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Great Britain - Simon, 29 Troutbeck, Albany Street, London N.W. 1

Holland - Daad en Gedachte, Schouw 48-11, Lelystad

For subscriptions see below

Only articles etc. that are produced by Echanges themselves are available directly from us at the price indicated. The addresses for obtaining all other texts are given.

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RENEWAL OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

N.B.: FF means French Francs

All those who have received Echanges since number 1 (including recent subscribers who asked for a complete collection) have paid 10 FF (or equivalent). Up to no. 12 (not including no. 12) they have received 35 pages. The average costs per page are 0,275 FF (including postage) which means that the 35 pages have cost 9,625 FF, i.e. about 10 FF.

In addition all subscribers have received two pamphlets: on the U.S.A. and on the unions. At the Strasbourg meeting it was decided from now on to count the pamphlets in with the subscription. The cost of Echanges for the next subscription period will therefore be higher. Some of these costs can be offset perhaps by producing additional numbers of the pamphlets for sale. This will vary according to the interest that each pamphlet arouses.

All those who have received all the bulletins and the two pamphlets should pay 15 FF (or equivalent). This will cover the two pamphlets already received and all future bulletins starting from no. 12 up to the value of 10 FF. A new appeal will be made when this money runs out.

Others who have not received all the numbers should count 1 FF for each bulletin received and add 5 FF for the two pamphlets, to work out what they should pay. It would be desirable to make accounting easier that all those who did not subscribe recently count 10 FF for their subscription for the coming period.

With no other notice, we will not send any more bulletins after no. 12 to all those who have not answered this reminder.

DOCUMENTS AND DISCUSSIONS

On the INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN STRASBOURG from 9 to 11 April 1977
Two views:

I. The Strasbourg get-together stressed the separation between our activities and the expression we give to them. This separation led to a break-down of the meeting where general reflection on situations went on side by side with the probings of those who wished to pool experiences which were often very different. You could find again at certain moments conflicts very similar to those which took place during the last months of ICD's existence (ICD was a French group to which some, but by no means all of the Paris comrades at Echanges belonged at one time or another, now disbanded). There we had a tendency to crystallise the discussion around the old oppositioon between "daily life" and "the point of production". At the same time the get-together at Strasbourg was faced with the risk of a "capitalisation" of the New Movement. Thus someone spoke of the framework of the New Movement, a type of formular which tends to deny that there is a movement and to consider it as an object and not as the extremely mobile and multi form reality of present-day struggles.

Talking of the framework of the Movement is to take the term new in its "market" sense, like that of a new product on the market. What is new is just as much the way in which we live, the way in which we understand reality as the appearance of new phenomena. In this way now theories as well as the most "advanced" experiences of earlier periods are seen again in a new light. Here is a classic example: some friends in Francfort went recently Gaston Leval, the anarchist, who opposed the movement of the communes in Spain to the logic of

the armed struggle in the Spanish Civil War. They questioned him on the role of women in the communes and immediately criticised his very traditional method of approach which limited the communes to a unit of production neglecting all other aspects within them.

At Strasbourg the analysis offered of Italy by a comrade who often appeared to be the spokesman for the other Italiens, illustrated the same point in a similar way through the belittling of different aspects of the struggle in Italy (the "Metropolitan Indians", the women's struggle, absenteeism, refusal of work etc.) or ignoring them. This perspective is of a clearly political and strategic nature. We see now, two months after the meeting, that recent events at Fiat Mirafiori (Turin), i.e. the coincidence of the looting of offices and a mass e absenteeism, contradict, at least on the question of absenteeism, what the Italian told us on this subject at Strasbourg.

This type of "political" analysis is made to oppose the same type of affirmation that outside "daily life" there is no way forward. This false opposition came out in the contribution of a Paris comrade at our Paris meeting in November 1975 and in the text by C. Reeve (in the French review Spartacus), attacking all notions of the refusal of work and includes precisely the idea that capitalism can be destroyed without destroying part of what capitalism is made of.

The debate on this last point did not take place at Strasbourg but went on parallel to the meeting: in a formal matter in discussion about Echanges itself and in a "wilder" way when the way the meeting was taking place was challenged. It was obvious, as several people said, at the time that there is not much point in having a formal discussion about the way we should discuss, but to find out whether we should discuss in a traditional way about present reality is indeed a question we should pose. The refusal to set up a structure which would end by cutting off individuals from what they live and think, underlines the interest in establishing direct person to person contact in relation to each specific situation.

II. Strasbourg - happy Easter 1977

A meeting to discuss and exchange news and views already planned well in advance was to take place over 3 days. In just one day the realisation of our powerlessness to make any headway in the debates was almost total. This was certainly not because of a lack of theoretical preparation. The difficulty in discussion was not due to a lack of interest for theoretical games: the texts circulating before the meeting are witness enough of this.

The problem, therefore, lies elsewhere. What does the fact that 30 - 50 people around a table cannot support an exchange of views reveal? Several fairly banal things first of all: when a group is fairly large and many do not know each other personally in advance, those who intervene the most are those who do so by force of ability to speak. Direct democracy can only function outside of a relatively homogenous situation when the time given to each person to say his piece is measured by the yardstick of his day to day activity of his place inside struggles and of his relationships with others. This prevents all manipulation of information and, above all, of its interpretation. For example there are hardly any women in the groups in Paris, Milan or elsewhere. They did not speak at Strasbourg and resented to speeches of the "tenors" as a sort of power over themselves. And workers, are they not restrained by their culture and by force of habit from "theorising" outside their own work situation? They did not express themselves at Strasbourg, delegating the task of explaining to "natural leaders" (without giving this term a pejorative sense, as yet, in this context).

My explanation of this state of things is concise: when removed from a precise social situation, which forms the reality of their action add words, the actors are no longer carried along by a group, by a struggle. The homogeneity of local situations is always open to discussion, but at the level of international gathering it is clear that heterogeneity is total. Visibly direct liaisons between struggles do not pass by this channel. In my view, international unification is not a factor to be put in the balance, if I might say, from outside situations. It is contained within situations themselves, which contain themselves the totality of their revolutionary project which is international by definition.

Given this, is it of any use to meet together and to try and confront experiences? Evidently not. Only here we are, the meeting can only take place through these derisory debates on the autonomy and evolution of "class" (sic) movements, or ones supposed to be so, i.e. through a constant reference to facts which are absent from the meeting place. Some will object that here we were concerned with a very summary and very limited geography of class

struggle. But you will recognize that in this type of meeting, in the style of 19th century assemblies (congress of Gotha etc.) we speak a lot about others and very little of ourselves. Not because we have nothing to say or have done nothing but because we can only speak in front of 30 odd people coming from all sorts of places, of spectacular, indicative and exemplary (or so we think) struggles: who would dare to speak of his little problems, with his girl or boy-friend, his work-mates, everything which creates the social fabric and the basis of the daily struggle? This is not because of shyness or lack of theory, but because a global discourse, which totalises all, excludes daily life from itself and excludes the thick of things, the heart of the action, the closeness of human beings.

Public speech is political. It is a power relationship, or better: it expresses a power relationship, one of power over others, dialectic of a struggle against or for something and no strategic justice can hide this fundamental fact. Inevitably. Inevitably, to speak with the aim of achieving some coherence of explanation, or justification even, leads one to alter one's aim, to smooth out rough edges, to suppose and to project the conflict outside its present immediate place. It is no longer possible for some of us to listen passively and to remain silent in order to stay together and to create a coherence on the shoulders of the heterogeneity of others - to construct the unity of theory (the "framework of autonomy" as it was referred to).

What should have appeared at Strasbourg was that those present did not form a group in itself of people who were having a joint experience at that precise moment and who had had a similarity of experience at least in their refusal of social death and their seeking after life and human community, which survives through the decomposition of generalised reification. Having failed to understand this beforehand, we discovered that we were, or some of us (most of us? all of us?) associated for three days in a joint experience. The general meeting which would end in a few miserable theoretical conclusions and some doubtful enlightenment, broke the outside objective and exteriorised the theoretical debate in order to associate those present immediately at the level of their immediate needs and desires. This could only result in a prolongation over and beyond the experience of the moment which we lived in common. This in fact has happened.

For some of us who returned to Paris, the sentiment was very clear that it was impossible to formulate anything in the too limiting framework of Echanges, which tended more and more towards a weekly self-assurance meeting. We must therefore stop meeting almost by routine on wednesday evenings, to read a very abundant and very interesting mail, for this correspondence is, for me at least, far from the taste of activities which should be our own. In the same way the bulletin is becoming a sort of review or newspaper. "Echanges" was and will remain, I hope, a moment of socialisation of real activities and not a place for activities sufficient in themselves. This is why there is no real life through the group, which will remain a privileged place for getting information, but not a place of coordination or of struggle. And so much the better! But this creates a persistent and manifest cleavage between homogenous groups (little given to theorising) and groups for reflection (little inclined to put their ideas into practice). This fact I have mastered and accepted, if painfully sometimes, because the group is a very separate place and a fairly artificial moment of meeting. Change is brought about more by people who are forced to change through their condition than by those who have an ideological desire to change.

None of these criticisms take anything away from the specific function of "Echanges", a rather negative specificity nevertheless. We have no institutionalisation, no deep personal investment, no joint struggle other than a theoretical one. But this negativeness is a sign: it is our positiveness in the face of the "society-institution". The "non-practice" of Echanges rubs off on our daily practice and prevents it from reaching an impasse of self-satisfaction, of security in a pseudo-affirmation of "something else". Too bad for those who would like to see us intervene as an "anti-organisation"-group or as the critical conscience of "autonomous movement". There is also the fact that "autonomy" does not mean anything anymore when market value is itself autonomous (psalm LVIV verse 43) and therefore we can perfectly autonomous and happy to be be what we are (drug-user, militant, ecologist, radical worker, left-wing teacher, etc.) without our autonomy being mixed up with any existing struggle, not even that which we live personally.

And also we have not chosen suicide. So we kill our own lives quickly or drop by drop - and it is this absence of economy which is perhaps the last difference with the society of wage labour. We can still say, pleasure has

still some meaning inside our decomposition - even if there, as much as elsewhere, there are hierarchies and superiorities.

Why on earth do we continue to feel that certain things or certain people are more beautiful or agreeable than others?

This is the foundation of our dualism.

Knowing all this, let's put back the clock to Zero - to say that at Strasbourg we lived well, ate well, smoked and fucked (a bit less) well, but also talked together and clarified certain points. The proof, the same Italian comrades who played at being trade-unionists in the main meeting ("We must respect the agenda", "we are prolos, none of this rubbish about women and daily life").

The two texts above, like those already produced on the subject only express the personal opinions of those who wrote them. One of the pamphlets proposed at the Strasbourg meeting (on the unions) has already been made. Others should follow. The next one will be about "the refusal of work". Material on the subjects dealt with in these pamphlets would be welcome so that we can continue the discussion and elaboration of these subjects.

LETTERS, CIRCULATION, PAYMENTS (information from the group in Paris)

The post received in Paris for Echanges mostly contains requests for pamphlets, new subscriptions from western European countries and the U.S.A. etc. some letters also contain information which gets passed on either in the bulletin or in the pamphlets.

For the present only French pamphlets are regularly sold in several bookshops in Paris and more rarely in the provinces or outside France. If friends in provincial towns or in French speaking and reading countries outside France can contact and deal with their local bookshops for depositing pamphlets and checking supplies and payments (2 or 3 visits per year to a shop is enough) please write to Echanges, Paris.

For those outside France who wish to subscribe or buy other Echanges texts it is better to send banknotes or international reply coupons rather than cheques. (the charges for cashing foreign cheques on small amounts sometimes costs more than the amount of the cheque!)

BOOKSHOPS AND PUBLICATIONS

Mutualist Books, P.O. Box 1283, Rochester, New York 14603, USA. For the english booklet "Creation and its enemies: unions against revolution" by J. Zerzan (\$ 2,- articles are: Who killed Ned Ludd?; Unionisation in America; Organized labour versus the revolt against work; More on the revolt against work; Unionism and the labour front; Return of the Luddites) The first two texts have been translated into French by Echanges. They ask for discussion and criticism of these two articles. Cooperative de diffusion libertaire, (libertarian distribution co-op), 3824 St. Denis, Montreal, Canada, has just been set up to distribute material on "All that authoritarianism and conformism has never been able to assimilate". You can write to them for their basic proposition as a collective. They would welcome contacts and discussions.

A new bookshop in Amsterdam, among their stock are Black and Red publications, Solidarity (London and national), Echanges, Philadelphia Solidarity, Mutualist books, Our Generation (Canada), Radical America, Zerowork, Falling Wall review, material in Dutch and German on community action, squatting, ecology etc. and various anarchist publications. If you want some of their material or would like to place your stuff in the shop, contact Bas Moreel, Nobelweg 108, Wageningen, Netherlands. Catalogue on request.

Black and Red, P.O. Box 9546 Detroit, Michigan 48202. Apart from outlets previously mentioned their publications are also available in Holland at Amsterdam (Athenum boekhandel, Spui and Van Gennep, Nes 128), at Nijmegen (De oude mol, Van Broeckhuijzenstraat 48), at Utrecht (De Rooie Rat, Raadskeider onder het stadhuis) and in Germany in Munich (basis Buchhandlung, Adalberstrasse 41B).

Synthesis, P.O. Box 1856, San Pedro, Cal. 90733, USA; has in no. 4 (as in all previous numeros very full information on all groups in America and elsewhere and a discussion about a "possible libertarian socialist federation" led by Ed. Clark, whose article is reproduced in "The Red Menace", "a libertairan news-

paper", vol. 2, no. 1 Summer 1977 (P.O. Box 171, Postal station D, Toronto, Canada).

Lutte de Classe, available from Renée Togni, B.P. 62009, 75421 Paris Cedex 9. Number for June - July 1977 contains a new "signposts" platform. See especially "Crisis of capitalism and class confrontation" (Crise du capitalisme et affrontement de classe) and "Communism and militant action" (Communisme et action militante) which come to conclusions akin to those which have been formulated in Echanges about class struggle and organizations. The conclusion of a text on Italy (see Lutte de classe of May-June 1977) in reply to a text put out by Italian comrades (same text as written for the Strasbourg meeting by CCRAP Milan, available in French or English from Echanges) express the same positions which are radically different from those previously expressed by the GLAT (group which publishes Lutte de Classe).

Alternative Socialist Newsletter, available from Keith Paton, 29 Milford St. Bedminster, Bristol BS3 1EC, Great Britain. Contains in no. 2 a discussion on Alternative Socialism and The Implosion of Capitalism. Some addresses and materials on the same subjects also from Tranet (Transnational Network), which is for appropriate and alternative technologies, sometimes character and sources very official. (TRANET, P.O. Box 567, Rangely, Maine 04970, U.S.A.)

In Chili tanks, in Europe unions, our pamphlet of the discussions on the unions at Strasbourg plus additional material now available in English or French (as Echanges no. 11 for sale) In the English version an important typing error has totally altered the sense of the positions expressed in the introduction to the pamphlet on the inside cover page. At the beginning of the 4th paragraph it should read "... but must we go beyond ...?" (as a question and not "we must go beyond" as a statement).

Still on the unions: there is a new Zerzan article on "Unions and Multinationals" in Fifth Estate of April-May 1977, vol. 12, no. 6 (4403 Second Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48201, USA).

Germany, German comrades wish to produce a German edition of Echanges (contact Echanges Paris if interested). A pamphlet on Germany is under discussion (contact Echanges Paris).

Spartacus, no. 8.82 of June-July 1977 and available from Lefevre, 5 rue Ste Croix de la Bretonnerie, 75004 Paris has a critical article on the positions of Karl Heinz Roth on Germany as expressed in his book "The other workers movement". The French translation is still in search of a French publisher.

Fifth Estate, June 1977, vol. 12, no. 6, address above, contains under the heading "News from Germany" "The uses of Terrorism" a study of the German anti-nuclear movement and the tactics of repression.

STRUGGLES AND ANALYSES

China: in the April-May and June 1977 issues of Minus 7 (180 Lockhart Road, 7th Floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong) material on riots at Tienanmen Square on 5th April 1976 at Peking. The no. for June gives an analysis of the book "The revolution is dead. Long live the revolution" - Readings on the great proletarian cultural revolution from an ultra-left perspective. It regroups a series of articles already translated for the French newspaper Le Monde on the cultural Revolution and its follow-up. Cajo Brendel's "Thesis on the Chinese Revolution" (available from Solidarity London) is being re-printed in French with a supplement on the rise of Teng Hsiao Ping. Should be ready before the new year.

C. Reeve announces the preparation of a supplement to his French book on China "Le tigre de papier" (published by Spartacus).

An important document on Political Economy published recently in Peking by the State Planning Commission announces the opening up of China to the technology and methods of production of the West. It is virtually the condemnation of the "Chinese way" and the acceleration of a development towards an industrial capitalism as yet far from the level achieved by the capitalism of the West.

An article in the French paper Libération (7.6.77) speaks of an 21 month strike in a tractor factory in Nanchang with sequestrations, sabotage and violent confrontations during 1976.

Spain: it is impossible to quote all the texts and various material coming from Spain. We now think we can have closer, regular contact with a number of people who will be bringing more direct information. On conflicts: see Spartacus (French) numbers of April-May 1977 and June-July 1977 on different strikes. At Vittoria - "Informa Vittoria" enero Abril 1977, ed. Alternative Vittoria, on the Roca strike "Roca, organizacion obrera y desinformacion" a pamphlet in

in Spanish by Las Ediciones la Torre, Augusti Figuerola, 17 Madrid 4. From the same publishers in Spanish only "Los conflictos laborales en 1976" and "La primera Huelga de Ford Espana". On the reconstruction of the C.N.T.: direct material very edifying in what it reveals about the C.N.T. leadership from their own mouths - see La Lanterne Noire, no. 8, April 1977. Other material in Spanish in the review Syndicalismo (Plaza de los Mostenses 1, Madrid 8) and in Solidarity, vol. 8, no. 7 (Solidarity London, Latham Road 123, London E6) under the title "Beyond the trade-unions a challenge to the CNT, an english article taken from an interview with ex-CNT militant, which reveals all the manoeuvres of a bureaucratic machine. A pamphlet on Spain is in preparation. A joint project by French, Dutch and Spanish participants and contacts of Echanges.

France: because of holidays around France we have been able to get some information on the "little strikes" going on all over the place across the country mostly over wages and for work conditions. Also a letter from a friend in a "far corner" of France La Haute Soane (Central Eastern France): "... two strikes here at the moment, one at Remiremont (in the Vosges) where a branch of an Italian firm is closing down. The other is Contrexéville (mineral water producers) where for three weeks the shifts (three shifts of 6 hours) in the "plastics" (bottles) section stop work for half an hour each shift which with cleaning and maintenance of machines means two or three hours lost production. The strike is for 50% more for night work instead of 25% and inclusion of half hour meal break in calculating rates. The strike is in union's hands, including C.G.C. (the management union). The management is leaving the movement to burn itself out while giving advantages to other factories in the same trust Perier (Vichy etc.). The C.G.T. in a leaflet after discussing with the management a few concessions proposes a return to work. What is interesting is the workers tactics of the half hour strike per shift, because it means that after three weeks they have only lost one days wages, whereas the production of bottles has fallen from 3,500,000 a day to barely 100,000 (according to employers this means a loss of 550 million old francs). Another observation: the determination to fight on-which is what makes this tactic successful - in a factory in which many have never been on strike, even in May 1968."

Lip: the factory was definitely closed in June 1976, but the factory is still occupied by quite a number of workers. It fluctuates. The maximum has been 800, mostly in an atmosphere of indifference, except when a small active cell tries to put into practice forms of organization lying outside the normal run of things: - in 1976 by the attempt to create horizontal coordination between firms in struggle against closures; even when coming from union branches and led by political militants this attempt came slap up against a barrage formed by the union organization CGT and CFDT. This attempt nevertheless expressed in its way the need felt by the rank and file for other things than those provided by the union branches; -by using the factory to make money. When the final redundancy and unemployment benefits ran out, the same active core as in 1972 and 1974 took up again the idea of putting together watches. From then on a guerilla war developed between these workers and the authorities (cutting of electricity, the sabotage of a transformer etc.). Last minute solutions were found. The factory was barricaded in and the first pay packets have been delivered to those who no longer received unemployment benefits (Information in LIP Unité, 3 rue Champrond, 25000 Besancon - read with caution since the bulletin is produced by the CFDT).

The unions: ... and their function as seen by employers: "... in any case, the method of making claims adopted in several cases does not allow management to pursue any sort of negotiations with those concerned. The attitude of strike committees which are sometimes set up and which go as far as refusing to allow themselves to be represented by the duly mandated union, whose fundamental mission this is, can only lead to refusal on the management's part. Management would not know how to legally, nor would they want to question the prerogatives granted to regularly elected employee representatives and union organizations". (Circular no. 1977-28 of the Managing Directors of the "Caisse Centrale de Sécurité Sociale" - a national health insurance fund -, entitled "A propos certain social movements in our offices")

The Gillette company: at Annecy (Haute Savoy, in the French Alps region). The cigarette lighter factory of this American company wanted to make 150 of 900 workers redundant to transfer a part of their production to factories outside France. The proposition to give a 30,000 FF (about 6000 \$ or £ 3,500) cash bonus to all those who volunteered for redundancy provoked a rush to volunteer in which the local union delegates were by no means in the rear. In three days 160 workers had already left the factory in this way, to the despair of the

local CGT and CFDT headquarters, who denounced this "employers tactic" and the "dismantling of the union" and "the lack of maturity (sic) of the factory delegates". As one of the former workers put it: "You cannot do much with 3 million francs (100 old francs is one new franc), but at least you can take your time to have a good rest, a little well-being, the time to look for something better.." (2 pages in the Liberation newspaper of 12.9.77). We can compare this event with others in France and Great Britain (at Chrysler U.K. and Vauxhall U.K. for example). See also an article in Newsweek of 7.2.77 "Behind the unemployment members" by Milton Friedman, in which graphs of percentages of jobs and unemployment in the USA in relation to total population show very noticeable variations in unemployment based on the availability or not of redundancy payments and cash bonuses.

We are still preparing a text on France (those interested contact Echanges Paris). Great Britain: the book "Lutte de classe en Grande Bretagne 1947-1977" (class struggle in Great Britain) a french translation of the German book "Autonome Klassenkämpfe in England 1945-1974" by Cajo Brendel has just been printed. It contains two chapters more than the German book, referring to more recent struggles since 1974 (available from Echanges for 8 FF). An English edition may well be produced some time soon (we hope!).

An article by Solidarity London in vol. 3 no. 7 (address see above) puts the conflict at the Grunwick photographics in the London suburbs in its place and shows that this is a relatively minor conflict which has been given so much publicity by the trade union and labour party left and leftist groups alike (it is the type of conflict for union recognition in a retrograde factory, supported only by a part of the workforce not dissimilar to that of the Fernon factory at Alès in the South of France). On the other hand they seem to accord more importance to the attempts to develop alternative technology by "a few shop stewards" at Lucas Aerospace, but this appears to be too limited a movement outside of struggles to warrant any great interest.

"Disciplining the workforce" an article describing present attempts in British industry to break the resistance of English workers to the growth of productivity (copies in English from Echanges).

Italy: notes on the student struggles in Italy (from CCRAP Milan, April 1977 in Italian), in French by Spartacus magazine of June-July 1977 followed by "Le Syndrome des Indiens métropolitains" (the syndrome of the metropolitan Indians. The Centre of Communist Research for Proletarian Autonomy (CCRAP) are bringing out a new review "Collegamenti per l'organizzazione diretta di classe" (in Italian) from C.P. 1362, Firenze, Italy.

Portugal: this eye witness accounts of struggles around the agrarian reforms should be placed in the context of other texts on the subject (see for example former issues of Echanges) which have been or are to be published. A letter from a Portuguese friend contains the following: "I would like to tell you what I saw in an agricultural loop about 40 km outside Lisbon. I went with some Spanish friends. I already knew some people of the co-op (Pombal, 8 km from a village called Aveiras de Cima). To my astonishment no-one was there except two agricultural engineers. One of them was visibly nervous (there were 9 of us) and told us Pombal was not a cooperative anymore but a state enterprise. I asked about the people I had known they knew nothing about them. A youngster I had met before was there, however, and we went to see him. He told us what had happened but we could see he was very uneasy despite my presence about talking to the others. Nearly a month before the police has suddenly turned up (more than 100 according to the boy armed with bazooka's!) and told them to leave immediately or else they would be imprisoned. After some discussion they all left the farm on foot to the village. It was a very serious thing. The people in the cooperative had invested all their energies in it and saw everything lost on one fell swoop. I asked why there had been no attempt at resistance even of a pacific nature and he told me the problem had not only been the presence of the police. They would certainly have fought if that was all, but certain elements of the co-op had been dipping into the till (taking money from sales of cattle and trees for themselves). So profiting of this (apparently well founded) pretext, the government got the police to intervene and finish the co-op.

In one way or another often what happens in self managed enterprises, be they industrial or agricultural, comes down to something of this type. The employers can then point their fingers at the workers and present themselves anew saying that workers know nothing and only seek to profit from the occasion to line their pockets. For some time complete disarray has invaded the minds and hearts of work-

ers who had invested their hopes in self management. The limits of this movement were in fact enormous. What people wanted when they demanded socialism was simply a better form of capitalism - better wages, health insurance etc. Reduced to the narrow framework of their factory or farm they tried to make them "better and more prosperous" and they found themselves rapidly encircled by an economy that they could not manage to question seriously.

To get back to the Pombal co-op: for those who participated in this experience there had, nevertheless, been a change in their lives. At the beginning of 1975, they began to occupy large properties which they more or less knew well already (some of them had worked in these domains as wage-earners, like their parents before them). Of course they worked hard, but above all they began to try to establish among themselves and with the outside new other types of relationships to those with which they had been accustomed. In this way quite a number of young outsiders and foreigners, boys and girls, came and worked with them and together they discussed the meaning of all this; often there were young radicals (e.g. in the case of the Germans). For the agricultural workers it was a new world and they heard for the first time that in other countries there were movements of people like those they saw, internationalists.

The poverty of the economy showed itself however to be stronger than all this for them. They could not get rid of the idea of the model enterprise in terms of production. Money problems appeared fairly early on. Rationalisation was then demanded by a consensus of opinion. Some were elected to keep fairly strict accounts and to become permanent administrators. Soon these people with others given a similar status in the other co-ops in the region formed a little fraction apart. The problem was not really here, though the problem was in the fact that the others, those working in production, who were by no means duped by this separation, just let it happen. They complained against those who did not work in the fields, but only among themselves, not clearly in the periodic mass meetings of the co-op. I think a certain frustration began to grow upon them from the moment they saw that the better life they had dreamed of was only a dream. This frustration was surely the worst thing. Their participation in the resolution of the problems of each and everyone was cut short. At the beginning they all said: "We occupied the land to get rid of the bosses, here we are all equal, we work for the good of all". I think they were sincere when they said it was not just the atmosphere of the moment, a temporary drunkenness. But their initial energy in the direction of change was apparently wasted. Already for a year things had not been working well: sometimes they had not even managed to get paid. So when, finally it appears, someone (some people) had been dipping into common funds, the last straw produced the final point of frustration.

I talked with several people on the route back to the village - local agricultural workers - and all said that the co-op had "fucked everything up". In any case now in the region all that the people are going to know is that some "revolutionaries" have shut up.

Russia: "Taylor in Russland" (German text from Autonomie, Materialien gegen die Fabrikgesellschaft, nr. 10/75, copy from Echanges). We are looking for someone to translate it into French and/or English.

"Taylor chez Ubu ou le desorganisation scientifique du travail" (Taylor at the court of Ubu or the scientific disorganization of work, article in Lutte de classe no. of June 1977), starts from an analysis of the book by Hungarian Miklos Haratszi "Salaires aux piéces, ouvrier dans un pays de l'Est (Piece wages, worker in an Eastern block country) published in France by Seuil in 1976 which describes exploitation in a hungarian factory. The article stresses "the deep differences in the organization of production and social life, which have considerable consequences for the possibilities for the realization of capital as well as for consequent forms of class struggle". It concludes that the generalization in Eastern block countries of methods used in Western european countries to increase production is impossible as is an identical "modern" development. This is one of the causes, says the article, of the crisis of state capitalism (compare this analysis with that of developments upon state capitalist economies in "Capitalism et lutte de classe en Pologne" (from Spartacus, in English Capitalism and class struggle in Poland, Black and Red, but most of the analytical chapters have been excluded from this translation) and "Le 25 avril en Pologne" (available from Echanges). It seems that the responses to the problem correctly posed in the Lutte de classe article must be more nuanced with reference to the penetration of western techniques (in the form of factories directly built by the west) and

consequent transformations in techniques of domination, the appearance of new technocratic ruling strata and the changes in relations of political and social domination (at the cost of conflicts inside these strata and certainly of an intense class struggle).

U.S.A.: 13th July at 9.30 p.m. an electric power failure occurred in the whole of New York for 24 hours. As soon as it became dark exuberant shouts, noise and music announced the liberation of whole sectors of the city. Articles describing this and consequent looting in Time, Newsweek, Wall Street Journal, New York Times and in Fifth Estate the radical newspaper. The August 1977 issue devotes a lot of space to this "happening".

We would like please information on iron mines and coal mines following one line news reports in european papers on yet amore strikes by American miners this summer.