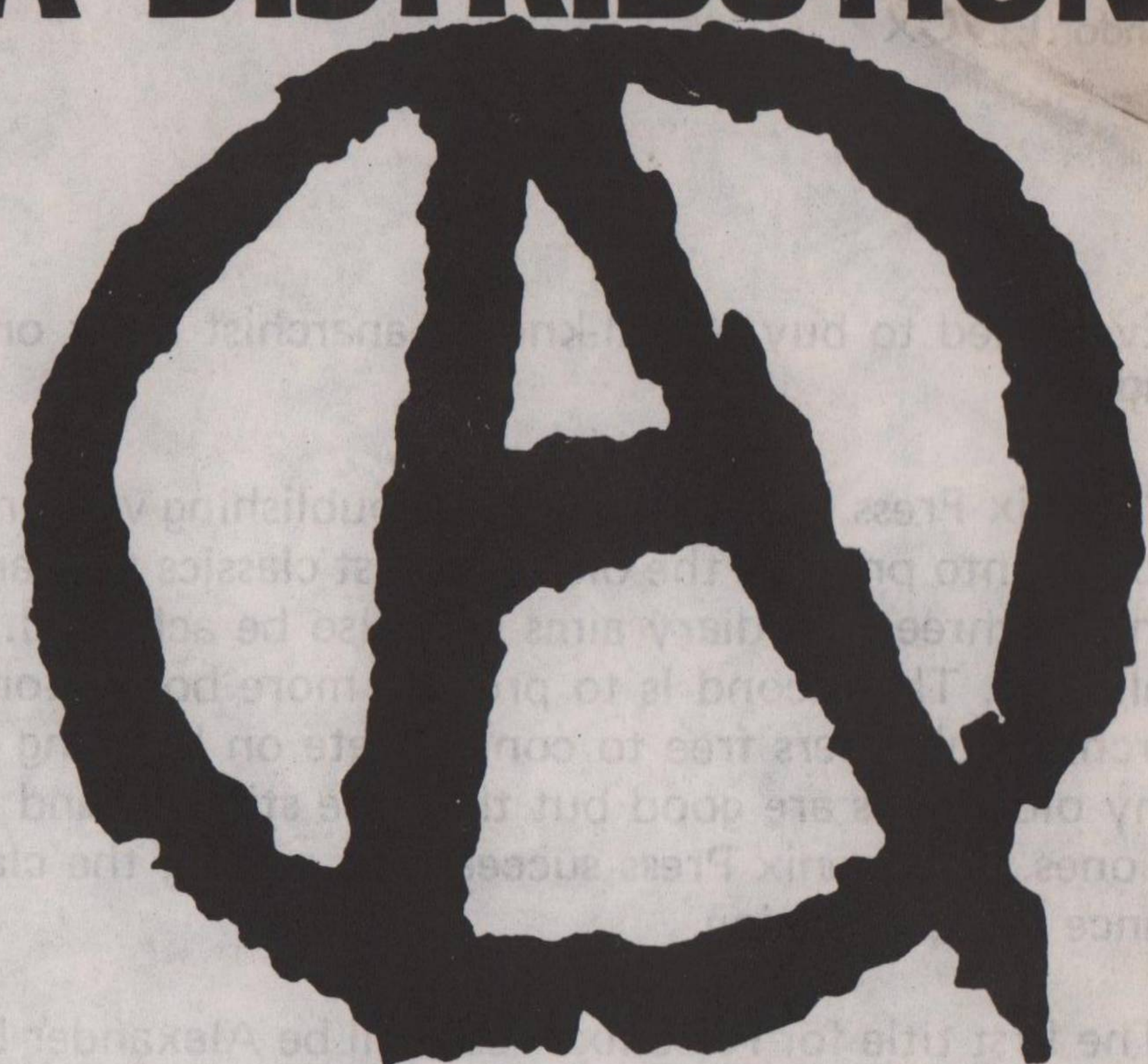


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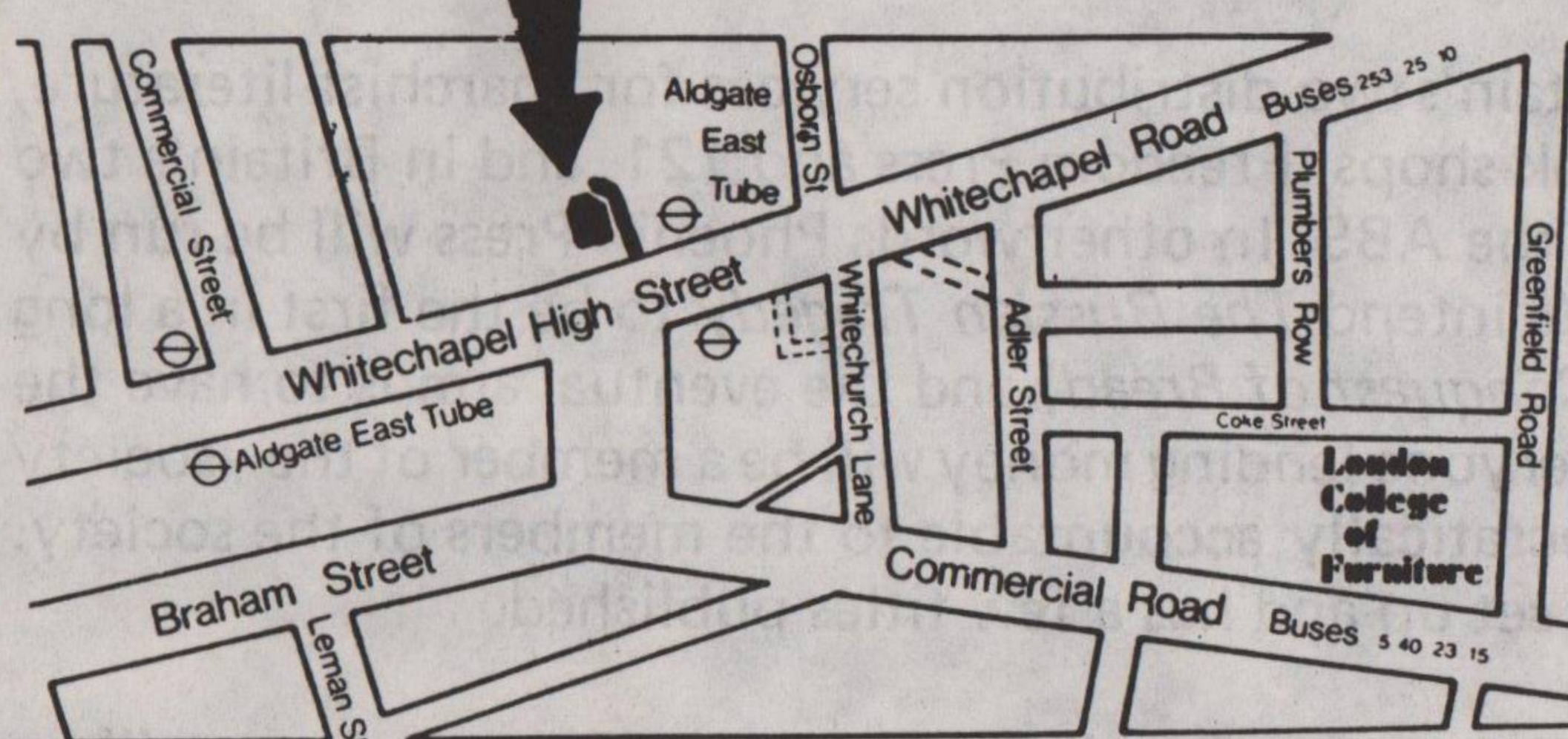
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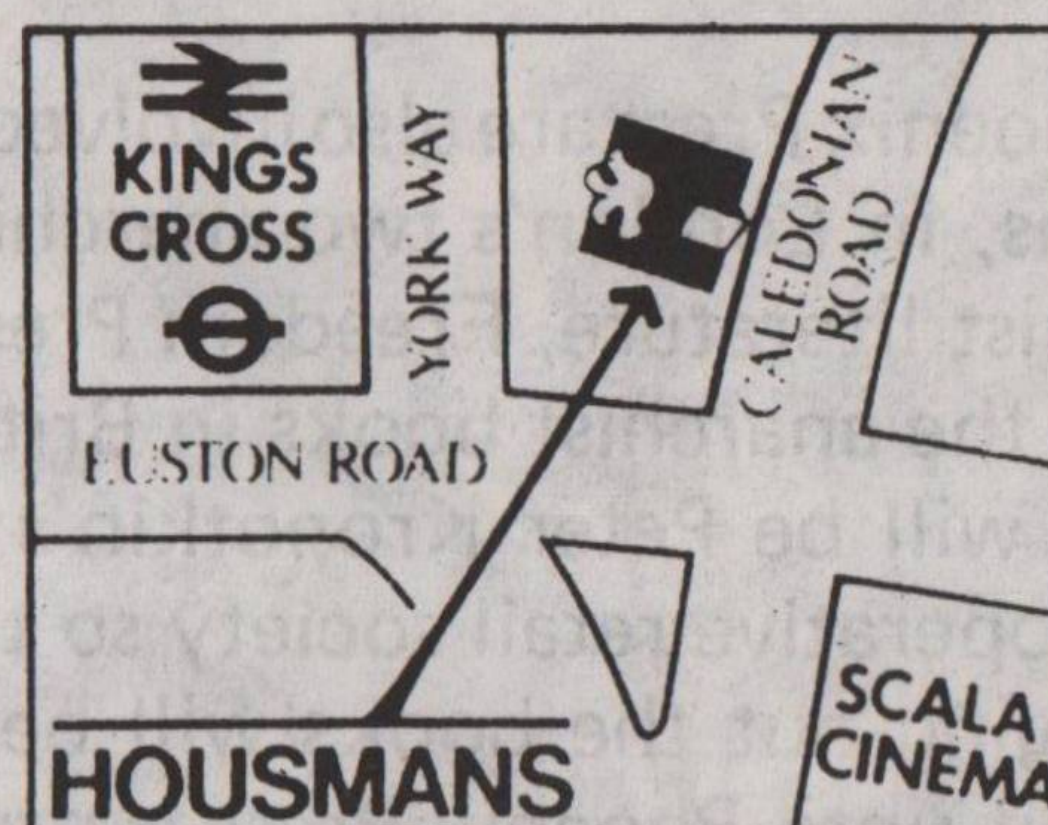
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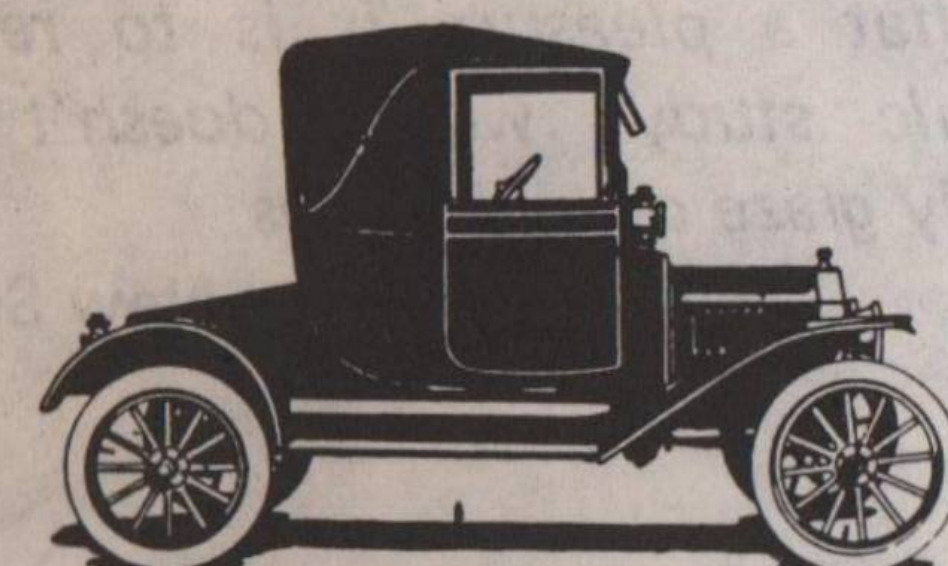
NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW

15242
A CCC

G Brown

in this issue:

**THE
FLICKER KING**
A STORY OF FORD-AMERICA



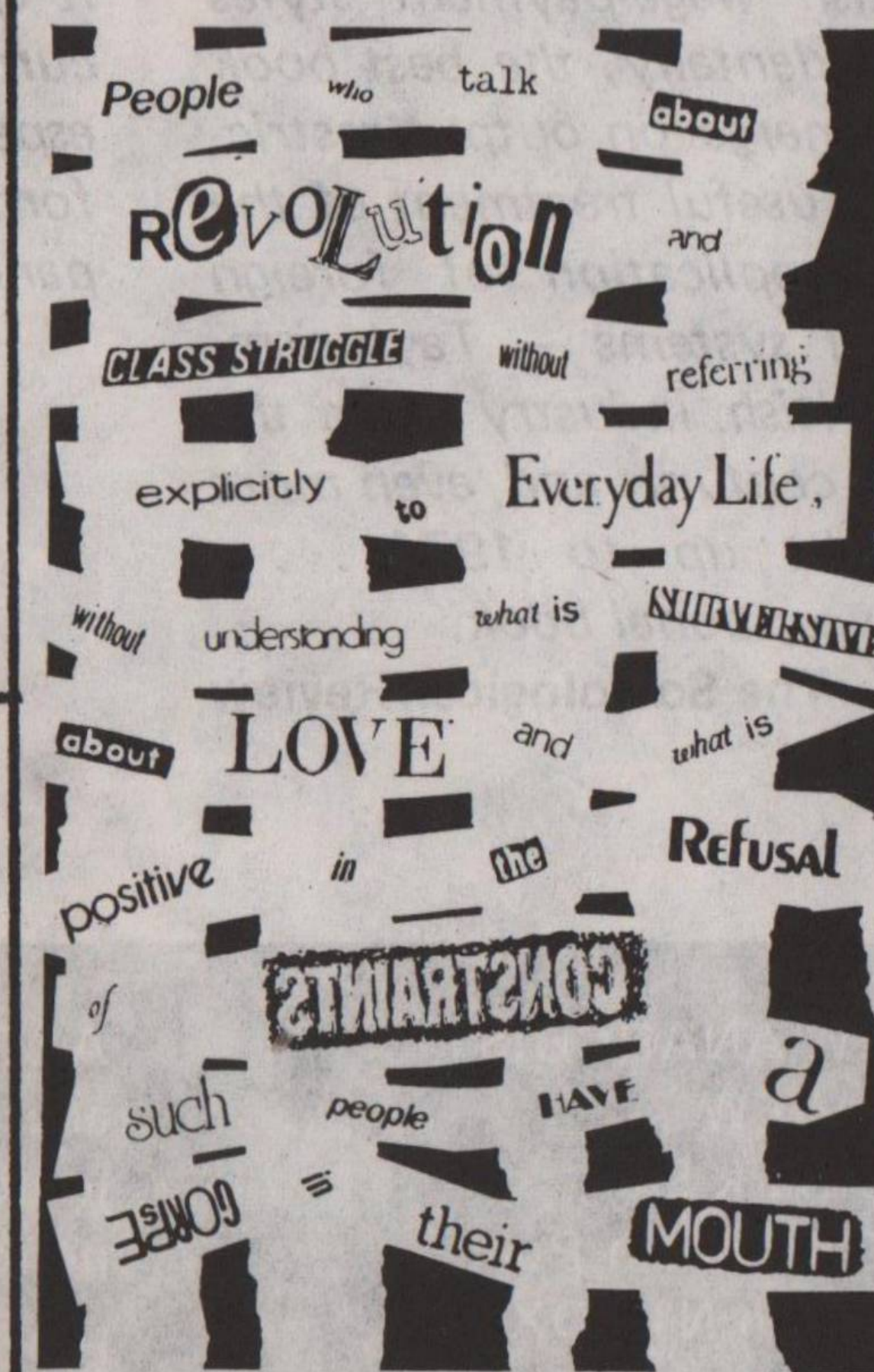
UPTON SINCLAIR

SABOTAGE

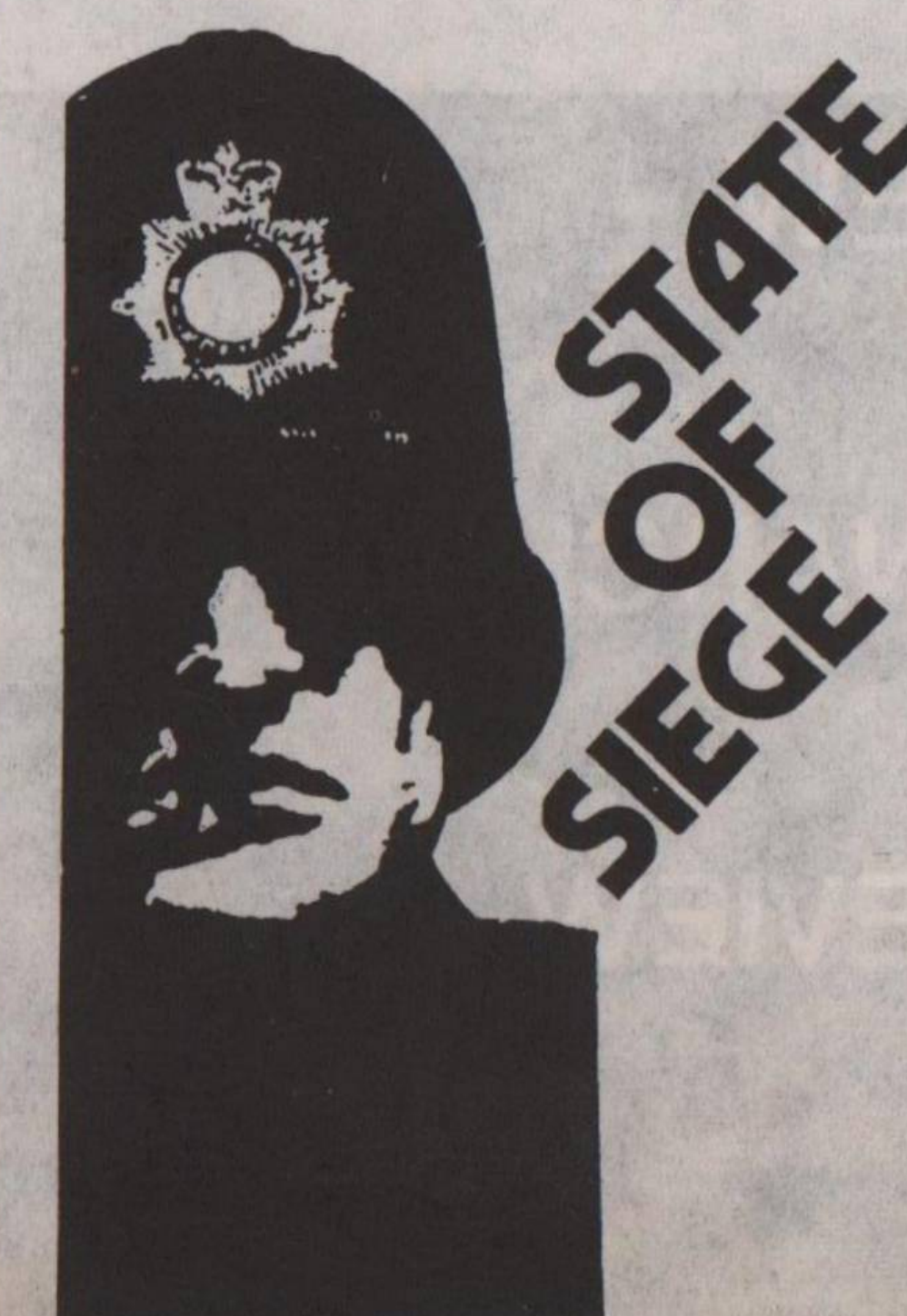
**American Labour
History**

**The 1984
Miners Strike**

**Spectacular
Times**



**FIGHTING
THE
REVOLUTION**



1 Fighting the Revolution



2 Fighting the Revolution



G Brown

SABOTAGE

G Brown
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... deliberate violence is, no doubt, a relatively minor fact in the case, as compared with deliberate malingering, confusion, and misdirection of work that makes up the bulk of what the expert practitioners would recognise as deliberate sabotage.

Thorstein Veblen
On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage

There is no need to smash machinery if one's ends can be served by less destructive methods, and there are forms of sabotage, ... much more capable of clogging the wheels of capitalism than the outright smashing of the machine itself.

William Mellor Direct Action (1920)

... an extensive, detailed and very readable account of the growth and challenges to the imposition of industrial discipline in this country, and a vast empirical history of British wage-payment styles (Sabotage is, incidentally, the best book by far ever to emerge on output restriction), and a very useful treatment of the effects of the application of foreign industrial control systems - Taylorism, Bedaux - to British industry since the beginning of the century, and, even more impressively, right up to 1974 ... Sabotage is an exceptional book.

The Sociological Review

Brown has ploughed through a vast amount of historical material, some of it unfamiliar, and often has something interesting to say.

British Journal of Industrial Relations

This is an important book. While the author demonstrates that production levels under capitalism are normally only a fraction of what they could be, he also demonstrates by implication the potential achievements given a willing workforce. And what a pleasure it is to read an 'academic study' which doesn't automatically glaze over the eyes.

New Society

The breadth of his study is astonishing: starting in Britain in the 1890s, reaching back to the early part of the nineteenth century, and forward to two well-documented contemporary case studies, it spurns the dominant parochialism of current historiography, and provides - especially to those who have never been formally trained as historians - a fine panoramic overview.

Radical Science Journal

... needs to be widely read and discussed.

Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review

Published by NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW
c/o Dark Star,
5 Caledonian Road,
London N1 9DX.

Printed by ALD GATE PRESS
84B, Whitechapel High St.,
London E1 7QX.

Layout by DAVE SPARKS

NAR is a joint project by the following organisations:-

A DISTRIBUTION: A co-operative of anarchist publishers set up to provide a joint distribution network for books and periodicals.

HOUSMANS: Long established bookshop and distributor of 'alternative' publishers.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP: The main anarchist bookshop in Britain. Also linked with FREEDOM PRESS, publishers of anarchist titles since 1886.

ANARCHIST BOOK SERVICE: The youngster of the team, one year old and growing. It was set up to provide a wide selection of titles by mail order for those having difficulty obtaining them through their local bookshop.

ON TERRORISM

Trade: Housmans Distribution
Mail Order: Anarchist Book Service
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Freedom Bookshop

G Sanguinetti
Chronos Publications
paperback
£3.00

The book that no-one dares to speak about from the *Morning Star* to the *Times*!

Gianfranco Sanguinetti, a member of the Situationist International until its dissolution in 1972, and who was himself arrested for possession of arms and links with the 'Red Brigade' (subsequently dropped for lack of proof) reveals the scandalous truth about why Aldo Moro, Italy's former prime minister was kidnapped and finally executed, and by whom. Moro favoured the 'historic compromise' with the Communist Party, meaning that they should be allowed in the government. This would have posed a serious threat to the pro-NATO factions in the Italian state, endangering Italy's relationship with the USA and the in-

stallation of Cruise Bases in southern Italy and was thus felt to be intolerable by many power factions. Sanguinetti argues that the 'Red Brigades' by successive infiltration of cells, and replacement of cell leaders, by the State's own secret services, is nothing other than an armed appendice of the Italian state and that Moro was kidnapped as a warning to others who might favour the 'historic compromise'.

Sanguinetti also maintains that 'terrorism' of this sort - acts of violence intended to intimidate your opponent and make him change policy - is a technique employed by States and political groups (future States) throughout the world. Political kidnapping, and murder and acts of random brutality such as leaving bombs

PREFACE

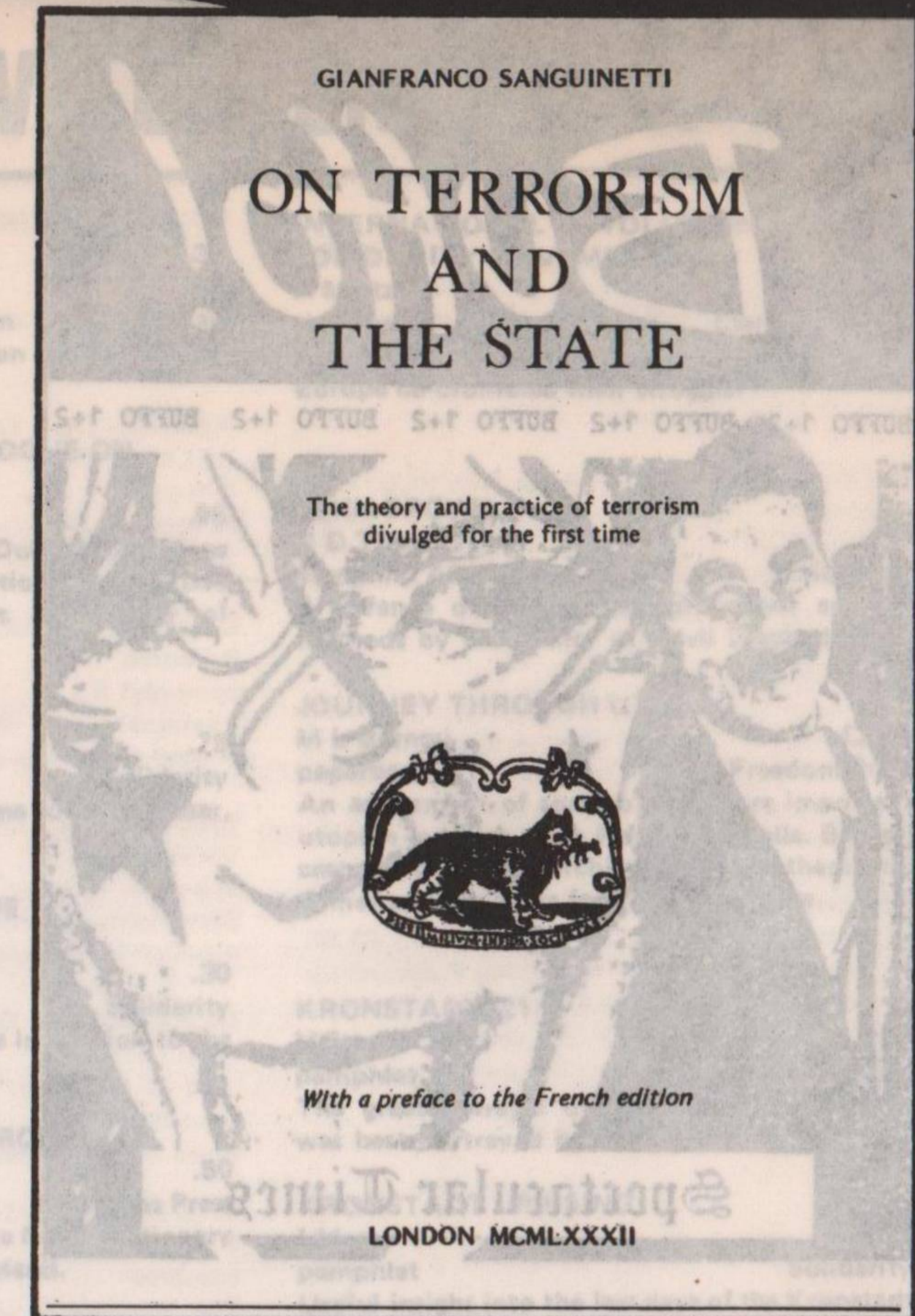
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Guy Debord
Chronos Publications
pamphlet
60p

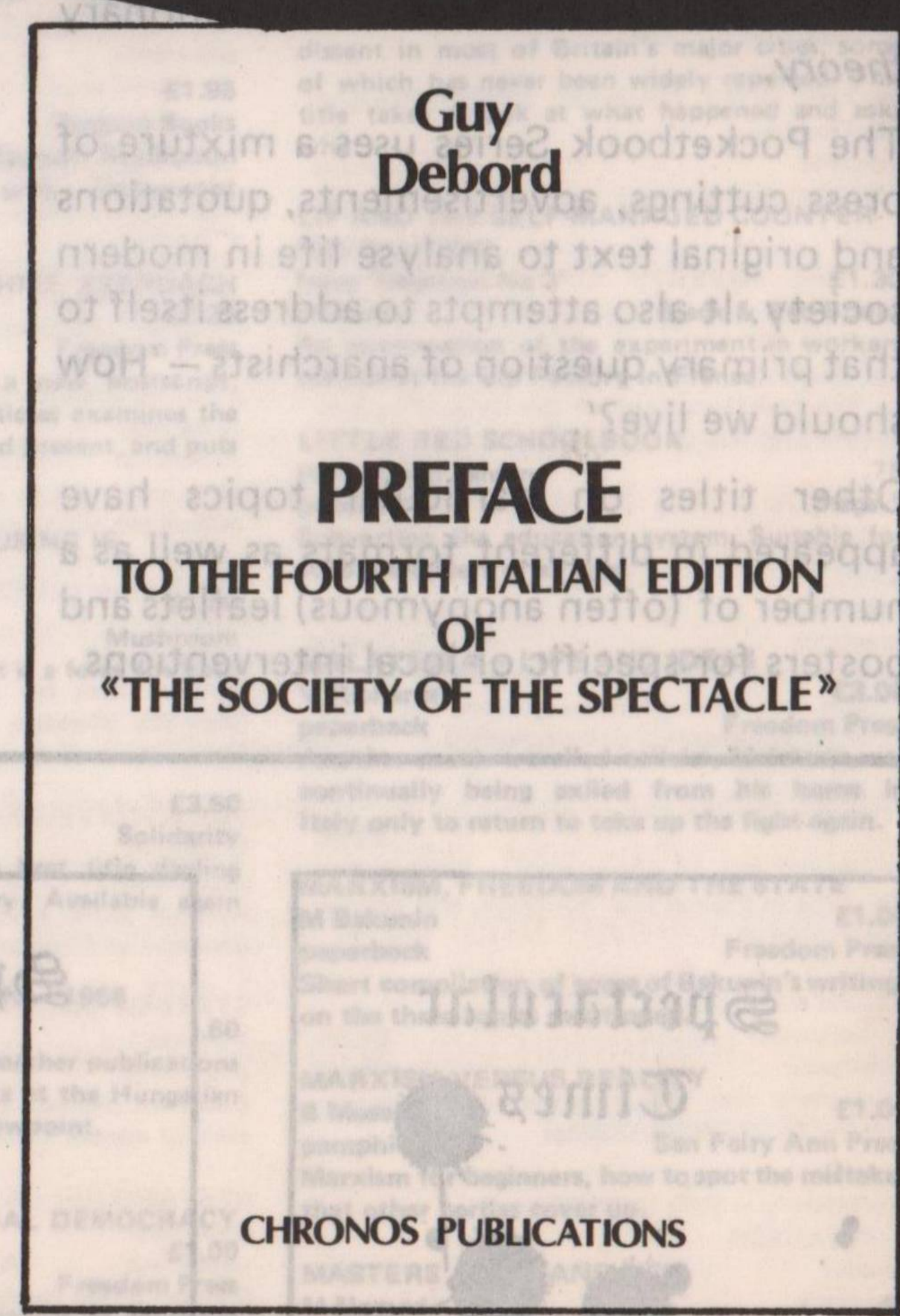
In 1967 a book called *The Society of the Spectacle* was published in France. It created no small commotion. It was called the *Das Kapital* of its generation, and in May 1968 many of its ideas were translated into slogans on walls. By 1972 there had been two or three versions for the English-speaking world, 'of which a third version had to be awaited in order to know what I had written' (Debord). He claims it is futile to translate his books in a slapdash manner as the theses contained in them are relevant to the end of this century, at least.

Debord explains that he wrote the book because he wanted the Situationist International to have a book of theory, and for such a book to be present in the

troubles that were to come and the 'vast subversive sequel that they could not fail to open up'. For those who really want to shake an established society must formulate a theory which fundamentally explains this society. (This, he feels was the historical task of the Situationist International, which was dissolved in 1972 - see *The Veritable Split in the International* by Debord and Sanguinetti (1972), republished recently by Chronos Publications). And since then spectacular-commodity society has only provided 'heavier and more convincing proofs' to his theses, from the failure of the artificially-maintained economy, to disasters like famine, and ecological disasters like pollution of the environment and the adulteration of food and



in public places are always counter-revolutionary and never justifiable, and always serve the State in making people ally themselves with it, in abhorrence of such actions. Is it just a coincidence that the Piazza Fontana bombing occurred just as the wave of wild-cat strikes in Italy was reaching its crescendo in 1979?



the subsequent diseases that result from it. This is a revised translation of his preface. A definitive translation of *The Society of the Spectacle* is envisaged by Chronos Publications for 1986/7.

NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW

JUNE 1985

Buffo!

BUFFO 1+2 BUFFO 1+2 BUFFO 1+2 BUFFO 1+2 BUFFO 1+2



"People who talk about revolution and class struggle without explicitly to Everyday Life, without understanding what is subversive about love and what is positive in the refusal of constraints, such people have a corpse in their mouth."

Spectacular Times was started on April Fools day in 1979. Its mixture of anarchist and situationist ideas has led to it being described (or more often condemned) as 'anarcho-situationism'. It is, in fact, antagonistic to all ideologies in its search for a usable and effective revolutionary theory.

The Pocketbook Series uses a mixture of press cuttings, advertisements, quotations and original text to analyse life in modern society. It also attempts to address itself to that primary question of anarchists - 'How should we live?'

Other titles on particular topics have appeared in different formats as well as a number of (often anonymous) leaflets and posters for specific or local interventions.

THE PUBLISHERS 4

SPECTACULAR TIMES

Pocketbook Series

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A basic guide to the ideas which run through the Pocketbook Series. The Spectacle, recuperation, urbanism, specialisation, fragmentation, therapy.

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This Pocketbook is more than just another chronicle of animal misery. Between its blood-spattered covers it argues - for the first time since the Surrealists - that animal liberation is an integral part of the revolutionary project.

45p

The Bad Days Will End

From the starting point 'the real state secret is the secret misery of daily life', this Pocketbook dumps ideology on its way to a revolutionary theory firmly based on the pleasure principle. The text constantly returns to the theme of dreams, desires, hopes, feelings, love, pleasure and playfulness - words which disappeared long ago from the vocabulary of 'serious' political writers. '... it seems absurd to talk about revolution ... but everything else is even more absurd since it is limited to what exists and the various ways of putting up with it'.

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Cities of Illusion

We live in a world of carefully constructed illusions - about ourselves, each other,

about power, authority, justice and daily life. These illusions are both constructed and reflected by education, advertising, propaganda, television, newspapers, speeches, elections, politics, religion, business transactions, and the courts. This false world is sustained by us when we reproduce these images and illusions in our daily life - a daily life which, in turn, is reported by the media as 'reality'.

50p

In larger format

Buffo! 1 and 2

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£1.00

All the above titles are available direct from SPECTACULAR TIMES, 84b WHITE-CHAPEL HIGH STREET, LONDON E1. Also trade enquiries outside London should be sent direct. Trade inside London via A Distribution. Mail order available from Anarchist Book Service, Housmans and Freedom Bookshops.

FIGHTING THE REVOLUTION

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Fighting the Revolution 1 £1

Fighting the Revolution 2 £1.20

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Various
Freedom Press
pamphlets

A lot of radical ideas are lessons learned from great social upheavals such as the French Revolution of 1789, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 ... These two pamphlets are, for the most part, brief introductions to some of these important events. The pamphlets began life as a series of broadsheets issued by the Freedom Collective in the early nineteen seventies and several of these broadsheets have been made up into pamphlets by the print shop Aldgate Press.

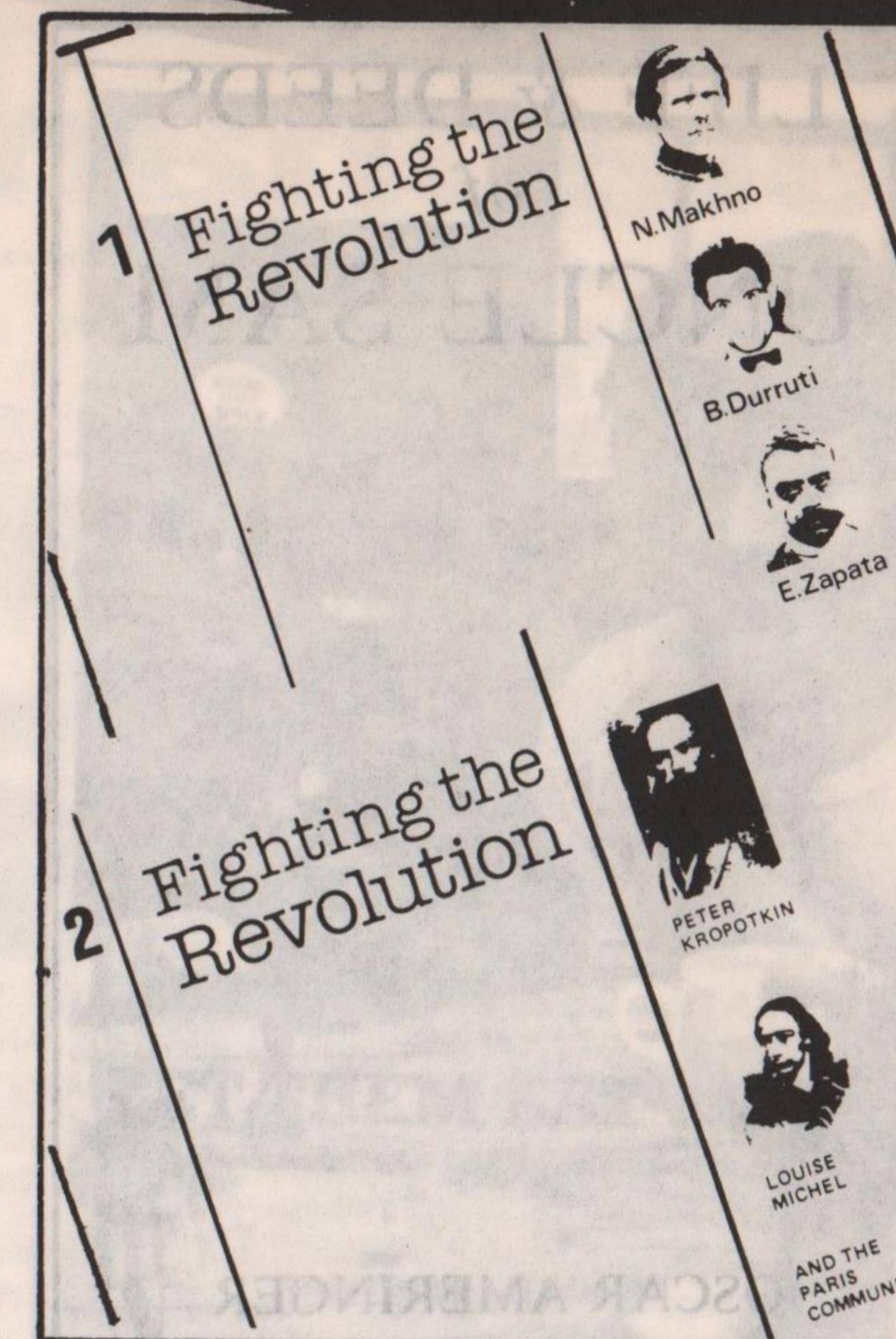
Fighting the Revolution 1

This pamphlet consists of short biographies of three revolutionary military leaders. Nestor Makhno led a peasant army in the Ukraine against White Russians but was then defeated by the Red Army as the Communists established their dictatorship over Russia. Buenaventura Durruti was a Spanish anarchist whose life of activism culminated in organizing anarchist militia during the

Spanish Revolution. Emiliano Zapata led a peasant army in Mexico from 1911 to 1918. A quotation from Durruti, who was shot dead in 1936, retains its power to inspire. 'We are going to inherit the earth. There is not the slightest doubt of that. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world here in our hearts. That world is growing this minute.'

Fighting the Revolution 2

Mostly about the Paris Commune, it starts with the speech that Louise Michel delivered at her trial following the suppression of the Commune. (She was transported for life but the sentence was later commuted.) The rest of the pamphlet consists of writings by Peter Kropotkin, mostly on the subject of the Commune. Kropotkin is the best-known anarchist writer and thinker and much of his thought stems from the Paris Commune. After the revolution there he returned to his native land, Russia, and died there, of old age, in 1921. A younger anarchist,



Alexander Berkman, pointed out that the Communists in Russia celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune the day after they had suppressed the Kronstadt Commune. Nicolas Walter's article in this second pamphlet includes this passage. 'However many times it is destroyed, and whoever destroys it, the idea of the free city which rises in revolution and abolishes authority and property together cannot be destroyed, and remains one of the basic components of political anarchism.'

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Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow
Peter Kropotkin

Mail Order: Anarchist Book Service
Housmans Bookshop
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Edited and added to by Colin Ward
Freedom Press
paperback
£3.50

Fields, Factories and Workshops first appeared as a book in 1899, a compilation of articles Kropotkin had previously written. Colin Ward has updated the book by adding new material which assesses Kropotkin's achievement from the vantage point of today and by dropping most of the superceded statistics Kropotkin used to support his ideas.

Fields, Factories and Workshops is a description of and argument for a society whose economic life is structured very differently from both Kropotkin's society of nearly a century ago and our own of today. Kropotkin puts forward four main ideas. He pointed to the trend in his life towards decentralisation of industry and he claimed that with labour intensive training farming a country like Britain

could be self-sufficient in food. He advocated the integration of industry and agriculture and an educational system that combined intellectual and manual training. Today we can see that Kropotkin's view of society is as far from realisation as it was when he wrote.

We have decentralisation of industry in the sense that countries outside Europe and America now have car industries but it would be better not to have cars at all. Britain is not self-sufficient in food through labour intensive farming - instead food mountains build up through government subsidies to rich farmers whose capital intensive methods pollute the environment (which includes us) through the use of inorganic fertilisers and pesticides. Industry and agriculture are now integrated but only in the sense

that agriculture is now an industry, that is, large-scale, centralised and polluting. Kropotkin's vision of small scale industry integrated with small scale agriculture remains only a vision.

It is clear that Kropotkin was not a scientist predicting the future but a social critic advocating a future radically different from his (and our) present time. We must supplement his account of how society should be with an account of why it isn't as it should be and with an account of what we must do to move it in the right direction. Today there are four million unemployed in Britain and half of those who are employed are wasting their lives producing junk. We must junk the unnecessary half of work and divide out the remaining half so that everyone no more sacrifices their life to work.

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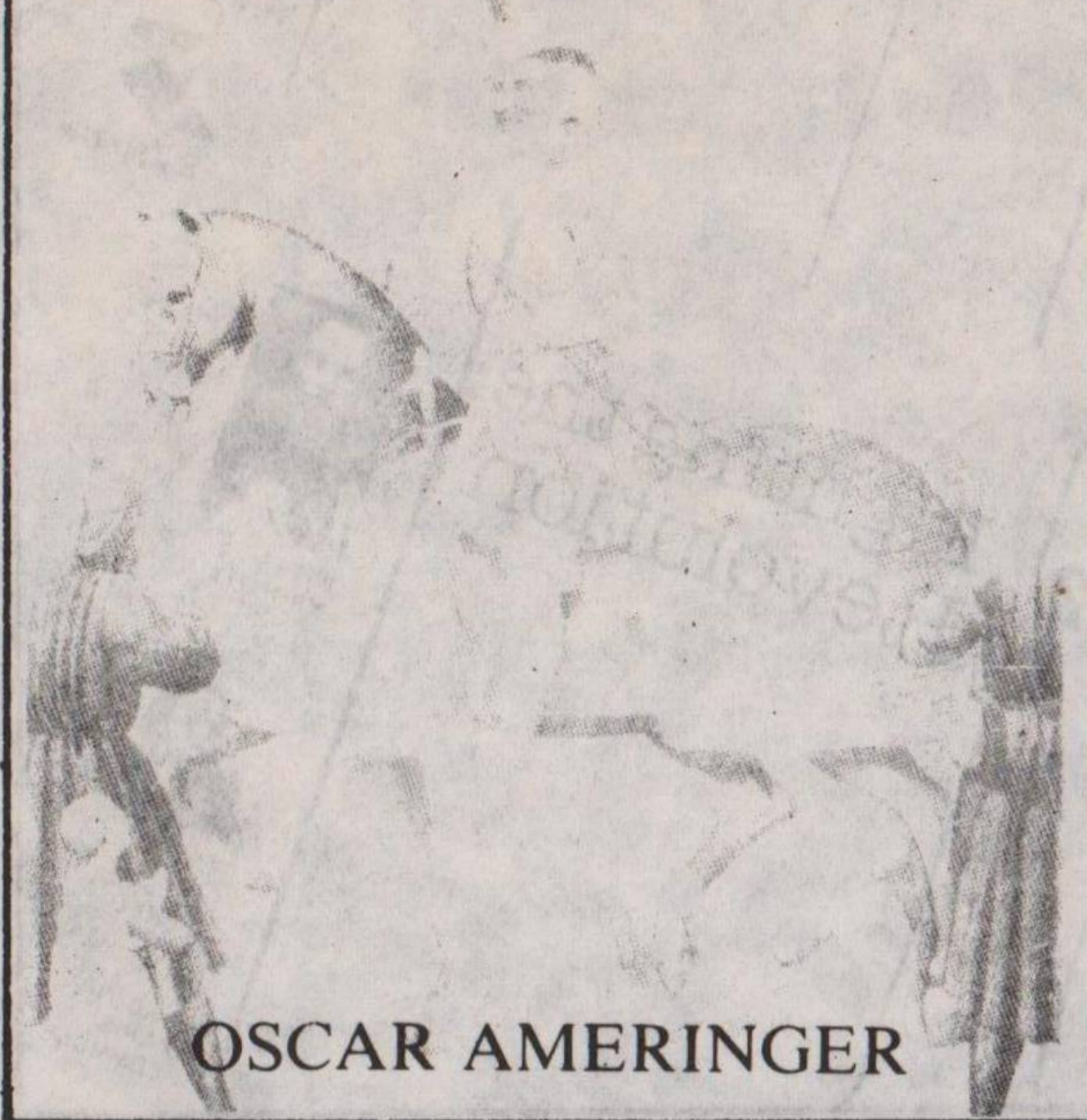
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Spectacular
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"The Mark Twain of American Socialism."

That's what they called Oscar Ameringer (1870-1943), socialist organizer, editor, pamphleteer and public speaker. A remarkable forerunner of today's standup comedians, Ameringer enjoyed — as his friend Carl Sandburg put it — 'a supreme position in the American labor movement as a man of laughter, wit, satire.' Virtually all who knew him shared A J Muste's view that he was an 'incomparable raconteur'.

Reprinted here is Ameringer's best-known but long-out-of-print work, *Life & Deeds of Uncle Sam*, a riproaring radical romp through US history. Originally published in 1909, by World War I it had sold half a million copies, making it the best-selling popular survey of American history before the advent of Charles and Mary Beard. Here the 'official' history of the textbooks is hilariously laid bare; the author's satirical barbs aimed at the exploiters' ideology bristle on every page.



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A leading figure in the Left Wing of the Socialist Party during the First World War, Mary E Marcy (1877-1922) was managing editor of the *International Socialist Review*, the most popular and influential revolutionary journal of the period.

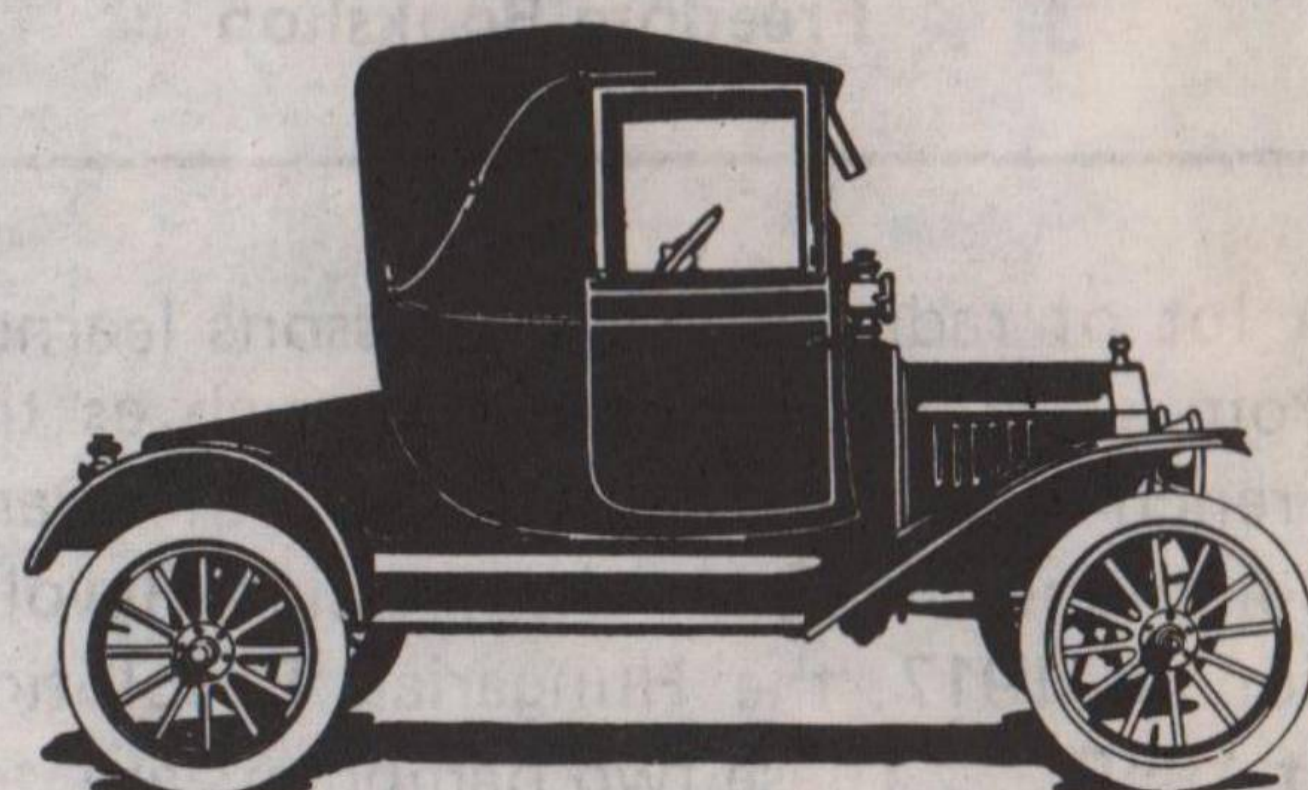
Collected here for the first time are articles detailing Marcy's penetrating analysis of the social/economic causes of war, and her libertarian socialist perspective on the struggle against war. Largely because of the articles in this book, the *International Socialist Review* was suppressed by the US government in 1918.

Written nearly three quarters of a century ago, Marcy's hardhitting critique is still as fresh as today's headlines.

First in a series of reprints of Mary Marcy's writings, this collection is edited and introduced by Franklin Rosemont, author of many studies in the field of labor and radical history.

THE FLIVVER KING

A STORY OF FORD-AMERICA



UPTON SINCLAIR

History

Upton Sinclair
C H Kerr Publishing Co
paperback
£3.95

Trade: Housmans Distribution

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Upton Sinclair's *The Flivver King* stands among the finest of modern American historical novels. It is history as it ought to be written — from the bottom up and the top down, with monumental sensitivity to the compromise and conflict between the two extremes. Its two stories, those of Henry Ford and Ford-worker Abner Shutt, unfold side-by-side, indeed dialectically. They are, in the end, one story: the saga of class and culture in 'Ford-America'.

Workers and bosses, flappers and Klansmen, war and depression, Prohibition outlaws and high-society parties, unions and anti-union gun thugs — few aspects of American life in the first four decades of our century are missing from this small masterpiece. *The Flivver King* sustains the same sure grasp of working-class life which characterized Sinclair's earlier classic, *The Jungle*, but much less sentimentally and with a steadier focus on how alienated work breeds not only degradation but also resistance and revolt.



The 1984

Politics and policing of the coalfields:
Miners' strike 1984
Jim Coulter, Susan Miller and Martin
Walker
Price £3.50

Trade: Housmans Distribution

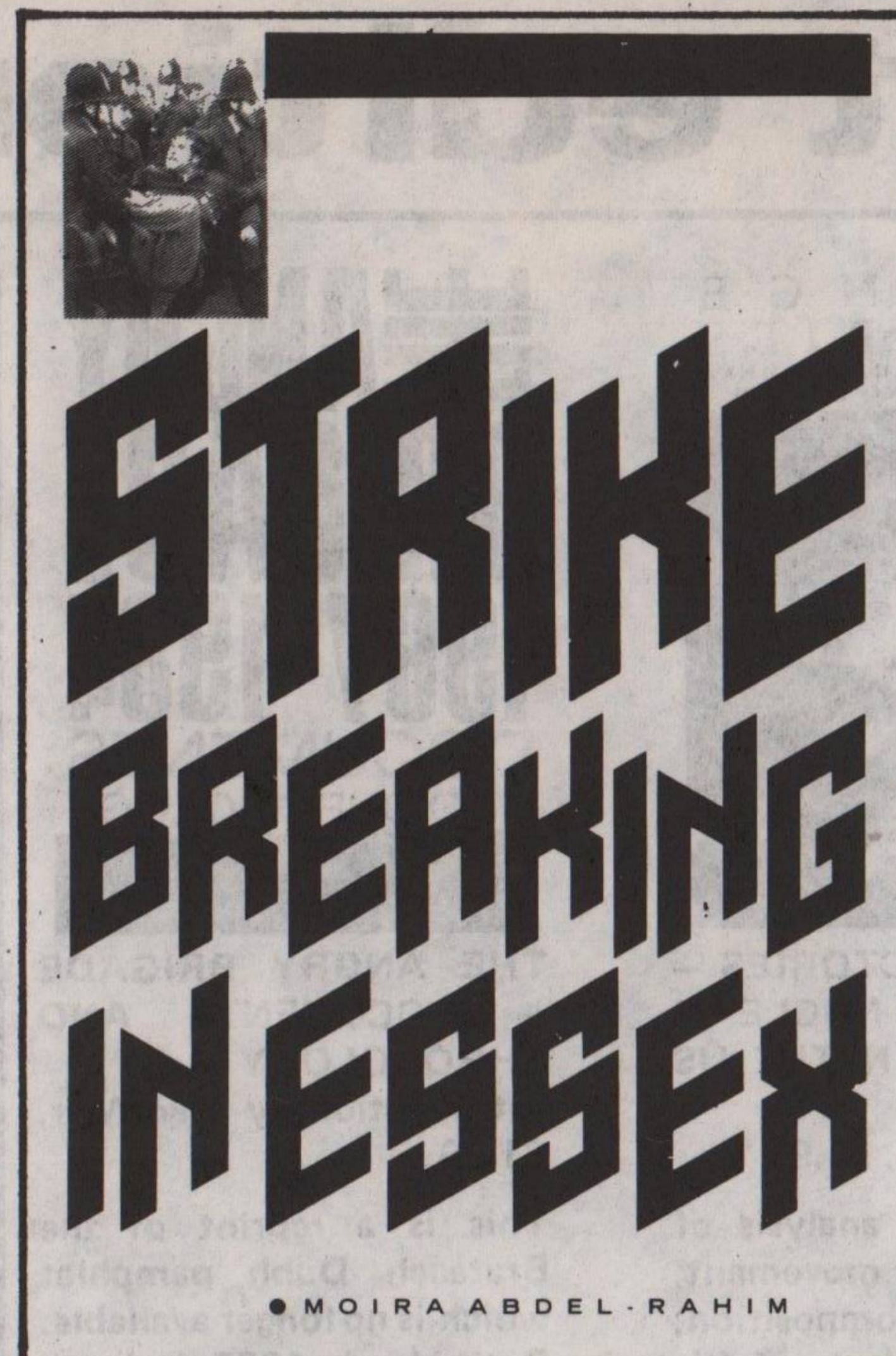
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In contrast to the flood of 'Party Lines' in current production on the 'Great Strike', these titles provide a solid body of research on the struggle in the mining communities. They lay open the working of the carefully planned strategy which orchestrated the barrage of force and propaganda thrown against the miners by the state.

State of Siege was the first major book on the strike and has a strong claim to being the most important. Based on first hand interviews and research in the Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire coalfields the authors convey the immediacy and urgency of the struggle.

The book covers issues such as the covert organisation of a National Riot Squad, the dirty war in Notts, the riots in the pit villages and the role of women.

Strike Breaking in Essex parallels the work in *State of Siege* covering in a similar manner the policing of the Kent



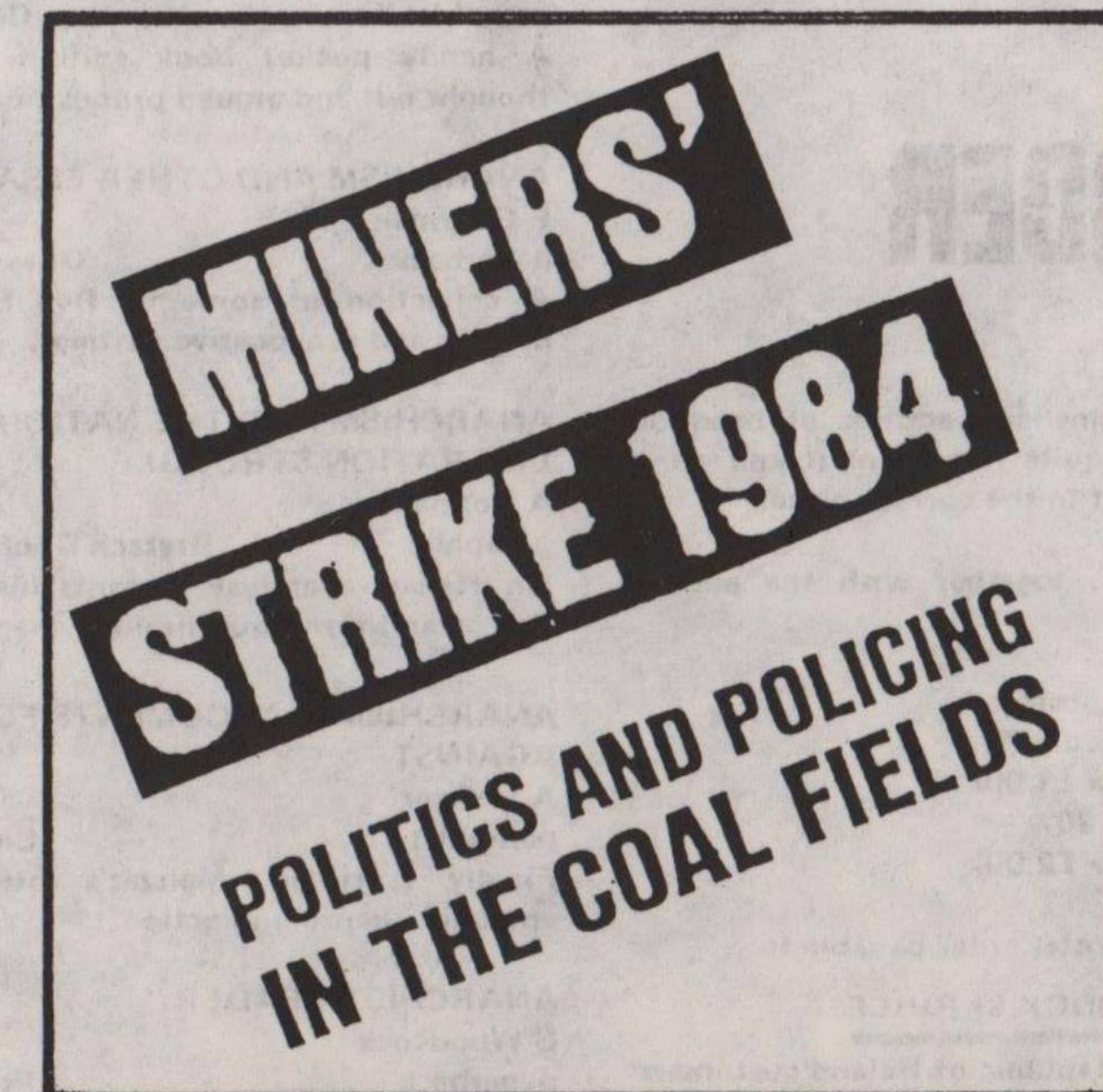
Miners

The Policing of Wivenhoe and the Essex ports during the 1984 miners' strike.
Moira Abdel-Rahim
Price £2.50

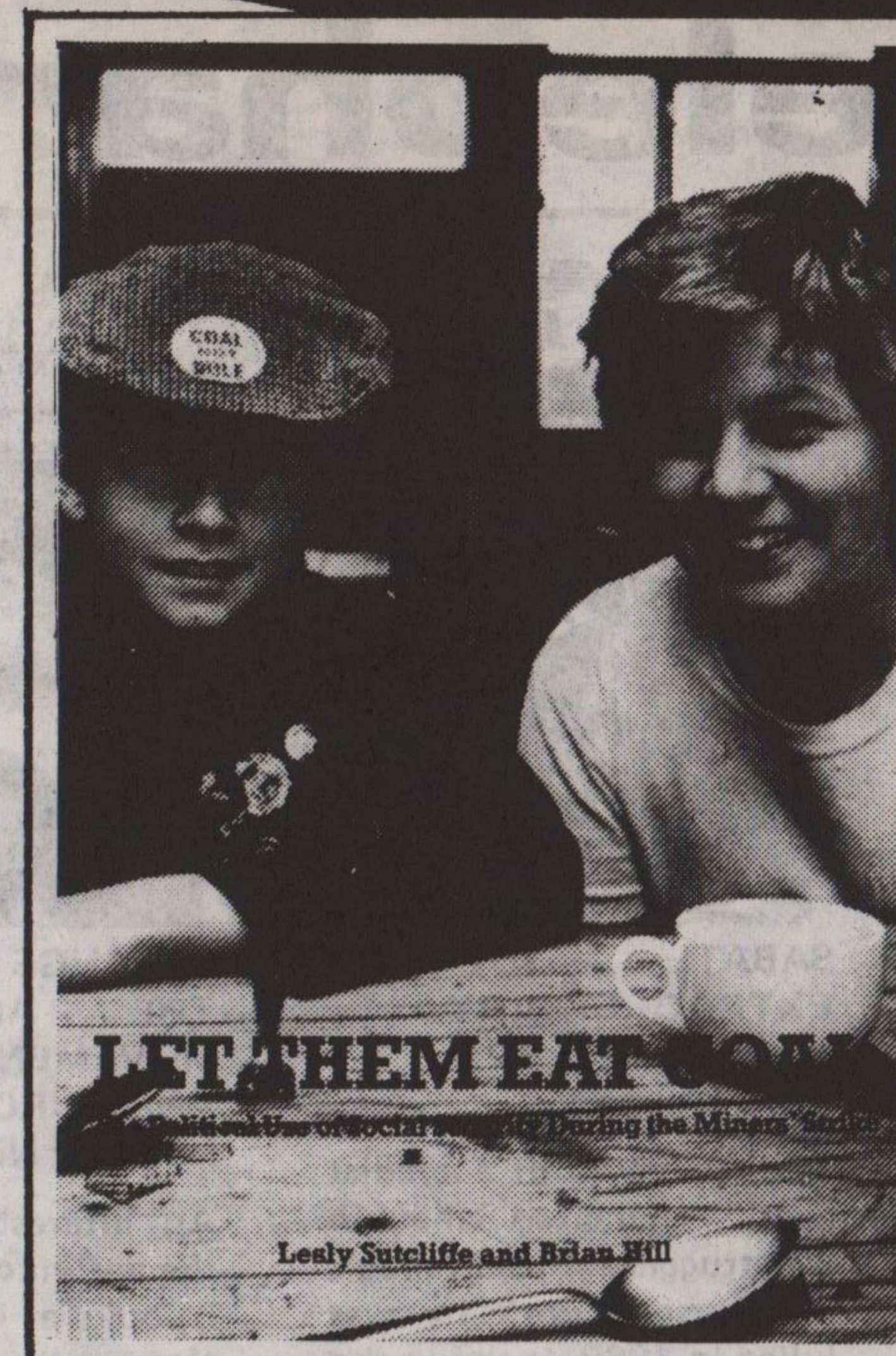
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coalfield and the Essex Strike supporters. There is examination of the Dartford tunnel incident, roadblocks and other illegal police activity, the operation of the police 'mutual aid' scheme and an assessment of the cost of the operation.



Policing was a central issue of the strike — the one that made the Labour and TUC



Strike

The political use of Social Security during the miners' strike.
Lesley Sutcliffe and Brian Hill
Price £1.95

Trade: Housmans Distribution

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leadership drop their flimsy proletarian camouflage and scamper for the safety of Tory trenches. Here is the miners' side of the story, the only perspective that can expose the class nature of the police, their role in strike-breaking, and the specific developments in civil-war preparations that the State had to reveal during 1984.

Let Them Eat Coal, explains the political and legislative background to the present governments' policies on welfare benefits. It centres upon the treatment which striking miners have received at the hands of the DHSS and is based upon information received from Welfare Rights workers throughout the country together with first hand accounts and interviews with striking miners and their families. The booklet explains how the Conservative government have used benefits politically in an attempt to break the NUM and starve miners and their families back to work.

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Published as a tribute to this great activist who was imprisoned by Franco's government at the end of the Spanish Revolution, only to continue his fight after his release.

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P Cordan £2.50
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A critique of the traditional Left and examination of revolutionary politics today.

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M Jones £3.95
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D Lamb £1.50
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At the end and after the First World War many thousands of allied troops decided to stop fighting. The result was mass punishment and executions.

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Statements of some French activists on the question of work and its place in our lives.

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THE REPRODUCTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE
F Perliman .70
paperback Black & Red Books
The Spectacle's hold on everyday life must be challenged and broken if we are to be free.

REVOLUTION IN SEATTLE
H O'Connor £5.00
paperback Left Bank Books
Up until, and for a period after, the First World War, the area of the US around Seattle was rife with activists, especially the IWW and other Socialists.

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R Veneigem £3.60
paperback Rebel Press
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paperback Elephant Editions
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G Brown £2.50
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PHOENIX PRESS

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Ever tried to buy a well-known anarchist book only to find it's out of print? Want to do something about it? Read on.

Phoenix Press is a new anarchist publishing venture which hopes to do four things. The first and most important is to get into print all the old anarchist classics that are currently unavailable. If this is done in the intended manner then the three subsidiary aims will also be achieved. The first of these is to get more people involved in anarchist publishing. The second is to provide more books for our distribution organisations to sell. The third is leave other anarchist publishers free to concentrate on bringing out new books instead of tying up money reprinting old ones. Many old books are good but they are still old and we should be producing new books, not just regurgitating the old ones. If Phoenix Press succeeds in getting the classics back into print then, paradoxically, it will be helping to finance new publishing.

The first title for Phoenix Press will be Alexander Berkman's *The Russian Tragedy*. Berkman was a native Russian and a first-hand observer of how the Russian Revolution was destroyed by the Communists. With others he was deported from the United States in 1919 and went to Russia where, despite his anarchist beliefs, he was initially fooled by the communists' claim that they were fighting to establish an egalitarian society. He was returned to reality by the crushing of the rebellion at the naval fortress of Kronstadt in 1921 and his testimony to how the Communist counter-revolution destroyed the gains of the real revolution is significant for the following reason. Berkman cannot be accused of being an apologist for the Tsarist dictatorship and yet he asserts that the revolution was destroyed by Lenin and the Communists. This is in complete opposition to the often-heard view that the revolution was created by Lenin and destroyed by Stalin.

The Phoenix Press scheme to get into print *The Russian Tragedy* (and much else besides) works like this. The bill to get *The Russian Tragedy* published will be just under £2,000 and so we're looking for 100 people to each lend £20. In return for this they'll each get a copy of the book as soon as it's printed (about two months after the money is raised) and, when the print run is sold out, their £20 back. It must be pointed out immediately that a print run of 2,000 (which is what we intend to start with) is quite likely not to sell out before two years are up and that even this period is not guaranteed. So it's a pretty long-term investment. Incidentally, *The Russian Tragedy* will probably have a retail price of £2-95.

People working to set up Phoenix Press are also involved in Britain's two distribution services for anarchist literature, A Distribution and Housmans, in London's two anarchist book-shops, Freedom Press and 121, and in Britain's two mail-order services for anarchist literature, Freedom Press and the ABS. In other words Phoenix Press will be run by the people who sell most of the anarchist books in Britain. We intend *The Russian Tragedy* to be the first in a long series of titles (the next one will be Peter Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*) and the eventual aim is to have the commercial structure of a co-operative retail society so that everyone lending money will be a member of the society and the people actually bringing out the books will be democratically accountable to the members of the society. However, this will have to wait until Phoenix Press is properly set up and has a few titles published.

In the meantime, Phoenix Press accounts will be open to inspection by all contributors. (Phoenix Press will be non-wage paying and non-profit distributing.) One last point. There will no doubt be people who want to contribute to Phoenix Press but either already have the book in question or else are contributing, say, £60, but only want one copy of the book instead of the three they're entitled to. So we suggest that anyone willing to lend money but who doesn't want the book or books they're entitled to does the following. Donate the book to Freedom Press bookshop where it will be sold on behalf of your favourite anarchist worthy cause, whichever one you nominate.

Chairperson Mo

I enclose £20 (cheques made out to Phoenix Press) for Berkman's *The Russian Tragedy*.

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