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North American ANARCHIST

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The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

BART workers' occupy plant

Under New Management!



BART workers take time out to inform the media that the Concord repair facility is "Under New Management." The five-day occupation is believed to be the first in the history of the San Francisco labour movement.

by: Frank Stevens

(San Francisco) — 52 mechanics for the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system took over the suburban Concord repair facility from 12:01 am Monday, July 30th, to 2:30pm, Friday, August 3rd. It was believed to be the first labour sit-in in the history of the San Francisco area labour movement.

The occupation was provoked by an attempt by BART management to transfer all of the mechanics at the Concord facility to two other facilities and operate the Concord yard with management personnel. The occupation ended when a local court ordered BART management to drop their transfer plan.

But there is much more significance to this development than may at first be apparent. The first thing that must be remembered is that BART is a highly automated and computerized rail system with a swollen management and supervisory payroll; it was intended to be a strike-proof system that could operate for several months without rank-and-file employees.

The second consideration is that BART employees had a full cost-of-living increase in their old contract (which expired July 1st). BART management has refused to retain this clause in all of their current contract offers. Management believes that a strike by BART workers will lose.

Thus BART workers have been reluctant to strike up to now. Instead, there have been sporadic slow-downs and sick-outs. These tactics have reduced the average number of cars in daily service from about 360 to around 200. It was the effectiveness of these tactics that inspired management with the idea of a foremen-only repair yard which, in turn, led directly to the occupation.

The spirit of the occupation was excellent. The mechanics continued to work on cars until BART management cut off the power to the huge shed. Then, the mechanics converted the car batteries to supply light to the occupiers. Daytime temperatures in the shed exceeded 100 degrees f., but no one wilted.

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STATE DOES FLIP-FLOP: 12 banned from U.S. get appeal hearing

by: Lazarus Jones

In a surprise move the US Department of Justice has ruled that the granting of a hearing to twelve anarchists, excluded from the US last April, will not lead to the downfall of the United States. The Regional Commissioner (Northern Region) has "determined that it would not be prejudicial to the public interest, safety or security of the United States if the applicant's request for a hearing before an Immigration Judge is granted."

The twelve anarchists had attempted to enter the US on April 13, 1979, to attend a conference of the Anarchist-Communist Federation (ACF) at Ypsilanti, Michigan. They were stopped and held at the border for six hours during which time they were intensively interrogated, fingerprinted and summarily excluded from the country.

Four days previous to this incident the house of an ACF sympathizer in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, had been raided by the RCMP and many documents pertaining to the upcoming conference were seized. It is thus assumed that the border guards were alerted to be on the look-out for the anarchists.

The anarchists were informed, by registered mail, that a hearing had been scheduled for May 7, 1979. They felt that they could not prepare an adequate defense on such short notice and through the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) they agitated for a delay. The ACLU made informal overtures to

the US Justice Department for a delay and they, at first, seemed agreeable. Then in a sudden about-face they reneged on the deal and declared that the original hearing date would not be delayed.

As a result the anarchists did not attend the hearing and they were informed by the Justice Department that only written submissions would now be accepted. The anarchists protested and through the ACLU they demanded that their right to a hearing be restored. These demands have apparently borne fruit as the files on the twelve anarchists have been returned to Detroit and they have been informed that hearings will be scheduled at their convenience. The twelve anarchists plan to request that their hearings be held in late October.

The basis of the anarchists' defense in the case will be that there is no "meaningful association" between anarchism as it is defined in the Immigration Act and anarchism as it is practiced by members of the Anarchist-Communist Federation.

In the final analysis the anarchists have little chance of "winning" their case. The hearing will be an administrative one before an Immigration Court judge who will decide the case, not on its merits, but on the question of whether the twelve are "self-confessed anarchists" or not. The only effective defense would be to deny that one was an anarchist, a course that none of the twelve anarchists will consider.

The main goal of the ACF in this case will be to expose the hypocrisy of the state in its dealings with political dissidents. To this end we intend to raise the biggest stink we can. Only a mass campaign by the entire Left has a chance of embarrassing the state into concessions.

Accordingly the ACF has created the Free Passage Defense Committee to fight for the right of free passage across national borders for all anarchists and communists. The committee publishes a regular bulletin entitled Free Passage and is actively involved in fund-raising to help defray the costs involved in contesting the case.

The committee's immediate goal is to publicize and defend the twelve anarchists who have been excluded from the US. The committee will continue to function, however, after the case is resolved and until all repressive laws concerning the harassment of political dissidents are done away with. If you would like to aid the committee in this project, or if you would like to receive the Free Passage bulletin, please write to us at:

Free Passage Defense Committee
POB 2, Station O,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
M4B-2B0



The North American Anarchist is published by the Anarchist-Communist Federation of North America (ACF-NA). The ACF was formed in March of 1978 by a number of anarchist groups who had become convinced of the impotence of the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF). In the year that followed the ACF became a strong, cohesive organization and in April of 1979 the decision to begin publishing a newspaper was made.

Historically small political groups have begun their attempts to reach larger numbers of people by publishing newspapers. The North American Anarchist will allow us to reach people over and over again with our political ideas and insights. The process of debate and ideological struggle that is an inherent part of putting out a political newspaper will help sharpen our ideas and our ability to analyze political situations. This process is especially important for us as anarchists because we see political development as being *open-ended*. We do not look forward to the imaginary day when we will have achieved the "Truth", or the "last Word." For us freedom really is "a constant struggle", and a newspaper will be one of the crucial elements in that struggle.

We hope people will be motivated to take part in this process, that the paper will serve as a "magnet" to attract individuals and groups to the ACF to join in the collective struggle for freedom and human dignity. To this end we have tried to structure the paper so that it will be of interest not only to the committed anarchist but also to the ordinary worker of whatever level of political sophistication. The only concession we had to make to attempt this goal was the decision to try and avoid all

We live in a world in which the vast majority of people are manipulated and exploited for the benefit of a privileged few. The main goal of the members of these ruling classes is to increase their personal power and wealth by any means necessary. They try to blur the distinctions between rich and poor by the use of the myth that wealth is available to all. They promote conflicts within the labouring classes based on racial, sexual, age and other differences. They promote conflicts between working people of different countries based on national chauvinism. Further, the ruling classes exploit natural resources to the point of risking ecological disaster. We have been brought to the brink of nuclear war and racial suicide as the privileged few in various parts of the world vie for control of markets and resources.

The tools of these elites are government (political machinery of control), capitalism (socio-economic machinery of control) and patriarchy (socio-sexual machinery of control). Until all three of these horrors are eliminated, there can be no solution to the problems they create.

The members of the authoritarian Left, the heirs of the Bolsheviks, claim to oppose these ruling classes. In fact, their efforts,

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For Starters



specialized political terminology. Now to attempt something is not necessarily to achieve it. All of us have grown up in a period in which the Left, except for very brief periods, has been very tiny. This situation has promoted a generalized in-group mentality and, even more damaging, this has led to the development of a kind of political shorthand that the great majority of working people find either incomprehensible, profoundly boring, or both.

Of course, this has to change. We know that an anarchist-communist revolution will necessitate the activity

of tens of millions of working people in the US and Canada. We know that if they are not equipped with anarchist-communist ideas, if they do not know what they are doing, they will lose! We know there is no way a tiny handful of experts can substitute for wide-spread class consciousness. It is therefore obvious that unless we act to spread anarchist-communist ideas among these tens of millions of working people, we simply may as well give up. This task demands that we make our ideas and philosophy clear. We shall have to learn to write in the same way people talk to each other. It will take time to do this, but

there is no question that it can and must be done.

The North American Anarchist is jointly produced by the Totally Eclipsed and Toronto ACF groups. The individuals involved had had little experience in putting out an off-set newspaper and we are indebted to many people for their help and encouragement. In particular we would like to thank the fine folks at the Toronto Clarion who did our typesetting and contributed greatly to making The North American Anarchist a reality. We would also like to thank The Open Road who provided us with copies of their North American mailing list.

The paper was financed by pledges from each of the ACF's ten affiliates. We operate on a shoe-string budget but The North American Anarchist is assured of at least a bi-monthly publishing schedule. We would like to move to a monthly schedule as soon as possible and that is where you, our readers, come in. This issue has been mailed to you either because you were on The Open Road's mailing list or because you were on an ACF affiliate's mailing list. If you like this publication and think it worthy of support we hope you will take out a subscription. Our rates are \$5 for one year (six issues). The North American Anarchist will be sent free to prisoners on request. In any case we would appreciate your comments, thoughts and suggestions for improvement.

We need people to distribute and promote the paper. We need your help, support and encouragement. We need your feedback. Write to us at:

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ACF DECLARATION

even when well intentioned, serve only to perpetuate hierarchical alienation. With their manipulative practice of "leading" the masses the Leninists reinforce the dominant authoritarian system. The "revolution" they seek would merely replace one set of exploiters with another as has happened in Russia, China and wherever else the Leninists have managed to expropriate the revolution.

The members of the Anarchist Communist Federation seek to foster the growth of a new society in which the freedom to develop as one sees fit is integrated to the fullest extent possible with social responsibility towards others.

Anarchism literally means "without government." We are Anarchists because we find government to be a barrier to the satisfaction of the widely varied needs of individuals living in society. We are not opposed to order. Rather we seek the order of a society in which individuals determine their own needs and arrange to satisfy those needs through cooperative efforts with others. What we do oppose is the chaos created by governments in the name of order.

We are communists because we advocate the equal access to the resources, goods and services which rightfully belong to all of human society. We advocate a system of

voluntary cooperation which has nothing in common with the authoritarian control of workers existing in those nation-states which call themselves communist today.

We are feminists because we recognize that no social revolution can succeed without the simultaneous dismantling of all hierarchical social relationships. Capitalism, in both its private and "soviet" manifestations, the state and patriarchy are inextricably entwined. They nourish and sustain each other. Revolutionaries who ignore these relationships do so at their peril.

We have formed a federation because it is the organizational structure which best promotes the free coordination of activities among self-governing groups.

We are resolved to establish the widest possible scope for political freedom through the elimination of the nation-state.

We are resolved to create a just economic order by replacing capitalism, and its hideous twin "state-socialism", with a system in which all people have equal access to social wealth.

We are resolved to build a new society in which men and women will be free to live their lives as autonomous individuals free from the crippling effects of patriarchal culture.

We urge all who share these resolves to join us.

RESURGENCE

POB 2824, Station A,
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United States

ROCHESTER BLACK ROSE

POB 1283,
Rochester, NY-14603,
United States

BREAD AND ROSES

55 Sutter St., No. 95,
San Francisco, CA-94102,
United States

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS GROUP

POB 692, Old Chelsea Station,
New York, NY-10011
United States
Pamphlet Co-ordinating Group

NAMELESS ANARCHIST GROUP

42 South Summit St.,
Ypsilanti, MI-48197,
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Internal Bulletin Group

RASCAL

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POB 92246,
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Frisco Gays Rise Up Angry

by: Tom and Jeff

Last November's assassination of liberal San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and openly gay Supervisor Harvey Milk, resulted in increased police harassment of gays, a rising level of street attacks on gays, and the present hostile, anti-gay city administration with a conservative mayor at the helm.

The trial of Dan White, the right-wing ex-cop and ex-Supervisor who assassinated Milk and Moscone and the jury's decision signalled open season to the gays here in the Bay city. White found guilty of manslaughter instead of murder, received a maximum sentence of 7 years and 8 months. On May 21st, the day of the jury's decision, the new spread throughout the gay community and the city. The reaction was one of bitter anger. It was widely anticipated the verdict would be a "whitewash". The all white, non-gay jury readily identified with the defense portrayal of White as a hardworking, religious family man incapable of murder. The White decision was regarded by the gay community as official sanction for all the forms of violence historically thrown their way. Many other minority and poor people recognized the rage expressed that night by gays and also joined in.

Soon after the verdict was announced, a gay-lesbian contingent marched from Castro Street to City Hall. Others from throughout the city began arriving at City Hall as news of the verdict and demonstration spread. It was evident that the mood of this crowd was very angry; they were not there to be manipulated by self-appointed leaders of the gay community or liberal politicians.

Angry demonstrators started smashing glass doors in the front of City Hall. Simultaneously several "leaders of the gay community" (including a gay priest) tried to address the crowd. None of them were successful as the crowd angrily shouted them down with "He got away with murder!" and "No more bullshit!"

For a time the people vacillated between attacking City Hall and the restraint being urged by a vocal "non-violent" contingent. A group linked arms trying to separate the angry crowd from the entrance of the building. Shortly afterwards, this gay group protecting the entrance way was clubbed away by the cops.

Within minutes the crowd was wholly engaged in trashing City Hall. Bushes were set afire, bottles and rocks thrown through the windows, uprooted parking meters used to ram the doors, and the first squadron of police attempted to force the people away. Instead of fleeing, the crowd faced the cops and forced the cops into a quick, chaotic retreat.

For a brief interlude, the crowd relished their victory, screaming, laughing, and jumping around. The first police car was torched and quickly engulfed in flames. The cops' attempt to clear the way for fire engines was stymied by a solid wall of people. A long line of a dozen or so police cars left unattended were quickly torched in succession. Smoke, teargas, and fire provided a dramatic backdrop to the wailing sirens of the burning police cars.

By now, a "civil defense alert" had been declared and police reinforcements had assembled. The plaza area in front of City Hall was a battlezone, with rock and bottle forays by demonstrators and clubbings by cops. The police finally managed (with reinforcements from outside the city) to drive a wedge into the demonstrators, dispersing the crowd out of the plaza area into many small groups. A large group was driven to Market Street where they smashed bank windows, attacked financial buildings, and set bonfires in the streets. To a great degree, the property trashing was targeted against banks, finance, police and City Hall, although some small businesses did get trashed.

After being driven out of the City Hall area, many people went to the gay Castro Street area in the early



Torched cop-cars light up the night as gays take to the streets to protest Milk/Moscone "White-wash."

morning hours. Castro was peaceful with crowds milling on the streets like most nights there. Soon police cars started to cruise down Castro in a deliberate attempt to provoke the community. Each car was pelted with bottles and stones by the angry crowd who wanted the cops out of their community.

The cops used this opportunity to bring in several squadrons of police into the heart of the Castro. People on Castro screamed and yelled at the occupying police force "Dan White was a cop!" and "Out of our community!" Police officials were no longer able to control their rank-and-file who were screaming "faggots", "cocksuckers" and "sick queers" at the Castro gays.

The cops began to indiscriminately attack people. At one point a group of police in full riot gear suddenly broke ranks and brutally attacked a gay bar, smashing the windows and furniture and clubbing patrons while

shouting "banzai!" and "Sieg Heil!". Several people were seriously injured in the attack, which ironically occurred in a very bourgeois gay bar: a place frequented by patrons who probably deplored the actions of gay militants at City Hall that evening. The clubbings, attacks and confrontations continued a while longer before police superiors regained control over their cops and pulled back out of the Castro.

The night of May 21st left 26 persons arrested, around 150 injured (including 60 cops), and 13 police cars burned. A total of a million dollars property damage had occurred, almost all being that of capital (banks) or authority (City Hall, police property, etc.).

What does it all mean? The events of May 21st represent a rebirth of the "Stonewall" spirit not just in San Francisco but throughout the continent. At a New York meeting of the National Gay Rights Task

Force, a speaker deploring the violence in San Francisco was soundly booed and jeered for his remarks.

The rebellion represents a sharpening of politics as well as increased polarization within the gay community. Increased radicalization is one effect, for instance, for many of those indiscriminately attacked by cops on the street and for those in the bar that was so violently attacked. Graffiti

abounds in the city, such as "If Dan White was black, latino, or gay, to the gas chamber he'd be on his way". Whereas politicization has occurred, so has a widening of the schism between liberal-conservatives and radical gays. Traditional "leadership" in the gay community deplores the riot as a setback to the community and as bad for the "gay image". Contrary to this, radical gays and sympathizers have responded by

Cont.: See No Apologies Pg. 7

BART: Cont. from Pg. 1

BART management attempted to cut off food to the workers but without much success. Not only was food tossed to the roof of the building by numerous supporters, but a helicopter was chartered to drop 200 pounds of supplies to the workers (a BART management protest to the Federal Aviation Administration was rejected).

To some workers, the occupation was at times "scary". "You never really knew that they might not come in here shooting!", said one mechanic. But solidarity was definitely predominant: "we really got to know each other and count on each other" said one of the four women occupiers. Another mechanic added, "I never believed I would ever be involved in something like this."

The workers did not, of course, win a clear-cut victory. While they will not be suspended, BART management is threatening prosecutions and other forms of bureaucratic harassment. Because BART is a public agency, any self-directed activity by the workers becomes immediately entangled in a legal web of delay, court orders, and similar bullshit. There is still no contract.

Likewise the reactions of working people in this area remain mixed. BART is a sprawling system that serves millionaire suburban executives along with \$8,000-a-year secretaries and the even lower-wage workers in the city's tourist trade. When the city's newspapers repeatedly mention BART workers'



BART workers' supporters re-supply the occupation force. BART police unsuccessfully tried to stop the "food-chain."

wages (in the \$12,000 to \$24,000 range), people resent the inconvenience that they perceive is caused by BART workers' "greed". What is never mentioned, of course, is that "privileged" workers did not receive their high wages and benefits as a result of the bosses' generosity but as a result of bitter, hard, and often dangerous struggles with the employers. The real lesson of the BART occupation is: go ye and do likewise!

And for those of us who look forward to the end of class society, the occupation is another faint glimpse into the future. The sign that the BART mechanics placed on the Concord yard shall apply to our entire planet: UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT!



Late Bulletin BART system shut-down

The ongoing dispute between BART workers and management took a dramatic turn on August 31st when BART management shut the system down.

After the occupation of the Concord repair facility there was much worker discontent which manifested itself in slow-downs and sick-offs. As the BART system is a high technology "state-of-the-art" operation in need of constant maintenance, it soon began to deteriorate. Management responded by demanding that the mechanics work four hours compulsory overtime per day. As the mechanics still have no contract they refused to work the overtime and as a result 340 of them were laid-off or suspended.

As might have been expected this resulted in an even greater deterioration of the BART system. With less than one quarter of its cars serviceable the BART system ground to a halt and management made the decision to close down completely citing "incredible sabotage" as one of its reasons.

The union claims that the sabotage was done by pro-management workers to make the union look bad and is condemning the shut-down as a lock-out. Management calls the shut-down "a de facto strike" and seems in no hurry to resolve the dispute.

While the mass media could not ignore the recent Tenth Anniversary of the Woodstock Music Festival nor the opportunity it afforded them of emphatically stating once more that the Sixties are well and truly dead, the Tenth anniversary of Park received no such publicity. Peoples Park was a small piece of land in Berkeley, California, which in 1969 was about to be turned into a parking lot. Many people in Berkeley, es-

pecially young people, decided that the community would be a lot better served by locating a park there. A bitter struggle took place. Police violence in protection of private property led to an escalation of the conflict. One person was killed but victory was achieved and the people got their park. Below is the original Position Paper of the Park's People. Bring back the Eighties!

WHO OWNS THE PARK?



Someday a petty official will appear with a piece of paper, called a land title, which states that the University of California owns the land of the People's Park. Where did that piece of paper come from? What is it worth?

A long time ago the Costanoan Indians lived in the area now called Berkeley. They had no concept of land ownership. They believed that the land was under the care and guardianship of the people who used it and lived on it.

Catholic missionaries took the land away from the Indians. No agreements were made. No papers were signed. They ripped it off in the name of God.

The Mexican Government took the land away from the Church. The Mexican Government had guns and an army. God's word was not as strong.

The Mexican Government wanted to pretend that it was not the army that guaranteed them the land. They drew up some papers which said they legally owned it. No Indians signed those papers.

The Americans were not fooled by the papers. They had a stronger army than the Mexicans. They beat them in a war and took the land. Then they wrote some papers of their own and forced the Mexicans to sign them.

The American Government sold the land to some white settlers. The Government gave the settlers a piece of paper called a land title in exchange for some money. All this time there were still some Indians around who claimed the land. The American army killed most of them.

The piece of paper saying who owned the land was passed around among rich white men. Sometimes the white men were interested in taking care of the land. Usually they were just interested in making money. Finally some very rich men, who run the University of California, bought the land.

Immediately these men destroyed the houses that had been built on the land. The land went the way of so much other land in America—it became a parking lot.

We are building a park on the land. We will take care of it and guard it, in the spirit of the Costanoan Indians. When the University comes with its land title we will tell them: "Your land title is covered with blood. We won't touch it. Your people ripped off the land from the Indians a long time ago. If you want it back now, you will have to fight for it again."

ORIGINAL POSITION PAPER OF THE PARK'S 'PEOPLE' BY F. BARDACKE

by: Fred Lake

By the price of fear I mean the practical everyday price that in dollars and cents is a burden on most of the population. What I'm talking about is the tax exemption of the churches.

In your community how much land and how many buildings are tax exempt and what is the cost the taxpayers must pay even though they do not go to church? Every taxpayer subsidizes the church, whether they want to or not, and not much gets into the bourgeois press about the wealth and property of the church but most get free advertising on Saturday.

A few years ago the problem surfaced in some areas of the United States and made national headlines. In some counties in Pennsylvania the churches held so much property that the taxpayers

The Price of Fear

revolted and started churches themselves to get away from the excessive property tax. In some areas the percentage of property the churches owned was nearly fifty percent — tax exempt! In California a tax revolt was initiated that is spreading across the country but at no time did I ever hear the proponents of the revolt mention the tax exemption of the churches.

Most socialists will attack the political or corporate sectors, but attacking the churches is taboo. Are they too powerful? The only organized group I know of that does attack the church is the American Atheists who publish the

American Atheist edited by Madlyn O'Hair in Austin Texas, and I must say she gets a great deal of flack from the social parasites.

I perceive the social structure to be made of three parts: 1. The Corporate 2. Political 3. Religious. With the tax exemptions of the churches their wealth and influence in the corporate and political sections of the social structure is rising rapidly. Church investments in the corporate sector is putting many social parasites on the boards of directors of many large corporations. I can force the religious sector owning the corporate and controlling the political sector

Anarcho-Technology

THE MICROCOMPUTER REVOLUTION

In the last decade the use of so called 'microcomputers' has increased dramatically. For better or worse it appears that these devices, like television, are here to stay. These machines have all the information processing capabilities of their larger counterparts; the difference is that they are much smaller and cheaper. Prices vary from \$1500 to \$20,000. So far the major purchasers have been small businesses who use them for inventory and invoicing jobs. Prices have been falling and they are expected to continue to do so. It appears as though we can expect an explosion of availability similar to that experienced in the electronic calculator market. Already there is a thriving hobby market, complete with local clubs, several magazines and computer stores in many cities. In common with all freely organized activity, many new and innovative applications have come from this sector.

The question that anarchists must answer is — are these machines tools of domination or will they help usher in a new age of the administration of things rather than of people? It would appear that as with most tools, it depends on how they are used. The nature of the work that these machines do tends to be boring, repetitive paperwork, so basically they release people for less alienating activity. On the other hand any information processing system, whether a card file or an IBM 360/50 can be used in an oppressive manner. An ad in a recent issue of *Interface Age* advertised a software package that would provide landlords with instant information on their tenants' financial status.

The possibilities are limitless, however, for less oppressive applications. Production collectives with access to a microcomputer linked by phone lines to other communes could help to eliminate waste. The computer need only determine the regional demand for some commodity to determine the necessary production run exactly. If it finds a demand for 527 widgets then that is the number that the widget collective would produce. Products could be shipped directly to the consumer, eliminating the entire retail chain. Waste could also be reduced in another way. Current industrial practices involve surplus production, valuable materials are spoiled or discarded as scrap, worn out objects are thrown out. A unified computer system could change all this. What to a boiler maker is a useless steel plate is a valuable raw material to a bracket manufacturer. A discarded electricity meter contains dozens of small wheels which might be just right for making clocks. So, by operating a continuously updated network of terminals, every physical resource could be used to the utmost extent.



PHOTO 1 For the non-technical, the world of microcomputers can be mysterious and forbidding—but not unconquerable.

which is rapidly becoming a reality now. Big Brother will be wearing a clerical collar, spouting ancient gibberish to boggle childish mentalities in order to enslave the workers even more. Any social revolution must destroy the influences and power of the social parasites, the priesthood, in all forms from the Vatican to the Moonies.

In the last few years the religions have been using the mass media to influence the ignorant through the P.T.L. Club, 700 Club, 100 Huntley St. and many other local programs in the U.S. and Canada. All proceeds from the programs are tax exempt. The goal is to finance a national religious television syndicate to compete with NBC, CBS and ABC as well as the Canadian networks. Can you imagine Jesus Freaks on your TV 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, selling God?

A theocracy is the worst kind of

dictatorship. History has proved over and over again that the clerics have been the most powerful and have survived all revolutions. Religion, in most cases, is the first indoctrination of children. Religion has caused more misery in history than disease and still does. It is unfortunate that the social philosophers of the 19th century did not put more emphasis on destroying the most powerful of the controlling social structures, the concept of God. Bakunin understood the threat of the clerics and where his influence was strongest the church was destroyed as is reported in *The Anarchist Collectives 1936-39* edited by Sam Dolgoff. The fight in North America against the social parasites is going to be long and bitter and we must start now. The first step is to tax the churches and their wealth, the second is to destroy them. On with the revolution!

Anarchist Feminist Notes

Discrimination at Stelco plants

In Alberta, two women have filed complaints with the Human Rights Commission alleging that they were discriminated against by not being hired for production jobs at Stelco's Edmonton plant because they were women. A campaign has been mounted by a number of trade unionists in Alberta to have the company hire the women.

At Stelco's largest plant in Hamilton there are less than 50 females among the more than 12,000 production workers. All are employed in the tin mill as inspectors and sorters. Cec Taylor, president of Local 1005 of the United Steelworkers of America has criticized Stelco for not taking a more enlightened approach to employing female production workers. He urged women applicants to complain to the union about the company's discriminatory hiring practices.

Dr. Jim Charters, the medical director of Stelco, when asked if women were capable of doing physical production work said that in terms of capability there were obviously no great differences between men and women. This issue of women in blue-collar jobs is really a matter of traditional and cultural attitudes however, and not medical questions, he said.

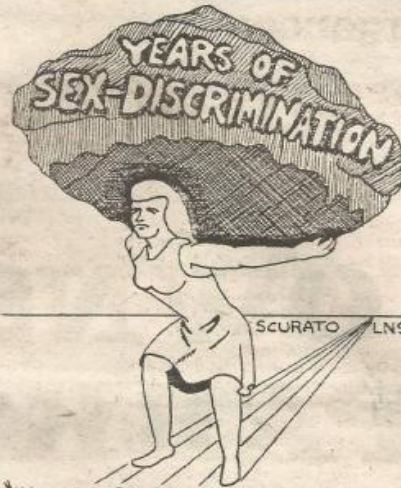
Dr. Jim is mistaken when he implies that all it takes is a change in attitudes for women to achieve economic equality with men. All the people involved in fighting Stelco's discrimination policies have the "right attitude" but as yet they haven't won. "Attitudes" do not spring out of nowhere. They are generated in a society by a process that links the society's mode of production to that society's ideology. Therefore the attitudes or views of a society, or more specifically the people living in that society, can not be changed without first changing the dominant aspect of the society, its mode of production and reproduction.

A more complete analysis of women's role in the workforce is given by Patricia Connelly in her book *Last Hired, First Fired*. In the book she attributes women's inability to join predominantly male job fields not to "old fashioned ideas" but instead she proposes that in this capitalistic society, women form an army of reserve labour. She shows historically how women's relationship to wage work has changed to meet the changing needs of capitalist economics. A recent example is the role women played in the factories during the Second World War. "Old fashioned ideas", although they might have existed, didn't prevent women from labouring in a factory.

Women are shepherded into all-female professions which generally pay less than all-male professions performing similar tasks, or they are paid less than their male counterparts in the same workplace. This is often explained by statements which indicate that women aren't as productive as men, due mainly to the fact that they have children, so they don't stay in the labour force that long. It can be shown however that the nature of women's wage work is such that they have in total less years in the labour force than men. They are the last to be hired for most types of labour, and, when an economic crunch is on they are the first to be let go.

Women's role in domestic labour is not compatible with their role in the workplace. The work of women at home is believed to stem from love and satisfaction "from sacrifice", whereas women work outside the home as an economic necessity. They have to be competitive and aggressive in order to survive the industrial world. There is now a question arising as to how these contradictions between work in the home and wage work undermine the fundamental-ideology of the capitalist system.

Bruce Lovatt, the president of Toronto's Male Chauvinist Pig Club said that discrimination against women and the sexual harassment of women at work is part of the "good, old free enterprise system". He's right!



"IN ANY GIVEN SOCIETY THE DEGREE OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION IS THE NATURAL MEASURE OF THE GENERAL EMANCIPATION."

— FOURIER

by: Maria Scipione

As Anarcha-Feminists we see the destruction of Patriarchy as being essential to our liberation. We also see all other forms of oppression as our enemies. For without total liberation we will just be doomed to the same types of oppressive realities with new faces in the dominant roles. This is clearly illustrated in present day Socialist/Communist societies, where women had to wait till after the revolution to be free — they are still waiting.

Anarchism advocates total freedom without limitation. This does not mean a society of chaos and disorder but a world where every individual has total responsibility for their actions.

Violence against women is the logical result of patriarchal attitudes. Capitalism reinforces these practices by making violence a very profitable business, such as in pornography and advertising. Though, patriarchy and capitalism have evolved differently they are so combined and intertwined at this time that we can't really talk about one without talking about the other. Both these forms of domination use the state as a strong-armed thug.

Patriarchy is the system of male supremacy, the obvious implication that women are inferior — genetically, emotionally, mentally, and physically. Messages of inferiority penetrate our lives in many ways from almost every aspect of our environment. As we internalize this concept, we sometimes justify the violence against us "She/I deserved it."

Since patriarchy is an ideology which in and of itself has no power, it must thrive on institutions and customs. Violence against women has become institutionalized and customary. Rape is the most common violent crime. A constant fear in our lives that keeps us from going, doing, wearing, and saying what we please. This terrorism keeps us "in our place". The ground work for this situation is preplanned and thoroughly executed.

First young men are taught to be rapists. By this I do not mean the wild man in the bushes but the seducer, the "I-know-what's-best-for-you" personality, men who would never consider themselves rapists but just acting on their "natural" rights as men.

They view women as possessions — things for the taking. They learn that it's normal for men to lose control of themselves or at least use that as an excuse. They incorporate the gross idea of "that's what women really want." They learn to perceive their genitals as weapons of conquest.

Young women are taught to be victims. To always be nice. The messages taught the boys are also taught the girls and because every thing is male-identified we incorporate their viewpoint. To further our readiness for half-lives we lose trust in ourselves as women, that we are dumber, weaker, sillier, etc. There is no stress put on our learning self-defense. There is stress on making us pretty things to please men. Wearing clothes that we can't move in, shoes that we can't run in, but the worst is believing we are powerless and can't fight back.

We learn from all the institutions — state, church, job, family, school and media. These institutions reflect and reinforce patriarchy's need for violence against women. But through this process violence against women has become necessary in furthering the existence of these institutions.

Because of this harsh reality we question the amount of work the police or state agencies can do in putting an end to male tyranny. If either go too far they will lose their funding or jobs and then there will be nothing. The after-the-fact services are needed for survival but we must move to get past the necessary obsession with survival and begin working on liberation. Since the state keeps tight reins on funded reforms no real autonomy can be had by groups who want to really change the balance of power — as I'm sure those who try to work through these agencies know. We see these agencies, as necessary short-term services but if our long term goal is to end violence against women we must attack the rest of the problem — patriarchy and capitalism! We are the only ones who can do this, for no social institutions have women's interests in mind.

The eternal question — How?

DIRECT ACTION — a tool used by feminists and historically advocated by anarchists. The basis being that of direct confrontation and individual and collective use of

power without it being delegated.

We cannot depend on the state to protect us. In thinking that it does, or even could, we blind ourselves to reality. Police are either brutal, as with prostitutes and runaways, or have total respect for male property rights, like when called for a domestic argument or assault. All of this is our problem. As long as we see the illusion of justice in the state we will perpetuate our own oppression. The state and all other institutions depend on the domination of women. Their remedy is prison which only reinforces all aspects of woman-hating. When there is no honest attempt to change society, it is the acceptance of the old order. We live in a world where there is no neutral ground.

Willie Tyson, a feminist singer, sings in her song *Merciful Mary* — "To seek justice from those who have put me here has been my most foolish mistake." The song is about a rape victim, but she is referring to the rape of her soul, the judge throws the case out because there is no physical evidence and she is sent for psychiatric help.

We do need to protect ourselves and since we are the only ones we can depend on — the task is awesome. The right of all women to self-defense should become a collective responsibility. When I say self-defense I am referring to the physical ability to fight back, but with this alone we do not change our status as targets. We must emotionally and mentally be prepared — the first step to this is rejecting our male-identification, realizing that all women are victims of specific violations because we are women and for no other reason. From the anger and pain that comes with this realization we must redefine ourselves individually and collectively. The redefining process is long and hard and we all do it everyday — but from this comes our strategies for survival and our dreams for the future.

We must take the offensive and not wait for something to happen. We must use prevention in every way possible. Preparing ourselves physically, mentally and politically; and doing our best to make sure as many girls, young and old women learn this too. It is crucial for us to break down the isolation between women and people in general, on blocks, in neighbourhoods, at work, in schools, and families. To talk and set up systems of alarm and action — what to do when you hear a whistle, a scream, or too much silence. To let it be known that we as women are aware of what is happening to us and we say *No More!* Confronting rapists or men who assault and harass women, letting everyone know who they are. We must be prepared — not to take it — but to fight and change it.

Men who are struggling to break sex roles personally and politically can exchange mutual aid in our struggle. They can support women's struggles by actively challenging male privilege in themselves and other men — trying to talk with rapists and other abusive men, developing a childcare network for community events and other things that they will develop as they see the needs emerging.

We must put an end to violence against women in all its related forms yet we can't forget that violence against women is a symptom of a society diseased with the belief of white-male supremacy. In destroying this belief there is the danger of imitating it. The creation of an alternative society must be careful not to buy into the power of the old. If this happens, we will believe that a woman president or a woman corporate head or even a woman general will solve our problems. The nature of our society is so snarled in objectivity and fear that any trace of it would eventually poison anything that attempts to reform it. As anarcha-feminists our

Cont.: See Women Pg. 7.



Silence then Resurgence: Czech dissent since '68

by: Joey Stalin

Czechoslovakia is once again the main focus of dissident activity in East Europe. Members of the Charter 77 organization, which has emerged as the main oppositional force in the country, are undergoing continued state repression. The recent arrests of ten Charter 77 activists for subversion underlines these facts.

These arrests not only make it compelling to act in solidarity with those victimized by state tyranny, but also to develop an understanding of the background to their occurrences. In the process, the current struggle is revealed as an ongoing one, tracing from the period commonly known as the 'Prague Spring' of early 1968, the Warsaw Pact invasion in the same year, and the evolution of the resistance born in its wake.

The Prague Spring was in many ways an encouraging development. Nonetheless, it is often viewed uncritically. Specifically, it was largely the result of a power struggle within the ruling Communist Party bureaucracy. Unlike the recent struggles waged in Poland, for example, it neither developed from the base of society nor from the struggles of the working class.

The leading reformer, Alexander Dubcek, and his action of abolishing censorship must be viewed within the context of his struggle against the rule of the Stalinist backed Novotny. Dubcek was from the outset a bureaucrat. His benevolence, relative to the brutality of Novotny, in no way altered this fact.

So, when the Czech people were allowed the opportunity to speak out, after decades of enforced silence, they did so on a massive scale. The ruling bureaucracy was clearly overwhelmed. Control could not be restored as political debate on issues involving the entire nature of Czech society developed into a national pre-occupation.

reform opening up possibilities for Czech workers to become a revolutionary force through autonomous action as a class. In effect, the reformers who controlled the bureaucracy and who worked to control

Student and Intellectuals

Students and intellectuals were the principal actors in the evolving drama. Although many of the students were radical the movement itself was not revolutionary. Liberalism and economic reformism were predominant. Liberalism was evident in the emphasis upon demands for basic civil liberties enforced by constitutional guarantees. Economic reformism complemented these demands. More political freedom was to aid economic re-organization controlled from above by technocrats who aimed to overcome economic and technical stagnation in Czechoslovakia.

These were not objectives which would fundamentally alter the economic system via a radical departure, such as a turn towards socialization of the nationalized economy. The Czech working class would neither gain real control over production nor reap the full benefits of any improvement in economic performance.

Taken together the main directions coming out of the Prague Spring pointed to a nationalized economic system administered by a technocracy with a political structure approaching that of a liberal democracy. The tension which would inevitably exist between these two contradictory structures reflected both the contradictory nature of the movement and its alienation from the working class. But it would also open new avenues for a

Greek: Cont. from Pg. 4

and the State that the only way to deter me from fighting for freedom and Anarchy is to kill me. I am afraid of nothing because I have nothing to lose other than my life and life which is lived under the yoke of the bosses becomes even worse than death.

The hunger strike is the only means that I have to fight for my humanity.

Philippas Kyritsis

more decisive struggle against the ruling bureaucracy.

Working Class

Little occurred to encourage the working people to take action in their own interests as a class. No doubt the government wanted this to continue. The contacts made during the Prague Spring between the students and the workers were of an *ad hoc*, campaign oriented nature.

But the one crucial gain of the liberalization for the workers was the return of their legal right to strike, though the unions remained tied to the state. Nonetheless, this gain made more apparent the glaring contradiction of a movement for the mass movement directly helped to develop the basis for a fight for real emancipation which would necessarily be waged against them.

The nature of the struggle and its development was dramatically changed by the Soviet union's decision to invade with a 500,000 strong Warsaw Pact military force. Explanations for the invasion vary but certain factors are indisputable.



Two days after the invasion Czech students staged a massive protest demo that unnerved the "socialist" hordes.

The Soviets were definitely worried about Dubcek's apparent inability to maintain control of a situation challenging the Communist Party's rule. Liberalization in itself could undoubtedly be tolerated but only if it was contained, especially before it spread beyond Czech borders.

Military considerations always weigh heavily in East European matters. A situation that got out of control could conceivably lead to the withdrawal of Czechoslovakia from the Warsaw Pact. The Czech people desire national self-determination and resent Soviet domination. Czech withdrawal from the Pact would be seen by the Soviets as a major increase in their vulnerability to attack from Western Europe.

Significantly, just prior to the invasion the mass movement was solidly pro-Dubcek. Growing awareness of the external threat was the reason. But the wisdom of this became very questionable once the tanks arrived. The Soviets were not intent upon a direct attack upon the mass movement. Rather the bureaucracy and the credibility of its reform wing would be the Soviet instruments for an attack. The Soviets would then turn on the bureaucracy's reform wing once it had silenced the Czech people.

However, now the movement was changing. The workers were about to become a more decisive factor. Consequently, its revolutionary potential would become clear.

Passive Resistance

Passive resistance was common to the period immediately following the invasion. A great many Czechs were convinced most of the reforms would remain in place. Dubcek and his colleagues believed this too and did everything they could to tell the people to act with prudence. The people weren't able to think this as long as the Dubcek wing of the bureaucracy proceeded on a course of complete capitulation.

Disbelief in the words and actions of the Dubcekists was revealed on a massive scale in November. The continuing struggle correspondingly intensified, particularly with the approach of the important mid-November 1968 Plenum of the Communist Party's Central Committee, where the reformers continued to capitulate. The students sparked mass resistance in the universities and even the secondary schools. The stated goals of the student occupation movement were not radical. They focused upon what the then reform controlled Communist Party had

Husak. The state's reaction was underway in full force.

The opposition to the Soviet dominated state was about to be systematically isolated and crushed. Mass purges proceeded within the Communist Party. Large numbers of people were fired from their jobs, others sent to prison and many faced exile.

The growing reaction also reflected itself in Czech society by a turning inward. A retreat from politics into the silence of family life occurred followed by a baby boom. Like in the West the family would serve as a stabilizing force. So too would subsequent attempts by the state to encourage consumerism.

In mid-1969 the movement was crushed. Many opposition groups went underground, though not all successfully. One small Marxist party, formerly from a group called the Young Revolutionary Movement, was infiltrated with predictable results. And so it went. The repression's wave of arrests continued well into 1972.

To be continued next issue.

A prospective ACF affiliate in Edmonton, Canada is interested in contacting other anarchists in the Edmonton area. For more information contact:

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POB 11261,
Edmonton, Alberta,
Canada, T5J 2T6

No Apologies: Cont. from Pg. 3

establishing the May 21st Defense Fund (558 Capp Street, San Francisco CA 94110) to support legally and financially the people arrested that night. A criminal Grand Jury has been convened to finger "those responsible" and there may be more people indicted via this means as well. The spirit of resistance and support for what happened May 21st is represented by the popular slogan "NO APOLOGIES" and the popular logo of the burning police car sported on t-shirts, posters, buttons, etc.

May 21st has also had the effect of quite efficiently busting the myth of San Francisco as "gay utopia" and some of the complacency that has stemmed from that myth. The White case and the aftermath has brought home the realization that overt repression is never that far away. For many people, the chance to fight back and the act of doing so was long, long overdue. You can fight City Hall!

Women: Cont. from Pg. 6

vision is a truly classless society — free of sex, race, age and economic classes.

Smashing the tradition of dominance and submission is our ultimate goal for not only does it feed patriarchy and capitalism, but all forms of oppression. We must break its rule over our daily lives.

This article was originally presented at a forum on Women and Violence in Rochester, NY on Oct. 26, 1978. The forum was for women only so 'we' refers to women. In places 'we' refers to women who are specifically anarcho-feminists but the contents make these distinctions clear. Patti Stanko and Jackie Frost gave support and criticism vital to the writing of this article.



Film



by: Lazarus Jones

Francis Coppola's long awaited film, *Apocalypse Now*, has finally opened after seemingly endless production delays that saw it run nearly \$18 million over its original \$12 million budget. I'm happy to report that the wait, and the expense, was well worth it. *Apocalypse Now* is quite simply an aural-visual cinematic masterpiece.

The horror and madness that Vietnam is captured with incredible verisimilitude. *Apocalypse Now* is the first film with a Vietnam war theme to actually give the viewer a sense of what it was like to be there. The film may not be Vietnam, as Coppola stated in a moment of hyperbole, but it is the closest thing yet.

The film opens with the melancholy strains of *The End*, the old Doors song, setting a mood of anxious expectation that is sustained throughout the movies two and a half-hour running time. The plot line, based loosely on Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, concerns the journey upriver of a certain Captain Willard (Martin Sheen) whose mission is to "terminate with extreme prejudice" a renegade Colonel called Kurtz, played by a corpulent Marlon Brando.

Colonel Kurtz, we are led to believe, is some sort of military demi-god, but the strain of command has driven him to insanity

and mutiny. Kurtz has established himself as the godfather of a motley crew of Montagnard tribesmen and fellow deserters just across the border in Cambodia. From his jungle fortress he broadcasts enigmatic messages to no one in particular. Kurtz's very existence is an embarrassment to the American high command and Willard is assigned the task of "terminating" him.

The journey up-river becomes a metaphor for the entire American experience in Vietnam. At the film's beginning Willard is a willing tool of the military establishment. The nature of his mission, "to kill an American, and an officer at that," implants the first seed of doubt. As Willard says "it shouldn't have bothered me — but it did."

The journey into the heart of darkness takes us through each circle of the Vietnamese inferno. From the indiscriminate use of overwhelming firepower against peasant villages to the senseless slaughter of a Vietnamese boat family. From the incredible absurdity of the "Playboy bunny" sequence to the apocalyptic vision at the Do Lung bridge where abandoned soldiers fight an unseen enemy. Willard searches desperately for the commanding officer, searches for some semblance of purpose in the carnage. But, in the end, he returns to

the boat and declares: "There is no C.O."

Throughout the voyage Willard studies the files on Colonel Kurtz. The more he learns about the enigmatic Kurtz the more confused he becomes. Kurtz was the perfect soldier. Bold, resourceful and most of all effective. His military career was one long series of superlatives. The picture of Kurtz that emerges from the documents is one of superior intellect and ability combined with an incredible personal charisma. The mission, for Willard, becomes a quest to find out why this man had seemingly betrayed everything he formerly stood for.

The final confrontation between Willard and Kurtz is devastating in its understatement. Kurtz's jungle fortress, strewn with dead bodies, severed heads and heavily armed zombies, provides a macabre backdrop as Willard attempts to fathom the depths of Kurtz's psyche.

In one sequence Kurtz relates the story of the incident that finally broke his grip on sanity. On a reconnaissance mission to a Vietnamese village Kurtz's combat team had vaccinated the village children against polio. When they returned after they found a pile of severed arms. The Viet Cong had taught the villagers a horrible lesson on the consequences of fraternization. It

was this act of supreme savagery that shattered Kurtz's mind. "What strength it took to do that," he mutters, "what horrible strength." In that moment Kurtz realized that the war was lost. The Vietnamese were not monsters, they believed that they were in the right. It was this belief that gave them the strength to "make friends of horror and savagery." Thus began Kurtz's slide into evil and insanity.

In *Apocalypse Now* Coppola explores the motivations that lead rational, intelligent men to commit hideous atrocities under the protective cloak of a military uniform. Dennis Hopper, as the spaced out photojournalist, goes to the heart of the matter when he says of Kurtz, "his minds clear, its his soul thats crazy." The essence of Kurtz's madness is the moral dilemma of a caring, compassionate man who feels compelled to act like a savage. As Hopper again observes: "Sometimes he goes too far, and he's the first to admit it." For Kurtz the nightmare of war has destroyed his sanity. For Willard the long journey into the inferno leads ultimately to catharsis, and rebirth.

"They were going to make me a major for this," (killing Kurtz) Willard reflects, "they don't even know I'm not in their army anymore." When Willard moves against Kurtz he comes, not as an assassin, but as an acolyte. Kurtz's murder is not an execution, it is a sacrifice to the irrational gods of war, a beam of light directed at the heart of darkness.

Stage

Moreau as Levesque puzzles audience

by: Lazarus Jones

On Saturday, August 25, Torontonians had the opportunity to participate in an unusual night of theatre. Jean-Guy Moreau, Québec's foremost impersonator, presented "an evening with René Lévesque." Moreau has made quite a name for himself in Canada with his devastatingly accurate portrayal of Québec's separatist premier Lévesque, and the event, billed as an evening of "participation theatre", was sufficiently intriguing to lure me down to the theatre for the one night performance.

The bare stage contained only a speaker's lectern and a Québec flag. The presence of a film crew heightened the "press-conference" atmosphere. The advertisements for the performance stated that: "Jean-Guy Moreau invited you to come and tell René Lévesque how you feel about Québec", and approximately 100 people did just that.

Moreau, who with make-up has an astonishing physical resemblance to Lévesque, opened the show with a monologue on "frogs and Independence." He read dictionary definitions of the terms and concluded that the Québécois are "frogs, yes, but frogs with a dream." He then invited questions from the floor and for almost an hour he engaged in a

serio-comic dialogue with the audience that frequently verged on the bizarre.

Illusion and reality became strangely mixed as some of the questioners seem to almost believe that Moreau was Lévesque. The questions ranged from the declining stature of McGill University to the language policies of the Parti Québécois government. Moreau/Lévesque was alternately humorous then serious in his replies, a blend that disconcerted a few of the people in attendance. Some members of the audience were openly hostile prompting Moreau/Lévesque to remark "its because of people like you that there are people like me."

The last question came from a university professor and author of several books on the Canadian state, whom I recognized from an academic conference that I had attended earlier in the year. He stated that he was "confused" and didn't know if this performance "was politics or political satire." Moreau/Lévesque replied that "the two are often the same" and moved quickly to bring the show to a close.

In the context of the last question Moreau/Lévesque's closing number, an

impassioned monologue spoken over the recorded strains of Québec separatist-superstar Robert Charlebois' song *Gars Ordinaire* (Ordinary Guy), seemed almost grotesque. Moreau/Lévesque adapted the songs lyrics into a passionate plea for understanding ending with the line: "I'm not a god, just, an ordinary guy."

The staging of this performance raises several interesting questions. Primary among these is - why did Moreau do it? With a \$2.50 admission charge the show couldn't have grossed more than \$250-300. With the theatre rental and the cost of several small display ads in the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail* taken into consideration, it becomes obvious that Moreau must have been working for free.

As an experiment in psycho-theatre the evening was undoubtedly a success. The obvious displeasure shown by the university professor at Moreau/Lévesque's lampooning of the conventions of bourgeois politics was a joy to behold. In the face of the often fatuous nonsense that passes for debate on the national question in Québec the mocking irreverence of a Jean-Guy Moreau is a refreshing and much appreciated breath of fresh air.

by: Alien Anarchist

In recent years literally a million small urban guerilla groupings have come to the fore in advanced capitalist and by their actions have heightened discussion among revolutionaries of the usefulness of armed struggle in the present period. *You Can't Be a Socialist Relationship: The Anarchist Against Terrorism* is a new pamphlet the subject collectively written by an Australian anarchist and leftist socialist organizations. It should be a major contribution to the debate particularly within the authoritarian left.

The arguments put forward in the rejection of terrorism with the abandonment of a revolutionary line. The state is clearly recognized as the single most important source of violence in society. An understanding of the nature is shown throughout as it performs its complementary function as a means of political repression. Particular reference is made to the existence of political forces who supposedly are a means of preventing violence but in fact do nothing but repress leftist political activity.

Significantly, much of the focus is on terror deals with the Nazis, Croatian Nationalists and organizations such as the ruthless Anti-Communist Alliance are major sources of terrorism not linked to, though in some cases by, a state.

These facts are tied together in the context of the present situation in the world. There, most of the terrorism is justified by the far right. Yet the response has been to strengthen security apparatus in a manner which increases its ability to crack down left.

A similar example explains the hypocrisy of ruling class violence. A distinction is drawn between Palestinian terrorism, which always gets some coverage and Israeli terrorism, which the use of fragmentation and action bombs during air raids on Palestinian refugee camps. This Israeli terrorism receives next to no coverage, no less brutal and kills more people. The essence of the situation is summed up in the statement, "Subversion is in the eye of the beholder and the beholder is the ruling class."

Nonetheless, most of the focus is on the use of terrorism by Left terrorism is challenged as a means to the movement for social reform. The reasons stated for this are not and largely relate to questions of class.

A central argument advanced is the widely held view that terrorism is a convenient excuse for state repression. However, an important point is struck in the recognition that repression is an inevitable fact of capitalist society.

At the same time, the importance of the advocates and non-advocates of an urban guerilla strategy part of the movement have been looked into more than the Principal among these are the differences in analysis drawn over the degree of repression in existence. Statements such as "fascism is already here" and "members of the Seattle based Jackson Brigade do much to exploit urban guerillas differ from those of ground revolutionaries who would say how wrong such a statement is.

It follows from this type of analysis that tactics are used which are suitable to a situation which is repressive than actually exists. Misadventure often results but this does not make the strategy completely wrong. Furthermore, the strategy of armed struggle continues to be more the tendency towards repression develops.

pamphlet raps armed struggle



French Anarchist Valliante hurls a home-made bomb into the French Chamber of Deputy's. New pamphlet from Australia argues against terrorism and "propaganda by the deed."

Here some critical insights are made. The argument is advanced that the tendency for the situation to escalate is fuelled by the dependence of urban guerillas upon spectacular actions for their existence otherwise they face the prospect of being forgotten. In the meantime society becomes polarized and militarized. The politics of the urban guerillas then become "...a rallying cry for a massacre." In the long term opportunities for mass work are destroyed. The pamphlet's authors conclude with one of their central points. "When by their own actions terrorists serve such ends, they are contributing to the destruction of politics and the closing of various options for spreading ideas before they have been fully utilized."

By contrast, urban guerillas frequently welcome the repression their actions provoke as a way to radicalize large numbers of people. Some advocates of urban guerilla strategy even believe armed actions will force people to become aware of revolutionary alternatives and they also see small armed groups as potential kernels for a popular army. The effects of the actions by the West German Red Army Faction and the Italian Red Brigades upon mass work in their respective countries shows how disastrously wrong such positions are and strengthens the conclusions reached in the pamphlet.

Similarly groups like the Weather Underground Organization and George Jackson Brigade attempt to link their armed actions to popular struggles. So, for example, the George Jackson Brigade proclaims "Politics in command—rely on the people" and the Weatherpeople use the slogan "The future will be what the people struggle to make it." This charade is exposed by the absence of anything which make these groups directly accountable to the people they want to wage armed struggle in support of. This is correctly seen as elitism and self-proclaimed vanguardism.

Interwoven with this conclusion is the charge that this absence contains the inherent tendency to reduce the masses to

the passive role of spectators instead of full participants in the struggle against their oppression. This is a relationship of alienation and it is consistent with the mainly Marxist-Leninist views nearly all contemporary urban guerillas say they hold.

Their theoretical poverty is only partially analyzed. In particular the world views of modern day urban guerillas are neglected.

To begin with, it is critical to understand that the urban guerilla groups of the 70's have almost all emerged out of the experiences of mass radicalization in the 60's. As a result, they brought with them their uncritical support of the Third World liberation movements idolized by the New Left. Attempts were often made to imitate them in totally different circumstances with predictable results.

Recent events in Indochina and the related Soviet-Chinese conflict have demonstrated their theoretical stupidity. Ignorance of important conflicts elsewhere is common too. Naturally, not one of the better known urban guerilla groups has addressed the questions raised by working class and student revolts in Eastern Europe. Their analysis, to the extent that it exists, of the Soviet Union often parrots China's line about how the capitalist class has supposedly re-taken state power there.

To the credit of the pamphlet's authors their work emphasizes the lack of recognition given to, and/or knowledge, most urban guerillas have of the historic accomplishments of anarchism and libertarian communism. Sincere study of the implications of the events in Spain (1936), Hungary (1956), and France (1968) could have a politically devastating effect upon most urban guerilla groups.

With particular reference to the conclusions of psychologist Erich Fromm and former June 2nd Movement guerilla Michael Baumann, the self-glorification, fanaticism, isolation, self-sacrifice and self-destructiveness of the urban guerilla lifestyle are perceptively looked at in detail. But,

the connection between their ethic of self-sacrifice to authoritarian left theories should have been analyzed, as it would have further explained their theoretical poverty.

Notably, George Jackson's call to "Join us, give up your life for the people", and Brigade member Bruce Seidel's "...the main problem with our movement is people putting themselves first and the revolution second", are revealing. Both basically parrot Mao's dogma of "Serve the People", which has functioned as an ideological mask concealing the rule of a privileged bureaucracy in China. By contrast, an understanding of events like the 1968 revolution in France points to how revolutionary change does not conflict with individual freedom and autonomy but is made a liberating experience by them.

Significantly, this pamphlet does not attempt to avoid discussion of how the anarchist movement has been harmed by the use of terror in the past. It focuses on Spanish anarchism but should also have looked at the notorious period at the turn of the century when some anarchists used terror supposedly justified by a theory of action known as Propaganda by Deed. Even so, the heart of the matter is addressed within the context of the post-Civil War period of armed resistance to fascist rule in Spain.

Commenting upon the urban guerilla tactics of the Iberian Liberation Movement (MIL), the conclusion they reached states, "They did not see the absolute primacy of politics over armed struggle." A further quote made noting the MIL's recognition of the failure of their strategy reinforcing this judgement is, "It is now useless to talk of politico-military organizations and such organizations are nothing but political rackets."

The Tupamaros are often held up as an example of a successful urban guerilla group functioning in a liberal democratic society in large part because they did have actual links to the people who they sought to fight for and did advance their struggle

to a point. Consequently, an analysis of their experience is undertaken here.

One basis for the attack on the Tupamaros strategy is their misconception about armed actions sparking the consciousness, organization and conditions for revolution. This, it is argued, defines the essence of revolution as illegality or armed confrontation with the state rather than on the basis of the nature of the revolutionary movement backing it up. Process is largely disregarded and a strategy evolves which will inevitably lead to the replacement of one ruling elite with another. The Leninist politics of the Tupamaros further supports this contention.

It is of critical importance to the subject of terrorism to recognize that the Tupamaros are typical of urban guerillas in that they have been smashed. This fact is not missed by the authors of this pamphlet. Specifically, the revelation of the Tupamaros' lack of a solid mass base just prior to being crushed is weighed heavily. The fact of their defeat having come before the actual military takeover is viewed as a condemnation of urban guerilla strategy, generally, in the remark that "Just because they were so good within the limits of the urban guerilla strategy they prove the basically flawed nature of the theory." Again mass work is the preferred path. It can best provide the movement with the "real teeth" the urban guerillas desire. As the authors of the pamphlet state "if the energy expended by the Tupamaros had gone into the spreading of ideas encouraging people to organize, the resistance would have been larger and more profound and would therefore have had more chance of success."

It is significant that although the thrust of the arguments made attack armed struggle by urban guerilla groups as an obstacle to the movement for social revolution there is a simultaneous rejection of pacifism. By this the positions taken defy any attempt to simplistically polarize the question of violence around either one of these two mutually wrong approaches. The basic theme throughout opts for "minimizing violence by emphasizing politics." Revolutionary violence is justified only if those practicing it are "ensuring that armed struggle would be merely an extension of a political movement whose main activity would be to spread ideas and build alternative organizations."

Revolutionary anarchists would do well to further discredit all forms of terrorism by consistently putting positions like those into practice.



You Can't Blow Up A Social Relationship: The Anarchist Case Against Terrorism can be ordered from: Libertarian Socialist Organization, P.O. Box 223, Broadway 4000, Queensland, Australia. The cost is \$1.00 which includes postage and handling.

Direct Action Come to Seabrook: Oct. 6

by: Ron Linville

On October 6, 1979, the North American anti-nuke movement will take a meaningful step forward, as an anticipated 10,000 people descend upon the small town of Seabrook, New Hampshire.

Unlike previous Seabrook "occupations", this one, if all goes as planned, may deserve that title. Earlier demos, dramatic and enthusiastic though they were, turned many political people off, or at least tempered their participation, by being excessively concerned with media image, by acknowledging the authority of the state through negotiating with them for "permitted" occupation sites, and by upholding the sanctity of private property (destruction of plant property was considered "violent").

In addition, serious questions had been raised, by Clamshell members, about the Clam Co-ordinating Committee's (CC) domination, and consequent lack of autonomy for the local groups, and the squelching of persons and ideas contrary to the CC's polite-protest liberalism. The nonviolence training that was required of all participating groups was designed by CC, not subject to local approval or debate. On the site itself, absurd and arbitrary rules were imposed: no dogs, no movement after dark, no chanting, etc. Worst of all, the "marshalls" (peace pigs) were instructed to restrain or to turn in to the police anyone disrupting the orderliness by violating the rules or destroying property.

Now the predictable failure of such an approach, coupled with the example of European anti-nuke activities where direct action tactics have been used, has evidently moved a large number of Clams, and others, to the left, to form the **Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (CDAS)**. Seabrook residents, having twice overwhelmingly voted against having a nuke in their town, drawing the same conclusions, have offered land as "staging areas" for a concerted assault on the plant site.

To get detailed information on preparations and tactics, one must form or join a local group and ask regional co-ordinating group (or **Boston Clam**, directly) for a copy of what's been worked out and agreed to so far.

Generally, the purpose of this Seabrook occupation is precisely that: to enter the plant illegally and forcibly, using wire-cutters, shovels, and other tools, to confront authority by evading or otherwise resisting containment or arrest (rather than submitting to or encouraging arrest, as before), and, one on the site, to establish a permanent settlement — a commune. Present plans call for those in the "first wave", who actually breach the fences to be prepared to stay at least a week, to help establish a community for later arrivals. They will attempt to convert the "found" materials and structures into "alternatives", to use the stuff there for the commune's needs — raising food, producing energy, providing shelter, health, and educational services. However, given the sophomoric ("wise fool") nature of capitalist/patriarchal technologies, there may be some materials and structures for which no good use can be found.

The state's first line of defense, as always, will be their spies and provocateurs within the movement. These elements thrive in atmospheres of either disorganized spontaneism or in hierarchical structures. The latter category includes organizations that are officially or formally decentralized, but in practice are not. The best defense against these people is the existence of an organization that is democratic, organized from the base, yet

collectively co-ordinated. Creating and maintaining this will be considerably more difficult than cutting fence and stepping through.

The need for a true democracy in organizing is not only a strategic necessity for the success of October 6; it is important in itself, a step forward for the future of the anti-nuke movement and for other radical and revolutionary movements, which for too long have been caught between liberal impotence and the alienating, oppressive models of the hierarchical Left.

Another problem will be the role of the media. Coverage may be ex-

centennial demo in Philadelphia) to silence. The need for sympathetic coverage is great, and some attempts are being made to organize people with videotape, film, and radio skills to join, as participants as well as recorders.

The occupiers are determined, by whatever nonviolent means necessary, to halt nuclear power. Having learned, yet again, that moral argument is wasted on the ruling classes, they have entered the sphere of direct action — not only the very real, physical blockade of nuclearism, but the creation of a living alternative.

must weigh toleration of an open challenge to law and property against self-exposure of a very public act of repression. A nuclear debate, contained within a strictly environmental/economic (safety and jobs) context, is a difficult, but probably "manageable" conflict within the present structures of a "democratic" capitalist state. The last thing the ruling classes want is for people to make the connection "nuclear state = police state", to see that nuke-dependence is not only a further technique of centralization, but because of the recognized threat of nuclear theft, and terrorism

being a prepackaged workshop handed down from above. The suggested topics invite personal/political differences to be explored, rather than attempting to smother them under a simplistic no-nukes and a false media hype unity.

These problems and questions will be addressed as more local and regional groups form, meet regionally, and take part in the general planning.

Just as the civil rights struggle re-awakened the social conscience (the basis of genuine revolution) of North America, and the anti-war movement re-introduced a radical vocabulary (even if this often included concepts that were outdated or worse — ideological baggage that *shouldn't* have been reclaimed), the anti-nuke movement, as well as the feminist movement to which it has a natural and revolutionary relationship only just beginning to be developed, can chuck some of the old baggage, give revolution its broadest potential base yet (since nukes threaten everyone), and develop its characteristic and most relevant structure — the autonomous affinity group.

It is unfortunate that the anti-nuke movement continues to misuse the term "affinity group" to describe a temporary and single-issue tactical unit; in the Spanish anarchist tradition, an affinity group was first of all a small group of people who knew each other well from living and working in the same community and relating daily over a period of years, integrating the personal and the political into all issues in the context of a permanent and autonomous group. However, the decentralization that the creation of CDAS represents continues, and if the groups that come together for October 6 stay together and expand their activities to other issues, then this vital tradition indeed will have been reborn, and the phoney "affinity groups" of demonstrations past will have grown into their name.

It is this sense that the success or failure of October 6 will have consequences beyond the case of Seabrook itself; it will be an important test for radical and revolutionary movements in North America and the world.

Contact CDAS c/o:
Boston Clamshell Alliance
595 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 01239 U.S.A.
617-661-6204



Ellen Shub

pected to be very different, much more hostile. After all, what sells papers or TV time better than stern-but-calm cops dragging away a smiling, passively photogenic protester? Symbolism sells. When push comes to shove, however, the media are corporations; they will not wittingly encourage expropriation of private property, and they do little that is unwitting. As Gil Scot Heron said, "the revolution will not be televised". So the normal level of mass-media bullshit can be expected to escalate from irrelevancies to deliberate distortion or (as in the noncoverage of the massive Bi-

Several uncertainties remain. The first and most obvious is: can they get onto the site at all? (And of course the related question: how long can they stay there?). The Seabrook plant is extensive, with much of its perimeter edged by marshes and woods — good "guerrilla" country. Chances for some successful entry seem excellent, but what will happen when the attackers and defenders come face-to-face?

For their part, the CDAS plans depend on the thorough training, understanding, and unity of action of local groups. The training will include techniques of resistance that are peaceful, but not passive.

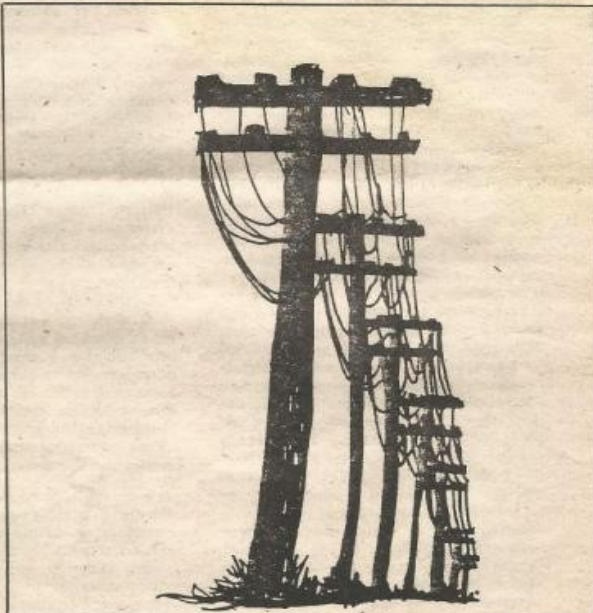
The other central factor will be the number and nature of the defending troops, their individual and collective attitudes towards nuclear power and its protesters. The nuke issue touches nearly every region of populated North America, and anti-nuke sentiment, aided by the potentially-disastrous accident at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania, can be found among many traditionally "apolitical" or even "conservative" people. Last year, members of the New Hampshire National Guard proved themselves unreliable by "fraternizing" with demonstrators; some were heard to say they would never defend a nuke plant again. Out-of-state Guard units were used. Seabrook cops also showed signs of reluctance, and State Troopers were used not for their numbers alone.

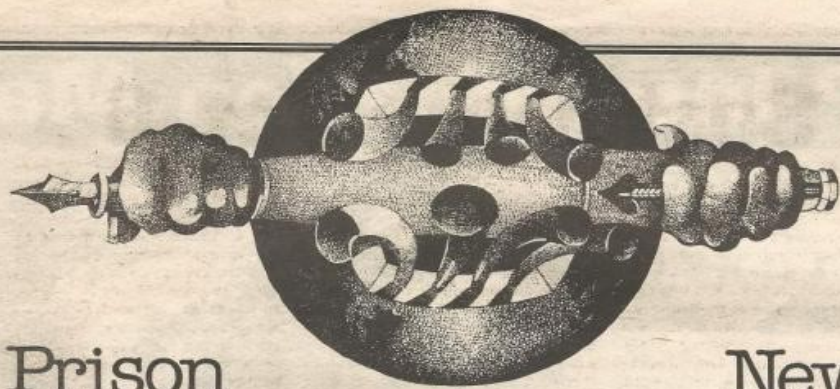
Still, it would be foolish to expect the cops and the military to turn their rifles butt-up (in the classic gesture of an army mutinying to the people), and from a purely "military" point-of-view, the protesters' position is hopeless: an unarmed group can hardly take, much less hold, any fixed position that the ruling classes care about, however inventive and unified their activities.

What the occupiers hope for, of course, is to make the costs of defense too high for the propaganda risks involved. This political calculus

(which is a government-claimed monopoly), the first rational justification for fascism. The sight of armed troops frantically defending a nonoperational (hence no "terrorist" excuse) plant brings the civil liberties point closer to being made.

Finally, there are still some problems around the issue of "violence". Although the definition has happily been narrowed to allow disrespect for property and resistance to arrest, there remains a vagueness about what will happen, or should happen, if/when a cop raises his club and wades into the mass of occupiers. Non-violence training is still a prerequisite for participating groups, although this preparation has been expanded to encourage local discretion and debate and "input" on all decisions, rather than





Prison

News

Walla Walla Brothers

On May 9, 1979, Carl Harp, Clyde Washburn and Shane Green, members of the Walla Walla prison **Anarchist Black Dragon Collective** (ABDC), seized nine hostages and held them for 12 hours to protest inhuman prison conditions. The three anarchists managed to communicate with a reporter for the **Walla Walla Union Bulletin** and a TV newsmen from Seattle television station KOMO. They spent over an hour telling the two reporters their complaints concerning the ancient prison and the penal system. They termed their action a "non-violent protest."

The three anarchists released their hostages unharmed at the end of the incident and allowed the embarrassed prison authorities to examine the "bombs" that had kept them at bay for 12 hours. The officials were not amused to find that they had been the victims of an elaborate hoax. Unfortunately, unless we act quickly to support our comrades, the guards may have the last laugh as this letter indicates.

Dear Friends and Comrades,

On May 9, 1979 there was a take-over of the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, Wash. over the inhuman and illegal treatment and conditions. The Penitentiary was held for twelve hours non-violently before a surrender occurred. The entire prison population supported this take-over, and a member of the **Anarchist Black Dragon Collective**, Carl Harp, was involved. Many other **ABDC** members stood up in support of the take-over and Carl's courageous involvement.

Now Carl is buried in segregation facing a major political trial this year. If he loses he faces 10 years plus "Habitual Criminal" charges along with his four consecutive life terms. The **Anarchist Black Dragon Collective** is now underground avoiding a witch hunt and some members are buried with Carl in segregation for supporting the take-over. We did manage to get out issue No. 5 of the

Anarchist Black Dragon which along with previous issues can be obtained from: Ron Reed, 3992 Colonnale, Montreal, Quebec, Or, **Count Down**, 901-1/2 Williamson Street, Madison, WI-53703, U.S.A.

We want to thank everyone who has given us their support and we send our love to you. Without you we could never have done all that we did here and will do again once able. Right now the situation is bad. On June 15, a guard was killed and the prison has been locked down ever since with a massive right-wing reactionary attack against all prisoners here by the guards. We do not know when it will let up or what will happen from it.

Carl Harp, Robert S. Green Jr., and Robert C. Washburn, all involved in the May 9th take-over, have been threatened with burial in the segregation unit - literally! We urge your support for these three by writing letters to every official possible in the world to keep them safe and allow them a fair trial. We urge you to send letters of solidarity to these brave prisoners who faced and still face death for Justice and Human Rights in prison. They need our support to give them strength and courage. Please help them with literature and funds for stamps. Please don't let them die or be railroaded by the State. They especially want to get Carl Harp because he is an Anarchist, a revolutionary who has fought the State for six years to prove his innocence and for Human Rights and Justice in prison. There is a defense fund and a committee to defend Carl in the making; please send any funds for Carl's legal needs to: Hennie Mulder, Hapotec International, POB 10638, Amsterdam, Holland, 20-126397. Or, Susan Waymire, 18924 S.E. 116th Place, Issaquah, WA-98027.

Our love to all of you out there.
NEITHER GOD NOR MASTER!

ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON COLLECTIVE
Washington State Prison

Editors Note: Letters to Carl should be addressed; Carl L. Harp, No. 126516, POB 520, Walla Walla, WA-99362. Please do not write Anarchist Black Dragon on the envelope or use the term in the letter.

Trial Date Set For British Anarchists

The trial date has been set for the five British anarchists charged with "conspiracy to cause explosions" in May of 1978. The trial will begin on September 17. In the meantime the prosecution dropped the conspiracy to cause explosions charges, after their dismal failure to produce hard evidence, and replaced them with "conspiracy to rob" charges.

Ronan Bennet, the last of the five anarchists held in Brixton prison, has finally been granted bail after he discharged his lawyer and argued the case himself. When he is released, one of his sureties is on holiday, he will have been held in Brixton, on remand, for 15 months!

The prosecution also requested, and was granted, the right to veto the jury. Potential jurors will be investigated by the Criminal records Office, the Special Branch and the Criminal Investigation Department (CID). It also appears that the CID will be able to make enquiries among the associates of potential jurors.

The **Persons Unknown Support Group** is planning to publish a pamphlet on the case outlining its history and significance. It will be around 60 pages (with graphics) and should be available now. It can be ordered from the **Persons Unknown Support Group**, 182 Upper St., Islington, London, Britain. It costs a dollar. The support group is also planning to publish a Trial Bulletin. For a full report on the trial and the case see issue number two of the **North American Anarchist**.

Peltier Recaptured

Leonard Peltier is back in jail after a brief excursion into freedom. Peltier broke out of prison with two other inmates, one of whom was killed during the

escape. It has been suggested that the FBI had set-up the jailbreak in order to avenge the killing of two FBI agents, the charge that sent Peltier to jail in the first place.

Peltier found it impossible to make his way out of the wilderness that surrounds the prison and after a series of almost comic escapades he was captured hiding in a tree. The escape attempt will doubtless be used as an excuse to make Peltier's life inside even more difficult.

Gang of Four

Communist China's most famous prisoners, the Gang of Four, will be publicly tried for their "crimes" sometime this year. It has even been hinted that the foreign press may be allowed to attend the proceedings. If this is true the stage could be set for the biggest communist spectacle since Stalin's "show trials" of the 1930's.

The Gang of Four, led by Jiang Qing, widow of the late, unlamented Mao Tse-tung, lost out in the latest power struggle among China's ruling elite. The official charges against the four, as stated by Foreign Minister Ji Pengfei, are that they "concocted an anti-revolutionary plot - read: unsuccessful - and attempted to take over power."

The four were arrested in October, 1976, a month after Mao's death. They have been behind bars ever since.

ACF Prisoner Solidarity

At its fourth conference, held in Toronto on June 30 - July 1, the **ACF** established a **Prisoner Solidarity Committee**. The initial goals of the committee will be to set up a free literature service and to make and maintain contact with prison militants. The committee is still in an embryonic stage as we search for the best and most effective way to use our resources in the fight to abolish prisons.

The Toronto conference also voted to send \$75 each to the Carl Harp and Lorenzo Kombo Ervin defense committees.

Price of Life

by: Frank Stevens

Scientists having discovered the causes and cures of most kinds of infectious (caused by germs) diseases, are now beginning to tackle the degenerative (associated with aging) diseases . . . like cancer, arthritis, hardening of the arteries, etc.

It is a fact that human beings age more slowly than almost any other animal. Why? If this question can be answered, it may become possible in the coming decades to slow down still further the aging process. If it is slowed enough, then at least in practical terms we are talking about *people living as long as they want to . . . a hundred years, a thousand years, etc.*

There are already businesses in existence that will, for a stiff fee, freeze the freshly dead person and keep them frozen until, they expect, scientists figure out how to cure whatever it was that caused that death. The frozen corpse will then be defrosted, the illness repaired, the heart stimulated to start beating again, and the dead will return to life.

This sounds a whole lot simpler

than it really is, and there are a lot of tricky problems to work out (for example, if the freezing process is carried out too slowly, the blood will form crystals that will break open millions of tiny tubes, making revival of the corpse impossible).

We can't really know at this point if it will really be possible to keep people alive and healthy for centuries or revive people who've died and been frozen. But, and this may be a key point, there does not seem to be any scientific knowledge that points to the *impossibility* of this achievement. (As, on the contrary, we say that present scientific knowledge indicates it is *impossible* for anything to go faster than the speed of light in a vacuum.) Since this achievement may appear on the horizon in our own lifetimes, it's probably time to start thinking about what it could possibly mean.

We can quickly dismiss those who will denounce the prospects of practical immortality as "unnatural", as "meddling with the Will of God", and similar horseshit. On a planet that is already tremendously overpopulated, no one is likely to be forced to remain

alive. Those who believe that death is welcome will be welcome to it.

Still, there are other kinds of questions that will arise, some of them more serious than others.

Obviously, a long, extended life would merely prolong the pain and incapacities of old age would not be very attractive. What we want extended is the vigor of youth, the enthusiasm and on-going ability to learn and enjoy new activities.

It has been suggested that the human brain is useful only through the mid-thirties (in general, of course). After that age, people think in a rut and just repeat themselves over and over again until they finally die.

But even if that were true, it only demonstrates the need for a youthful immortality. There is, as far as we know, almost no *physical* limitation to the capacity of the human brain to learn new ways of thinking. Since it is believed that the brain "thinks" by creating and destroying different neuro-chemical combinations, and since there are probably more than ten billion neurons in an average human brain, the number of possible com-

CONT.: See Price Pg. 14



RCMP Interrogation Manual

INTERROGATION MANUAL OF THE RCMP

The following is from the interrogation manual of the RCMP. Although this document was published in two underground papers prior to its appearance here, it has never reached the general public. The methods described are those used by police forces around the world and are typical of the intimidation and manipulation employed. The manual presents a rare insight into the mentality of the police and the role of the police as an institution. We present this to our readership as a subject of special interest.

INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINAL INTERROGATION

Police officers generally find themselves in a quandry with respect to criminal interrogation. This is partly due to the lack of any meaningful material and factual information regarding techniques of criminal interrogation.

Unfortunately some psychologists believe that people with high intellect as revealed by modern tests are best qualified to write or disseminate information regarding police interrogations and in solving police problems. I am personally inclined to disagree with this presumption.

Certainly we can learn from these eminent scholars, for psychology is the broad base for the art of interrogation. Interrogation is an art, it is a science. It employs the science of psychology, physiology and the study of human nature. It cannot be learned in one day nor can it be taught in one day. There is, at present, no written and accepted procedure for interrogation. It is a technique that must be practised every day if you are to become efficient. Interrogation does not exist until it is occurring.

As I have previously stated, certainly we can learn from those eminent scholars of law and the peopled involved in the science of human behaviour but the end result will be: who are better qualified than the police themselves?

To state what is most effective in the art of interrogation, our judiciary in the form of judges, crown prosecutors or defence lawyers have not written any meaningful information or direction on this all-important phase of police science. They have left us with a list of archaic "Judge's Rules". I am of the opinion that these people are often the least qualified to judge the workings of our generation.

Police generally are not unfair in interrogation whereby they subject the suspect to unnatural stresses. We are simply exploiting those tendencies which are most common to all people. We do not go against human nature but rather go along with human nature. To succeed, the interrogator must have confidence in himself and the technique he employs. He must have confidence in his powers of persuasion, his powers of perseverance and be able to adapt to any situation that may arise in the interrogation room. As one author states, "the torture must come from within the suspect's own mind and not from any interrogation method employed by the police". The subject must psychologically feel that he will benefit from confessing. It is psychologically wrong to suppose that a suspect will confess for nothing. In his mind he may think the very act of confessing to his crime may help him in court or it may be for the good of his family or for the good of society but he must in the final analysis believe that he is helping himself.

Our job as police interrogators in the investigation of any crime is to pave the way for the subject to confess to his crime. We must overcome any psychological barriers or physiological barriers that prevent him from making a statement. We are simply seeking the truth in relation to the case at hand.

Attempts to change the opinions of others are as old as human speech. In recent years, civil rights groups, lawyers and politicians alike fear that the police are manipulating the thoughts and feelings of persons who are suspects in any given crimes. Many veteran police officers are of the opinion that the courts themselves are trying to take away the weapon of interrogation. Through the media the word interrogation has an evil

connotation. To the general public it smacks of black magic, voodoo and the groups mentioned above are constantly trying to handcuff us in our efforts to seek the truth.

We as professionals and we are professionals, have had to broaden our base of interrogation techniques by new methods and hidden techniques. None of the techniques which are discussed in this paper will employ physical force of any kind. The techniques outlined hereunder do however employ a hidden battery of "hsi nao" (brainwashing) techniques to influence the emotional attitudes of the subject or suspect.

As I have already indicated, the human voice is a marvellous instrument. In the interrogation room it is the only instrument that we as police officers are allowed. The power of the spoken word is fantastic. For through speech comes the power to manipulate or persuade people without the necessity of resorting to physical violence.

In actual brainwashing techniques as applied by the Chinese Communists and Russians, words may be supplemented by unpleasant physical treatment. In the world of advertising a certain type of brainwashing technique is employed to sell products. This technique, known as Deep Motivated Research (DMR), presents pleasing pictures, soft music, tempo music and key word phrases as the weapon for selling products. The pioneer in the field was a Doctor Ditcher of New York. Doctor Ditcher's method was very simple. He was only reinforcing those elements of human nature which are present in all of us. For who amongst us has not been moved by a picture of the presentation of a certain type of music combined

with that picture. (xerox original had several words missing here) of the announcer. As in the brainwashing technique, Doctor Ditcher supplemented words by pleasing pictures, soft music, etc., which took the place of physical discomfort as practised by the Chinese Communists and Russians.

In discussing the following techniques, I am aware that many veteran interrogators and police officers have used these techniques but have not realized what they are actually doing. Many of these techniques use ego-inflation or ego deflation as the basis. In the study of psychology, our ego may be influenced by many things and the efficient interrogator will realize this. Everyday of our lives we are influenced by our environment; the place where we work, the employer's attitudes and the surroundings in which we work. We are influenced by the attitudes of people surrounding us, what they say, how they act and how they look has a great deal of influence upon our attitude at that particular time.

Prior to entering the interrogation room, the interrogator should be in possession of all possible weapons that may help him in the interrogation. He must be familiar with every aspect of the case, he must have studied all reports submitted by the initial investigators; he must check with the identification bureau for fingerprint evidence or any other evidence which may help him in the interrogation. He should also, if possible, actually visit the scene of the crime and familiarize himself with all aspects of the crime. No soldier would go into combat without having the best weapon available. So it is with the interrogator when he enters the interrogation room.

Certainly to begin with in any interrogation we are going to do everything that is legal and right. We will attempt to get a confession that is free and voluntary and may be admissible in court and will stand the test of cross examination. We will employ no tricks which could be construed as illegal tactics.

But there is a point which is reached in every interrogation when you still may not have that statement and you know if you go any further in the specific technique that you are employing that your statement will be ruled inadmissible. It is at this point that the interrogator must make a decision: does he now leave the interrogation room without the statement or does he proceed with other techniques which he knows will not allow the statement in but may give him information which will lead to the securing of other evidence which itself may be admissible. I suggest that at this point that the Marquis of Queensbury Rules go out the window and the interrogator must open up his bag of tricks and go for the recovery of the weapon or the stolen property or the names of accomplices or any evidence which may be presented in court regardless of the method employed to secure that evidence. In our present day law and the rule governing the admission of evidence, one could conceivably steal evidence and still present it in court and it could not be held out of court by the very fact that it was stolen. If we carry this through further, the interrogator could conceivably hit the suspect over the head with a baseball bat to secure real evidence that may be admissible in court in the case in question. In our careers as police officers we have heard many weird and fantastic techniques that have allegedly been employed to secure confessions. Some of these techniques, referred to are the 'plastic bag' technique; whereby a plastic bag is placed over the subject's head or perhaps the insertion of ice cubes up the rectum or still further, the application of a pair of pliers on the subject's testicles.

I do not advocate any of the above techniques because if these techniques were practised, the results would be catastrophic. There is no doubt in my mind that any person subjected to such treatment would confess to anything the interrogator wanted him to. With such a treatment we could find out who shot Davy Crockett's hat or who stole the Brooklyn Bridge. I'm sure that Einstein, the greatest mathematician of our time, would say that two and two makes seven if we kept hitting him over the head with a baseball bat. Again I repeat, I do not advocate violence in any form to secure a confession or statement from any suspect no matter how heinous the crime. There is a better way, there is a more humane way — by using the power of the spoken word. The following are some suggested techniques of interrogation that have been successfully employed by many interrogators.

Editor's Note: This document was submitted by Regina ACF. Because of its length we are publishing it in two parts. The second part, in NAA No. 2, will deal with specific interrogational procedures.



The Wacky World of Work

by: Frank Stevens

(Author's Note: An earlier and slightly different version of this piece appeared in the *Louisiana Worker*, No. 14, May 1975.)

The absolutely amazing thing about business, the business world, businessmen, etc., is that it is not only a swamp of human misery, it is a year-round carnival of managerial incompetence.

Having worked as a bookkeeper off and on for the last ten years, I can tell you it is a wonder that businessmen can find their way home at night.

There is a whole business devoted to making managers more able to make correct decisions. Business magazines like *Fortune* assume as a matter of course that a profitable company has good management and an unprofitable company has had management.

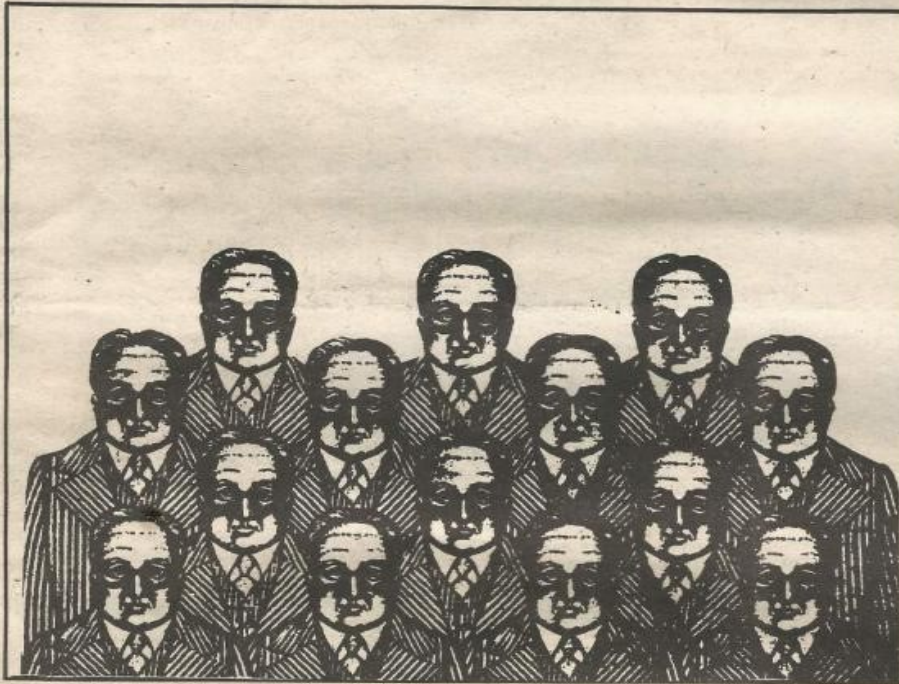
Nothing could be further from the truth. What actually happens is that executives make a half-ass decision and leave it up to the "dumb workers" to carry it out. And indeed, every day, we do get the result that management wants (if it is humanly possible) . . . by going around the rules, by stepping outside of regular channels, by breaking the company's own regulations.

We rebel against the capitalist class every day . . . but only in order to make the capitalist system work. It is so ridiculous that in some cases the way that workers fight for a raise or some improvement in working conditions is to come to work every day and rigidly obey every company rule. This effectively prevents any work from getting done at all and the boss has to give in and give the raise or whatever.

And yet these are the people, these managers who can't find their ass using both hands, these are the ones who make decisions that can spell salvation or disaster for every one of us. If they get lucky, we might work for one of them all our lives, make at least a comfortable living, and enjoy a decent pension.

Most of the time it doesn't turn out that well. And if, as is all too common, they build an Edsel or a DC-10 or some other product that ain't worth a shit, who gets laid off? Who finds out that their pension fund is broke? And who gets the blame in the newspapers and on television for being "lazy" and "greedy" and being a "welfare bum" who "doesn't want to work"?

When the \$250,000-a-year executives of Penn Central or Pan Am or Boeing or Chrysler appear before some government bureaucrat asking for a billion-dollar handout, who ever even hints that maybe they



belong down at the unemployment office drawing their \$100 a week???

The C.I.A. Syndrome

When little kids play a game, one of the things they always do is make sure everybody understands what game is being played, what the rules are, what the object of the game is, etc. It's no fun if you don't know what's going on, right?

Well, in my business experience, such a method of proceeding would be a great leap forward. What actually happens in business is an automatic reflex — don't tell anybody anything!

Managers are more jealous of their knowledge than all the secret police-CIA-type operations in the world put together. And the less important the knowledge, the more fanatical they become. Let some "dumb" clerk in Purchasing try to find out how many paperclips the Sales Department is going to need . . . and the shit hits the fan. The clerk will be lucky to keep his/her job.

What really happens, of course, is that the clerk doesn't go through his/her boss to the Sales boss; instead (s)he phones another clerk in Sales and finds out what (s)he needs to know. This kind of informal communication goes on between workers in every company and is, in

fact, the only way the company could continue to operate at all.

This situation exists between companies as well. To look at a simple example: when one company is selling something to another company, the rational, sensible thing to do would be for both parties to fully spell out in writing what is to be sold, how much, what the price is, when payment is due, where payment is to be sent, where the merchandise is to be delivered, when, etc.

And, as as every "dumb" clerk knows, this almost never happens. Instead, every business transaction consists of efforts by both companies to find out what they really expect of each other. In the end, after many hours of unanswered letters, managers shouting at each other, etc., one clerk will get on the phone with another and straighten things out. Of course, fuckups are always blamed on the workers, never on the managers who decide that the company's policy is to be unclear as possible.

Blaming the computer

Everybody knows what happens when you call up some company to complain about a mistake on your bill. The "computer error" is the greatest scapegoat for managerial fuckups since bosses started hiring

women secretaries. So what really happened?

Every computer comes with a series of instructions, called a "program". The program is a step-by-step logical sequence; it tells the computer to do this if that happens and to do that if something else happens, and so on.

The computer only does what it's told to do, and it does what it's told every time that situation arises (the boss's dream of a perfect worker). But suppose the computer is told to do something wrong, something that will always give the wrong answer?



The person who instructs the computer is the programmer. But the programmer is told what to do not by the people in Accounting who know all the needs that have to be met, but by managers who don't do the accounting work and who have no idea of all of the possible situations that the computer must know how to handle correctly.

Then, when the complaints start pouring in, some clerk in Accounting will go around the managers and tell the programmer what's really needed. And the programmer will change the computer's instruction, and the computer will stop making that particular mistake.

But think how simple it would have been had the whole thing been done from the beginning by the computer programmers and the people in Accounting. Your bill would have been 'correct right from the start.

Senile Whimsey

Every worker knows that bosses are always a little nuts. In addition to the stupid policy decisions that managers make, managers like to show off their power in petty ways . . . reminding all of us that we are just so much shit!

One boss I used to know runs around telling people what kind of pencil to write with. Another specializes in putting up hokey signs like "An Employee's Attitude is more important than anything else!"

When I was hired at one place, I was told that the reason there was only a half-hour lunch period was that "people around here wouldn't know what to do with more than a half-hour off."

If they don't have anything to do (which is common since "managing" usually doesn't take much time), they'll hang around your desk and bullshit about their last trip to Paris or some such crap . . . but too bad for you if your work isn't completed regardless.

And from time to time some of us will try to make some kind of sensible suggestion that would improve efficiency — at which time we are told in lofty tones that "a great deal of managerial thinking" went into this decision. The implication is that we mere employees couldn't possibly understand all the factors of this high-level thinking. What horseshit!

Had Enough?

The truth of the matter is this: we not only work for the bosses, we actually make the informal managerial decisions that allow this stupid system to continue to function. If we did only what we were told to do (like the bosses want), this clown-show/looneybin of a system would grind to a halt in months.

We as working people could make a better policy decision than all the "top managers" put together. We could democratically decide how the economy should run . . . not in order that a few jack-off parasites can be rich but in order that all of us could live better.

Revolutionary self-management is when we fire all the bosses!

Analysis:

Public Cost — Private profit

by: Tom Marick

In the United States President James Earl Carter speaks of freeing all public sector employee wages. Following Sinclair Stevens' assumption of the treasury board post in the Federal Canadian cabinet a hiring freeze has been imposed on the civil service. Many of the private sector firms engaged in financial and retail activity are also cutting back. Why are these jobs, in which women, young people, and the Quebecois, blacks and Latinos, are employed falling in these hard times?

We can analyse the cutbacks campaign in terms of the class interests it supports. A useful distinction

to be made in such an analysis today is that between production and non-production labour. Labour is non-production labour, under capitalistic conditions, where it does not produce surplus value. Instead it is labour which is directly exchanged with revenue or money rather than capital. From the standpoint of the modern industrialist it is merely the purpose of consumption rather than the accumulation of capital which is served by the purchase of such a useful labour. Even though there is no profit in such undertakings the labourer who produces such useful commodities still must consume such items as are necessary for the total reproduction

of her or his labour-power. Much of these non-production labours are today carried out in the public sector by the capitalistic state apparatus. From the point of view of the present dominant capitalistic class these activities are expenses which must be cutback in this period of historic world crisis for capital.

The realization of surplus labour as capital is not a production labour. This process of circulation constitutes a deduction from the total social capital. From the point of view of the dominant class these activities are expenses which must be cutback in this period of historic world crisis for capital.

The present cutbacks campaign which is being waged with increasing fury in the public sector can be understood as a move to cut unproductive, from the point of view of the employer class, labours which lower the rate of profit. This is the logic of *Bill C-22* which would strangle collective bargaining rights in the public sector of Canada. It accounts for the wildcat postal strikes in Jersey City and San Francisco Bulk Mailing centres in July, 1978, against speed-ups and layoffs. This explains the strike in October, 1978, of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers against *real* wage cuts and arbitrary technological change.

The cuts have also hit the private sector non-production industry. This is the reason for the earlier drive by the Service Office Retail Workers Union of Canada (SOR-WUC) in West coast Canadian banks and the recent unionization of Bank of Montreal workers in Windsor, Canada.

It is clear that production for profit must be scrapped in favour of production for use with provisions made for comprehensive community services and abolition of unnecessary, from the point of view of working people as a community, labours such as those concerned with the financial aspects of capital.

Miners at an impasse

"This December, we will convene the UMWA's 46th convention — a grass-roots voice in UMWA policy for the first time in anyone's memory. The convention is being held in Pittsburgh, in the heart of the coalfields. There is nothing notable about that, except that the last two conventions were held in Florida and Denver, where coal miners are few and far between."

Arnold Miller
United Mine Workers president,
August 27, 1973.

From: *The Year of the Rank and File, Officers Report to the 46th Convention*

News Item: The 48th UMWA Convention, to be held on December 10-20, 1979, has been moved from Miami at the request of women miners who pointed out that Florida has not ratified the **Equal Rights Amendment**. The new convention site will be Denver, Colorado.

by: Rascal

Going into the December 1979 convention the **United Mine Workers (UMW)** is a union beset with a growing number of problems. Among the issues that are now and will continue to be debated are the attempt to recall union president Arnold Miller, internal struggles in the **International Executive Board (IEB)**, Miller's drive to consolidate the Western states' Districts and his call for a dues increase.

In March, the membership of District 6 re-elected Bill Lamb, a recall activist, to the IEB following his expulsion from the Board by Miller. Lamb was involved in the **Miners for Recall**, a movement begun during the 1977-78 contract strike to oust Miller. On his way to a Board meeting in Washington, Lamb was shot and wounded by unknown assailants. He has once again been denied his seat on the IEB by the union president. This sort of internal power dispute is typical of Miller's intolerance of any perceived challenge to his control of the union. Continuous attempts to effect a recall of Miller, although they have so far proven ineffectual, have met the same sort of response from the union's upper echelon.

A proposal for a dues increase, despite the diminishing power of the union at the workplace, also reflects Miller's desire for increased personal power. It is interesting to note that as Miller consolidates more power at the expense of union democracy, the union has grown weaker in the coalfields. This is shown to be a continuing trend in Miller's persistent attempts to consolidate the districts in the Western States, where the union is already weak, and organizing efforts could conceivably be hurt by such a merger. It would, however, strengthen Miller's control over those districts. The irony is that the con-

vention will be held in the West, in Denver, far from the UMW strongholds in Illinois and Appalachia. It will be the convention of a union unsure of its direction, and will serve as a terrible advertisement for the union in the unorganized West.

For UMW members it has been a long road to this meeting. They have helped sweep out the old corrupt regime through support for a reform movement, **Miners for Democracy**. They won, and continued militant local activities. Now Miller, having bargained away the miners' medical program and other critical rights, is growing autocratic and resentful of local autonomy. The membership has seen the reform solution go sour. They have lasted out more struggles in the past 15 years than any other union in the US, yet it has obviously not been enough.

If the UMW rank and file has persisted in this period, the same cannot be said for non union miners attempting to join. Counting smaller agreements as well as the contract with the **Bituminous Coal Operators Association**, the union barely represents half of US production. The move toward western coal and stripmining further weakened the UMW's attempts to gain membership. Operators like **Consolidation Coal**, division of **Continental Oil**, can afford to open up non union mines in the West and pay miners \$125 to \$175 a day. This situation diminishes the threat of the UMW and its tradition of wildcat strikes.

In the East

In the East, the mines are sometimes organized into company unions or employee associations, and these workers are finding their losses relate directly to the UMW's. The **Scotia** coal mine in eastern Kentucky has such an association. In their negotiations, the association was told that **Scotia Coal** would pay 80% of medical and dental expenses. Previously, the company had paid 100% on medical and 80% on dental. It seems that cut-rate deals with the UMW will be followed by similar treatment for scab mines as well. **Scotia** offered big pay increases and a perfect attendance bonus every month. These workers also have two extra holidays, March 9 and 10, the days in 1975 that twin explosions killed 26 men.

Scotia Coal's sister company, the **Stearns Mining Company**, has beaten the UMW after a 35 month strike. The union agreed to a NLRB election that meant the scabs outnumbered the strikers, and a resultant sympathy wildcat was short-lived. The UMW cut off all strike benefits to the **Stearns** strikers as well as to miners at **Jericol** and **St. Charles**. These other strikers had been trying to win a BCOA-style agreement since December 6, 1977. While some effort to spread this battle has

occurred, this effort has been smothered at district and International levels.

Recent organizing has been an expensive, unsuccessful undertaking in the coal fields. Aggressive tactics, as seen in the documentary, **Hartan County USA** are rarely suggested by union bureaucrats. In light of this, Miller's proposals for increased organizing are seen by many as a way to build a separate power base. To the extent that this is true, it is unlikely that the UMW will be organizing miners. The recent losses, the unimaginative approach, and the high wages and benefits available in non-union outfits all add up to a zero-growth UMW.

Since the 1977-78 contract strike, the frequency and size of wildcat strikes has drastically dropped, leading the bourgeois press to speak of improved labor relations in the coalfields. The effect of a long and bitter contract strike has of course been more of a factor in the diminishing number of wildcats than any new and sudden reconciliation of company and worker. But the lull in worker resistance (not as peaceful as portrayed since many incidents go unreported) is not entirely explained in terms of the contract strike. At this time there have been many layoffs in Appalachia due to a decreased market for coal. The possibility of future layoffs coupled with those that have already taken place has had a dampening effect on spontaneous worker militancy. Even absenteeism, a traditional recourse of miners, has been effected somewhat by the tight economic situation, although it remains a better indicator of worker dissatisfaction than the drop in strikes.

No group presently embodies the continuing discontent of the miners. The **Right to Strike Committee**, which once had a good deal of credibility in the coalfields, no longer has an influence on the on-going struggle in the mines. Part of that is due to red-baiting tactics that have been aimed at any group or persons seen as threats to Miller's authority, but also the Committee's failure to maintain close attention to the rank and file and its growing attempt to 'lead' the struggle have isolated it and rendered it insignificant.

Directly after the contract strike a situation developed in which workers were not provoked as much as is usual in the coalfields, and for a while it seem as if relations were improving. This has proven to be temporary if not totally illusory as companies begin to take the hard line characteristic of work relations in the coal industry.

New Tactics Needed

What has become obvious is that new tactics and forms of organization must develop if the struggle is to progress beyond its present stage. A recent event illustrates the need to get beyond this impasse. In the largest wildcat strike since the contract, a total of 2000 miners walked out in northern West Virginia in the early part of August. It began in a non-union mine which has been the site of an organizing drive, frustrated by the legal delaying tactics of the company, **Keister Coal** of Barbour County. In the **Belington Keister** stripmine, an NLRB election ended with a tie vote and three contested ballots. After the election but prior to any settlement a few pro-union workers were laid off. Anti-union replacements were found shortly after this incident. On August 1, one of the laid off men and his family set up picket lines at **Keister**. Within a week's time two thousand miners had walked off in sympathy, and **Keister** sued the district for damages. After about ten days the strike played out with no immediate results.

This event not only indicates a continued discontent in the workplace, but is singularly significant in having as its origin a non-union mine. Workers, whether union or not, are capable of perceiving their common interests and taking their own initiative in struggling against the companies.

If the mineworkers union is to survive as an effective organization in the coal industry, it must regroup and organize more workers. Concretely this means at the very least a decentralization of the organizing apparatus, which would increase both efficiency and democracy within the union. At this point, the only possibility of survival for the union implies a radical democratization. **Bill Cleaver**, in the important pamphlet **Four Way Tie For East**, has suggested that union locals 'adopt' a non-union mine to assist in its organization.

The development of community-based solidarity with the union rank and file and non-union miners would be a natural basis for a class conscious struggle capable of going beyond the limitations of bureaucratic business unionism. It would also redirect energies now being wasted in a struggle between the Miller and Boyle-oriented power groups over the control of the International, since neither machine would be capable of manipulating activities directly in the hands of the rank and file.

Four Way Tie For East is available from: Bill Cleaver
Box 170
Doolin Route
New Martinsville, West Virginia
26155 USA

Price: Cont. from Pg. 11

binations ("thoughts") is practically infinite. In 75 years a human brain has barely begun to think, when it dies.

The futility of our brief years has been a recurrent theme in human thought. In this country, the average young person gets a particular job (more by accident than desire), spends the next 30 or 40 years developing a few narrow skills, and then gets shuffled off into retirement where they kill time waiting to die. We are not much more than easily-replaced machines, to be worked hard with little maintenance, and then thrown on the scrap heap to rust.

But what of a person who maintained his/her physical and mental vigour for centuries? Such a person might learn dozens or hundreds of specialties. Such a person would taste as much of all the varieties of human experience as they wished. Such a person might accumulate knowledge, and dare we say wisdom, on a scale that cannot even be imagined by "short-lifers" like ourselves.

In short, if we think of a vastly extended life-span in the same way that we think of our lives now (boring, over-specialized, truncated, oppressive, etc.), then we've missed the point.

Practical immortality would also throw a new light on the most intimate human relationships. The destructive myth of "life-long attachment" to a single person, with all its attendant misery, frustration, jealousy, etc., would finally crack under the assault of a life of centuries. For example, if the person you are attracted to isn't interested, look them up again in fifty or a hundred years if you're still so inclined. There will be time enough for all the love you can give and receive (another function of human activity which has probably been as under-estimated as the ability to think).

There is a final aspect of the promise of practical immortality that may become of particular interest to those of us who want to overthrow all forms of class society. Up to now, death has been "the great democrat". The rich and powerful ruling classes are struck down in the end by death as surely

as the most miserable, poverty-stricken slave.

But this is an oversimplification. In fact, death has very slowly become less and less democratic. Every advance in medical science — that is, the science of delaying death — is available first and most powerfully to the ruling classes; the working classes get whatever's left over.

Thus we note the increasing ages of all the old farts who run the show now, from Billionaires like Howard Hughes and J. Paul Getty to bureaucrats like George Meany and Mao Tse-tung. Death still gets them in the end, but intensive medical care keeps them alive and vigorous somewhat longer than you or I are likely to achieve.

And some who have been most fearful of the promise of practical immortality suggest that this is precisely the greatest danger: the danger that the progress of the human race will cease due to the unending rule of aged relics, old farts increasingly fearful of any change and increasingly knowledgeable enough to prevent that change.

What is (always?) overlooked is that this danger like others contains

an opportunity. We have often enough speculated upon the kinds of conditions that will finally provoke working people to dump their masters and set up a society run by themselves. Up to now, it has largely been a combination of unsuccessful war and economic ruin that has convinced working people to junk their faith in the old order (which always causes the old order to immediately collapse, of course).

But how would our class react to the promise of life itself denied? How would we relate to a boss young and vigorous when we were hired and still young and vigorous when we finally retired with only a few feeble years left to us?

Would people scrimp and save so that at least one of their loved ones would get the expensive immortality treatments? Would working people accept immortality as a proper reward for the commercially successful? Would there be a new revival of religion and interest in some mythical "afterlife" as consolation for the working people doomed to die while their masters live on century after century?

Or would this be the final unbearable outrage? Will this be the

last technological achievement of capitalism, the one that makes the emergence of a classless society impossible to prevent any longer? Will that long predicted rising of the workers of the world, still awaited in hope and fear, be a revolution of life over death?

No one knows, but it is increasingly possible we may live to see the answer ourselves.

The Overlord

Thrusting down with words you pin my mind to an inflexible idea.

As I struggle to free myself you thrust again trying to castrate my dreams.

For no better reason than laziness I break down and accept defeat.

Let us now be honest. There is no truth left to protect us.

Brian Burch



Libertarian Notes

RED FASCISTS TIGHTEN THE SCREWS

East Germany's communist rulers are cracking down on internal dissent with a vengeance. On June 28 of this year the East German Volkskammer (parliament) moved to broaden the definition of actions harmful to the State. The "crimes" of "denigrating the state" and "disturbing the Socialist way of life" will now be punishable by jail terms of three years.

The definition of "illegal association" has been broadened to include any form of association. Thus two East Germans discussing the latest Communist Party bungles over a beer at the local tavern could face up to five years in prison. The penalty for taking part in an anti-government demonstration, previously punishable by a fine, will now be punishable by two years in jail. If you were one of the organizers of the demo you'd be looking at eight years of hard time.

In a move aimed at forestalling sit-in protests the East Germans have provided a five-year jail term for "anyone forcibly entering or occupying a building." And in another move that must have our local boys in red, the RCMP, drooling with envy the legal underpinning for phone taps has been greatly broadened. Police and security forces can now legally tap telephones at their own discretion.

The definition of material considered harmful to the German Democratic Republic has been greatly broadened to include virtually anything the Communist Party disapproves of. This law applies to any notes, recordings or manuscripts circulated by any East German and would also include any information given to a foreign news correspondent. The penalty for this "crime" is five years in prison.

The impetus for the new wave of repression in East Germany is believed to be the Communist Party's concern over the influence of the West German news media and the desire on the part of the East German government to show

Moscow that they will not hesitate to crack down on any manifestations of the "bourgeois prejudices" of freedom and liberty.

SOVIET "SCAB POWER" HITS NEW YORK

Workers at the Four Continent Book Corporation in 149 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan were recently confronted with a new tactic of union busting — Soviet scabs. The workers, members of District 65, charged that the bookstore, which is the largest retailer of Soviet literature in NYC, has brought in strike breakers from Soviet Diplomatic Corps.

"Employees of the Soviet Mission are crossing picket lines and yet claim solidarity with the workers. There is no question they are from the mission because they drove up in cars with Diplomatic license plates. One of them even had a chauffeur," said one striker in an interview with the *New York Times*.

If this is the attitude of Soviet diplomats towards striking workers here, one can only imagine the attitudes of the "Socialist" Soviet Union towards its own workers.

CIA SPOOK HUNTING AGAIN

The CIA has launched a massive new advertising campaign to lure recruits and the results have been, to quote an agency spokesman, "tremendous." With the help of Madison Avenue the agency placed ads in 12 metropolitan dailies and found itself inundated with applications. In one month alone the agency found 4,000 to 5,000 would-be agents.

A typical ad read: "We're looking for you special men and women who still have a spirit of adventure." Previously the agency had relied on small, discrete advertisements, mostly in professional journals for engineers and scientists or college newspapers, but the number of recruits had steadily dropped. Just one of the new style ads placed in a New York paper produced 2,300 responses.

SOVIET POWER EQUALS NUCLEAR POWER

Last July, Comecon, the Soviet run counterpart of the European Common Market, approved plans to build "about a hundred" nuclear plants by 1990. In the wake of the Harrisburg disaster this announcement is depressing indeed. The Soviet record for nuclear safety, what little is known about it, is dismal. Last April the Soviet minister of electric power admitted to a visiting U.S. congressman that his country has had two nuclear accidents. One of the accidents the Soviet minister could have been referring to was a major nuclear accident that occurred in 1957 or early 1958 when there was an explosion in an underground storage facility. An area of over 1,000 square miles was contaminated and local villagers were only evacuated when unmistakable signs of radiation sickness began appearing among them.

The Soviets claim that nuclear power in the capitalist countries is unsafe because the capitalist is first and foremost concerned with profits and is therefore negligent in providing adequate safety precautions. The Soviet Union though, being a workers' "paradise", has ensured that all atomic plants built within the Soviet Bloc are perfectly safe. Such fatuous nonsense is par for the course for the Soviet gerontocracy who obviously feel that sacrificing a few thousand workers every couple of years is a small price to pay for the benefits of nuclear power.

ANARCHISTS UNFIT TO CARE FOR CHILDREN?

Camalla Miller, a non-violent anarchist, is facing extradition to California and the loss of her child to the State. Several years ago Camalla and her husband were out of work and financially strained. One of the children was ill at the time and the couple felt that they had no alternative but to place the children in the care of Camalla's parents in California until they got themselves re-established. After her husband found a job the couple attempted to reclaim the children only to find that Camalla's parents were suing for parental custody. At one point the judge in the case requested a report on Camalla's husband. The resulting report was incredibly anti-worker and anti-radical describing Authur (the husband) as physically, mentally and economically impoverished and terming him a "fanatical communist IWW organizer."

The Miller's based their defense on the assertion that their economic position *vis a vis* Camalla's parents did not provide sufficient grounds for denying them custody of their children. The Miller's lost the case and Camalla, in desperation, took her daughter and went into hiding. After a year in hiding Camalla was arrested and California authorities are now trying to extradite her to face kidnapping charges. This case represents a vicious attack on a working class anarchist. Support, both moral and financial, is urgently needed. For more information write: Bayou La Rose, 2115 Esplanade Ave., New Orleans, LA-70119, USA. Or call 504-943-7041.

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The Boat People:

Business is Booming

by: Lazarus Jones

The plight of the so-called "boat people" has touched the heart strings of the Western world. Of course over 200,000 of them had to drown first. The turning point for the refugees, ironically enough, was the enactment of the infamous "shoot-on-sight" law by the Malaysian parliament. The south-east Asian nation had finally tired of feeding, clothing and housing the flotsam and jetsam of the United States' 15 year assault on the Indo-chinese peninsula.

Finally shamed into action the nations of the West condescended to "skim off" the cream of the old Vietnamese bourgeoisie. They also did not hesitate to milk the situation for all the anti-communist propaganda it was worth, and it was indeed considerable. The actions of the Hanoi government in this tragic affair have been utterly contemptible and well worthy of the world's censure.

These arrogant little bureaucrats treat human beings as little more than a natural resource to be exploited and discarded as the eco-

nomie situation dictates. The people who are being forced out were the office-holders, paper-pushers and technocrats of the old regime. Their positions are now being filled by a host of Communist Party hacks and hangers-on. As the members of the old, defeated ruling class are replaced they are shipped off to what are euphemistically called "new economic zones" or, if you prefer plain english, slave-labour camps.

The pampered ex-bureaucrats proved to be highly unsuited to hard labour, in short, they were dying like flies. The surplus labour extracted from them was barely sufficient to pay for their transportation to the camps. So, ever resourceful, the Leninists decided to try a different approach. The insecure ethnic Chinese bourgeoisie always put a little gold aside for times such as these and the Vietnamese decided to try and shake some of it loose.

This business, in contrast to the camps, was extremely profitable. For the cost of fixing up, in a rudimentary fashion, old derelict vessels

the Leninists received pure gold and at the same time disposed of an annoying problem. It was only when the Western nations began cutting off aid, ruining the businesses' profitability, that the Hanoi government agreed to a six-month halt to the exodus.

The enterprise's future, however, looks rosy. Now that the Leninists have acquired an export license to the West they will be able to cut down on their overhead considerably. Hanoi is negotiating with the U.S. with the aim of setting up an air-lift from Saigon. Once the air-link is established the refugee operation will generate pure-profit — there will then be no need to locate and repair death-ships.

World-wide pressure should be applied to embarrass the U.S. into substantially raising the number of refugees allowed into the country. After inflicting so much pain and suffering on the unfortunate populace of Vietnam it would be the decent thing to do. Pressure should also be applied to Vietnam to cease this obscene trafficking in human lives. But, don't hold your breath waiting for a response.

Nicaragua:

Time to re-build

by: Lazarus Jones

The Nicaraguan people have won a great victory in ousting that contemptible parasite Anastasio Somoza, but far from being over the struggle has only just begun. Nicaragua is a devastated land, bled dry by three generations of Somoza rule, and almost a year of savage civil war. The task of re-construction will be a monumental one. The temptation to resort to authoritarian measures, different only in degree from Somoza's will be great.

More than half of the country's 2.7 million people are unemployed. Food shortages are bound to worsen as hardly anything was planted during the civil war. The cities are crippled and public transit is practically non-existent as most of the buses were destroyed in the fighting.

Still, there are some bright spots. Revolutionary euphoria has not interfered with the autonomous activity of the people. Every city block has its own committee, which handles distribution of relief goods, cleans streets and guards against counterrevolutionaries. It will be the task of the committee's to attempt to retain their autonomy in the face of the inevitable centralist reaction.

As in many Latin countries the syndicalist influence in Nicaragua is strong. The Sandanista's themselves take their name from Augusto Cesar Sandino, who fought against U.S. marines who first established the Somoza's in power in the 1920's. Sandino fought for workers' and peasants' control and the overthrow of the first Somoza. It is not yet known to what extent his modern



namesakes embrace syndicalism, although they marched to victory behind the red and black syndicalist flag.

On the negative side there are already disturbing signs of an authoritarian reaction in Nicaragua. Commander 'Zero' of

the Sandanista's has taken a position on the ruling junta, a government of "national reconstruction", in a clear violation of the Sandanista pledge to refuse all high government posts. There have also been appeals to the populace to turn in all weapons seized during the fighting, a sickeningly familiar move after the Iranian debacle.

To safeguard and extend their revolution the Nicaraguan people must ensure that power remains in their own hands and is not delegated to individuals who in time will become a new ruling elite as distant and authoritarian as Somoza's ever was. Above all they must remain a "People in Arms" and resist any and all attempts to disarm them.

We call upon the Nicaraguan people to build and maintain their autonomous organizations. We warn them to beware of parties and individuals who claim to rule "in the name of the people." Government is for slaves, free individuals govern themselves!

Nicaragua is similar in some ways to post-revolutionary Russia in the sense that the overthrown regime and all it stood for had been totally discredited before the nation and the world providing a clear break in the historical continuity. And as in Russia the revolution's usurpers, the Leninists, wait in the wings. The overthrow of Somozaism has cleared the way for the final showdown between the Nicaraguan revolution and bourgeois and Leninist reaction. We wish the people of Nicaragua well in this struggle.

Labour Pains

Fighting Ma Bell

As an industrially organized union rather than a trade or business organized union the **Communication Workers of Canada (CWC)** had to wage a severe battle with the giant telephone monopoly of **Bell Canada**. 15,000 communications workers in Ontario and Quebec initially responded to **Bell Canada's** refusal to end the vicious snare of compulsory overtime with a series of rotating strikes in an attempt to minimize economic dislocation and maximize political impact. The company however in attempting to irritate working people and promote economic dislocation reacted to these work stoppages by locking out employees for three days every time they stop work for a day. The result has been a full scale strike by the phone installers and repair persons employed at **Bell** during August. We have **Bell Canada** to thank for the long delays in residential phone installations which are far down the list of priorities, unlike business phone installations.

Auto Workers Militant

Pensions are slated to be a key bargaining issue in the upcoming struggle between the **United Auto Workers of America** and the 'Big Three' minus one auto companies. However, judging by the wildcats in the industry, such as the one at St. Catharines, Ontario, in March, speedups remain a bone of contention among rank and file labourers. The attempts to strike seven **General Motors** plants in Detroit during August, also over production quotas, illustrates this as well.

Judging by the **United Auto Workers'** strike authorization votes — at **Chrysler Corp.** in Windsor almost 99 per cent favour strike action if it is necessary to win their modest demands — auto labourers are unwilling to be made the sacrificial lamb of capitalistic crisis and will not easily drop their demands for a shorter work week, cost of living protection, and longer paid vacations.

It is a sure bet that the 'international' trade or business union structure of the **United Auto Workers** will hamper effective strike action by labourers in the industry, particularly in Canada, where it serves to separate labourers from one another and inhibits intramembership communication. A general industrial union with a genuine 'all-in' orientation is sorely needed by auto workers in Canada if there is to be effective and efficient solidarity based on the unity of labourers in the United States and the unity of workers in both nations of Canada.

Million Workers in Contract Talks

More than a million workers are bargaining in Canada during 1979. The location of most of these workers in corporations employing over 500 labourers is significant. In fact, 50 per cent of all employees in Canada in units of 500 or more will be bargaining during 1979. 30 per cent of these labourers are in the public sector. 100,000 members of the **Canadian Union of Public Employees** are negotiating this year under the threat of **Bill C-22** and the memory of the **Canadian Union of Postal Workers'** battle, which is again building up a full head of steam. These industrial unions face a fierce and backward opponent. **Treasury Board** secretary Sinclair Stevens is already proceeding with his reactionary cuts of necessary social services to the tune of 60,000 jobs by 1983.

The 'Common Front' unions also bargain this fall in the Quebec public sector. This may well provide a real test for the Quebec government's public sector austerity measures.

A winning strategy in the public sector must include linking wage and benefit demands to government defense spending and corporate giveaway policy.

Wild-Cats

Labour Canada has reported that wild-cat strikes in Canada accounted for almost 1/4 of all strikes during 1978. These are the most recent figures available. Government studies have in the past noted that such a level constitutes a period of 'acute industrial relations crisis'.

Revolt Against Work

Membership rejection rates of union executive negotiated contracts have increased to completely unprecedented levels in Canada in recent years. Many interested parties to industrial disruptions are terming this phenomenon a revolt against the structure of contemporary work relations and see no change in the process in the immediate future.

You Deserve a Contract Today

Shawinigan, Quebec, is now the site of the world's only unionized **McDonald's** hamburger plant. The **Confederation of National Trade Unions** announced on August 17, 1979, that 64 of approximately 80 workers at the factory food outlet have joined the industrial union.

Scabs Best Friend

The increasingly aggressive stance of employers towards unionists has been evident in many of this year's industrial disputes. The reluctance of **Westinghouse Electric** in Pittsburgh to bargain with the **International Union of Electrical Workers** during the strike is typical. The high productivity of the manufacturing industry combined with a falling profit rate is responsible for this condition.

Refusals on the Increase

We will end of this issue's column with an illustration of the increasing membership refusal to accept executive negotiated contracts in the United States. The strike of 3,600 labourers at **Copeland Corporation** of Sidney, Ohio, is indicative of this trend. The strike which began in May of 1979 was continued through August of this year when the rank and file rejected by a margin of 3 to 1 a contract which had been recommended by the union's bargaining committee.

We welcome contributions to this column from our readers. Please send your copy for the column care of this newspaper.