

North American ANARCHIST

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

CNT debates future

by: Brian Amesly

On December 8 one of the most significant events in the history of the international Anarchist movement was held in Madrid, Spain, the opening of the Fifth Congress of the Spanish Confederation of National Labour (CNT). The congress was the first one in forty-three years for the mass anarcho-syndicalist labour union which is the largest anarchist organization in the world.

In view of this, it was natural that the convening of the congress became the focus of attention of anarchist workers' organizations the world over. This was particularly true of those which comprise the sections of the International Workers' Association, (AIW) the anarcho-syndicalist international of which the CNT is the Spanish section. External delegations from the other AIW sections and non-AIW anarchist organizations totalled over 125 people.

The principal tasks before the CNT were its consolidation as an organization following the nightmare of nearly 40 years of Franco's fascist rule, the need to address itself to a social context dramatically different from that which existed at the time of the last congress in 1936 and the establishment of the course to be taken as it enters the 1980's.

This congress stood in stark contrast with the previous 1936 meeting

in Saragossa just prior to the July social revolution of the same year. Then the CNT had over 1.6 million members and was rivaled only in the working class movement by the Socialist General Union of Workers (UGT). The situation at the time was a pre-revolutionary one whereas today the class struggle in Spain is at a relatively low ebb.

These contrasts in organizational strength and the level of class struggle only begin to define the differences marked by the passing of time. The CNT has become a very different entity in so far as the majority of its members were born after the Spanish Civil War and the ensuing underground resistance of the 1940's. This largely youthful composition has presented the CNT with some very fundamental challenges which are interwoven with the re-organization process and the problems posed by the changed nature of Spanish society in general.

The CNT congress had to confront a lack of familiarity among the younger militants with procedural norms and consequent challenges to them. The heated debates over procedures consumed nearly three full days. But, once the procedural norms were straightened away the congress proceeded at a more rapid pace.

The challenges posed by many of these young militants involved



Delegates to the 5th Congress of the CNT gather at the main meeting hall in Madrid.

defining the very essence of what the CNT is. Most of the older militants maintain that the CNT while most of the younger militants, who are obviously more motivated by are obviously more motivated by

Cont.: See CNT Pg. 7

Persons Unknown Acquitted

After a 61 day trial the jury in the **Persons Unknown** case returned 20 individual verdicts of not guilty on the nine counts, which included conspiracy to rob and possession of explosive charges, brought against the four Anarchists. The verdict represents a massive set-back for the State's anti-left campaign especially in light of the fact that the jury had been "vetted" to screen out potential jurors with liberal or radical sympathies.

In his final statements to the jury Judge King-Hamilton bitterly upbraided the jurors for failing to do the State's dirty work: "I think you have been remarkably merciful in the face of the evidence," he honked. The "evidence" the Judge was referring to include the by now famous "explosive" weedkiller, flour, sugar and wiring found at Iris Mill's apartment.

The prosecution's case was a pathetic jigsaw puzzle of lies, half-truths and innuendo designed to convince the jury that the four people before them had been apprehended in the nick of time. The fact that the four defendants were "self-confessed Anarchists" was continually stressed to give the impression that Anarchy and Crime were synonymous.

In his address to the jury prosecutor Michael Worsley claimed: "the object of the robberies, the explosive ingredients, the literature,

was in order to effect further ultimate unlawful purposes — attacks on the institutions of this society. In other words — Anarchy."

It took the jury 52 1/2 hours to sift through the mountain of circumstantial evidence gathered by the prosecution. Their verdict of "not guilty" on all counts was a stinging slap in the face for the State and goaded Judge King-Hamilton into an unprecedented step. He refused to dismiss the jury and ordered them to attend the sentencing of Stewart Carr, an Anarchist who had disassociated himself from the other defendants and had been tried separately.

Carr pleaded guilty to conspiracy to rob and sat in silence as prosecutor Michael Worsley took three hours to read extracts from a two hundred page transcript of interviews between Carr and the police conducted after his arrest. The interviews catalogued a series of robberies for money and firearms and discussions which Carr claimed to have participated in concerning bombings, assassinations and kidnappings.

As he sentenced Carr to nine years imprisonment Judge King-Hamilton ominously declared: "From the disclosures you have made it now appears the case is far more serious than the Crown was able to present in the trial which has

Cont.: See Persons Pg. 5

TORONTO ROCKS AGAINST RACISM



Joe Hall rocks against racism! Story and more pictures on Pg. 4.

ON THE INSIDE

Anti-Election Campaign Pg. 3

Persons Unknown Conspiracy Pg. 5

Genital Mutilation Pg. 6

A Hard Rain Pg. 7

Was Seabrook a Failure? Pg. 13

For Starters



We've had quite a bit of feedback on Frank Stevens' *Politics of Topless* article. The author himself anticipated that it might stir some controversy and we will give him the opportunity to reply to some of the criticism. We would remind our readers that this newspaper, like the ACF, does not claim to be a monolithic organization doling out the "correct line" on each and every issue. We are agreed on the fundamentals but the particulars leave a lot of leeway. In our first issue we stated that "the process of debate and ideological struggle... is an inherent part of the process of putting out a political newspaper." We are pleased that this process has begun.

In our next issue, NAA4, we plan to establish a 'contacts' section. This section is intended

to aid individuals and groups to reach out to their communities. We, as well as the *Open Road* collective, have been struck by the number of isolated individuals who fervently desire to become involved in the Anarchist movement but have little or no opportunity to do so. Just reading a newspaper, no matter how good it may be, is a poor substitute for actual participation. We will be providing a box service for those individuals and groups who request it forwarding the mail received on a regular basis.

Naturally we hope that groups formed as a result of this service will decide to affiliate with the ACF but that is not a pre-requisite. We will be quite satisfied if we can help in our own small way to spread Anar-

chy. So why not give it a try, step out of apathy and into Anarchy!

Prospective ACF affiliates must have a minimum of three members and be in agreement with the General Principles of the ACF. Copies of the Basis for Affiliation and General Principles of the ACF are available on request. Prospective affiliates apply to the ACF affiliate nearest them and must send a representative to the next scheduled ACF conference. These conferences are held twice a year.

As always we welcome your comments and criticisms, offers to help distribute the paper and general encouragement. Write to us at: *The North American Anarchist* POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

ACF AFFILIATES

CANADA

REGINA ACF: POB 3658, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, S4P 3N8. *ACF Financial Group.*

TORONTO ACF: POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4B 2B0. *Newspaper Co-Production Group.*

TOTALLY ECLIPSED: POB 223, Jordan Station, Ontario, Canada LOR 1S0. *Newspaper Co-production Group. External Correspondence Group.*

UNITED STATES

NAMELESS ANARCHIST GROUP: Box K, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, USA. *Internal Bulletin Group.*

SYNDICALIST ALLIANCE: POB 92246, Milwaukee, WI 53202 USA.

RASCAL: POB 1516, Morgantown, WV 26505, USA.

RESURGENCE: POB 2824, Station A, Champaign, ILL 61820, USA.

BREAD AND ROSES: 55 Sutter St., No. 95, San Francisco, CA 94104, USA.

ROCHESTER BLACK ROSE: POB 1283, Rochester, NY 14603, USA.

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS GROUP: POB 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10011, USA. *Pamphlet Co-ordinating Group.*

For more information on the Anarchist Communist Federation and its activities, please contact our External Correspondence Group, *Totally Eclipsed*, POB 223, Jordan Station, Ontario, Canada, LOR 1S0, or the local group nearest you.

LETTERS

Letters to NAA should not be more than two typed double-spaced pages to ensure that the maximum number can be printed.

WORTH READING

Dear All,
I think your paper is excellent — informative, well-argued, relaxed and human but not wishy-washy. I found every article worth reading. We will share the paper around in London, maybe photocopying or re-printing various articles.

Keep it up.
In Solidarity
Dave Morris,
London, England

DON'T FOLD!

Dear Sisters and Brothers,
Thank you so for one of the best things that has happened to me in months — *The North American Anarchist*. I wish I could manage more material support than just a \$5 subscription but with \$120/wk. take-home pay you'll have to make do with my unrelenting moral support. PLEASE DON'T FOLD! THERE ARE MORE OF US OUT THERE THAN WE CAN IMAGINE. I know. I was one. Growing up through the poverty and despair of this heavily industrialized port city I channeled my rage into the authoritarian left as a teenager. It took me a few years to finally admit that the concepts of truth, justice, and freedom just weren't hiding anywhere under the pile of semantical bullshit known as historical "reality". A familiar path for many

Anarchists. Except I thought I was all alone. I stumbled onto Kropotkin and couldn't believe the clarity and morality of the man. I couldn't understand why leftists were not shouting 'Anarchy' from the rooftops.

Well, since my political rejuvenation as an Anarchist-Communist I have visited Catalunya several times and how proudly I know our faith is sustained in the workshops and barrios of Barcelona. There are even a few of us that have managed to grasp each other through the dense fogs of old Saint John.

In Solidarity
Chris Willis
Saint John, New Brunswick

SALUD!

Dear Comrades,
I salud you with the second issue! Please send me the first issue. For my sub I mailed you 20 Vanzetti's *Story of a Proletarian Life*. Also, 20 Bakunin's *On Violence*, and separately a T-shirt with Emma's picture as a young woman with the legend "If I can't dance I don't want to be in your REVOLUTION".
I met Emma when she returned to the States in the Thirties, and due to activities became very close to her. I still have the contract from Webster Hall where she gave her last lecture.

I now wish to make a correction to comrade Kubanin: he states the Communist Party "destroyed the goodwill it once enjoyed among the peasantry." As a Ukrainian who lived with peasants, I wish to inform our readers that the Party could not have "destroyed the goodwill" never "enjoyed among the peasantry." No party member was safe in a village.

Now tell me, why don't you announce sales of Anarchist books? In December people buy presents.

Yours in Struggle
Jack Frager,
Floral Park, New Jersey

DIVERGENT VIEWS

Friends,
Of particular interest to me was the review by Alien Anarchist of *You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship*. One of the problems with *Open Road* was/is its failure to confront the fact that there are very divergent views amongst Anarchists, divergent enough to prohibit joint activity, in some cases. It is much more useful to read a partisan article, such as the one you printed, whether or not I agree with it (which in this case I do) than to read a newsy article which hides the existence of this and other debates. Further, let me assert my opinion that it is also not useful to banish disagreement from your pages in order to present a unified facade to an uninitiated readership, in order to recruit them, or something like that.

You might consider, as a suggestion, a regular column in which various contributors could address the inter-anarchist issues in an organized way. For example, terrorism, union organizing and forms of national organizations are all issues which could provoke interesting debate.

In any case, you should continue and perhaps expand your review section. It is important to cover all aspects of life. If we think that our ideas are good enough to be worthy of implementing, then we should figure out their implications in all areas.

Yours
Charlie Gamble,
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ANARCHIST WORKERS ALLIANCE

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are copies of our paper, *Anarchist Worker* — if you are willing we would like to do an exchange.

We are a young organization being one year old this month. We are active in industry and are involved in rank and file groups in the unions, in strikes and in anti-wage restraint campaigning. We hope to increase our activities in the women's liberation and anti-nuke struggles as well as our work in the anti-imperialist movement (H-block, troops out, etc.).

We would like a regular exchange of information/experience/ideas/publications with other Anarchist groups active in the class struggle. Letters have gone out to numerous groups including the French OCL, Australian LSO, Swedish RAO. We have some contact with groups like the CNT and the ACA in England and Scotland.

Hope to hear from you soon.
Alan MacSimoin,
Dublin, Ireland

FREE PASSAGE

Comrades,

I have your *Free Passage 1* and would appreciate any other information you can give me on the case of the twelve anarchists banned from the US.

I expect to be giving testimony to something called the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, concentrating on the McCarran-Walter Act, and this case is a particularly striking example of the act's implications and its conflict with human liberty and the Helsinki accords.

Christopher White,
Fair Haven, New Jersey

ELECTRIC DELIGHT

Friends,
With more than electric delight I read your 2nd issue (missing the first!) more power to you! I want to thank you all personally for breaking down some of the isolation I have felt as an anarchist, especially here in Ontario. I feel that there are many other brothers and sisters out there, who, like me could not somehow find a way to communicate/express themselves with other people of similar interest. hopefully your/our newspaper will not only convey vital information but also let people communicate with people.

although I'm unemployed I not only want to subscribe to your newspaper but I would like to make a donation. because I missed the 1st issue I also missed the aef declaration. if possible could you send me the 1st issue or a copy of the aef declaration. I would appreciate it.
in solidarity and struggle
mark elson,
peterborough, ontario

ABOUT STRATEGIES

This letter is in response to the letter from Tomega Therion (NAA-Dec/Jan 1980) from Detroit in which is stated:

Your grotesque vision of a Libertarian society founded upon computer technology was enough to make me choke...

.... The "problems" of production and distribution only become central as concerns under capitalism, and their elevation into a political program manifests itself in five year plans...
Turn the Factories into
Dance Halls.

More Letters: See Pg. 14

Anti-Election Campaign 80'

by: Lazarus Jones

On December 13 the Liberals and the New Democratic Party (NDP) combined forces to topple the minority Conservative government of Joe Clark. Within hours of the government's fall hordes of politicians began fanning out from Ottawa to fight the second election campaign in six months.

At issue was the Conservative budget which, if implemented, would have been one more brutal kick in the teeth for Canada's long-suffering working class. Tory Finance Minister John Crosbie proposed a sharp 18¢ a gallon increase in the gasoline tax in line with the Tory commitment to more towards "world prices;" the usual tax hikes on cigarettes, beer and wine; an increase of 18.5% in workers contributions to the unemployment insurance fund and massive funding cuts in the social services. The parlour socialists of the NDP who, unlike their provincial counterparts, have had no experience in managing the capitalist crisis were outraged and moved a motion of non-confidence.

The Liberals, buoyed by a Gallup poll that showed them to be 20 points ahead of the Conservatives, enthusiastically supported the motion. Right up to the last moment the Tories refused to believe that the Liberals, apparently leaderless after Pierre Trudeau's "resignation", would actually go through with it. They were wrong. When the votes were counted the Tories found themselves on the short-end of a 139-133 tally.

The major federal parties soon began gearing up for a harsh mid-Winter election and even the "revolutionary" governments-in-waiting dug deep into depleted pockets for a chance at the brass ring of power. The Communist Par-

ty of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the local Tirana franchise, plans to run 165 candidates. At \$200 per candidate (an election deposit which is non-refundable if the individual wins less than 15% of the vote) this will cost the Stalinoids a cool \$33,000. The Moscow line CP, fresh from their 27th Congress held at the downtown Toronto Holiday Inn, plans to spend only \$30,000 total this time down from

the \$60,000 the party spent in the May 22 election campaign. We, of course, don't have that kind of money to throw away on this farcical exercise. The money we will be spending will be put to much better use. Once again we will be fighting an Anti-Election Campaign.

We plan to emphasize that the only difference between the parties lies in their estimates of how much money it will take to keep the

masses quiet. We intend to expose the electoral process for what it really is — a seedy con game designed to convince the masses that they actually have some say in their collective destiny.

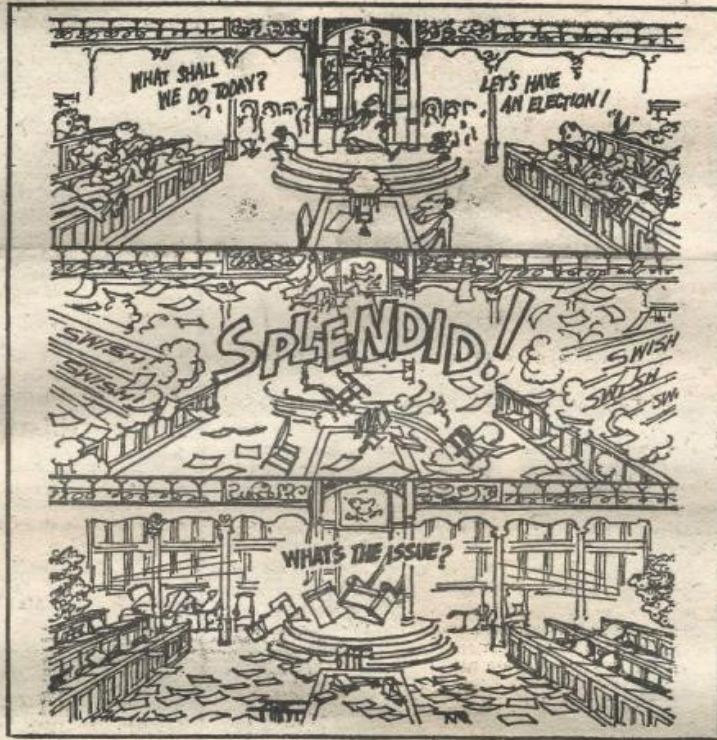
Millions upon millions of dollars are spent to promote the claim that stuffing a piece of paper into a box once every three or four years is the ultimate expression of personal autonomy. The political shamans

make their ritual offerings to that great god - the electorate - and for one day it rules supreme.

We are asked, as Ed Broadbent leader of the NDP might put it, to choose between working for Ford, Chrysler or GM! But unfortunately the problems caused by capitalism are unresolvable within the limits of capitalism and no amount of fancy footwork by the three major parties can obscure that fact.

The Conservatives are resolved to beat the working class into submission and the acceptance of a drastically reduced standard of living. The liberals, led by a born-again Pierre Trudeau, are posing as the defenders of the weak and powerless just long enough to get back into power. The NDP with their Pathetic "You've tried the rest now try the best!" approach are making one more desperate attempt to break out of their usual 18% of the vote ghetto. Their declared project - capitalism with a human face - has a lousy track record in the few provinces where they have managed to get elected. Give the ordinary working person some credit, if he/she has to live under capitalism they prefer to elect people who have a vague idea of what they're doing.

For the Anti-Election Campaign we have printed a leaflet version of Bakunin's article **The Illusion of Universal Suffrage**. We've also printed a series of Anti-Election posters and plan to hold an Anti-Election Rally in Toronto during February. The date and location of this rally will be announced soon. The Bakunin leaflet and the posters are available from: **The Anti-Election Committee** POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario. The leaflets are 5¢ each and the posters are 20¢ for \$1. **Change Life - Not Leaders!**



Illusion of universal suffrage

by: Mikhail Bakunin

Men once believed that the establishment of universal suffrage would guarantee the freedom of the peoples. That, alas, was a great illusion, and the realization of that illusion has led in many places to the downfall and demoralization of the radical party. The radicals did not wish to deceive the people - or so the liberal papers assure us - but in that case they were certainly themselves deceived. They were genuinely convinced when they promised the people freedom through universal suffrage, and inspired by that conviction they were able to arouse the masses and overthrow the established aristocratic governments. Today, having learnt from experience and power politics, they have lost faith in themselves and in their principles and in that way they have sunk into defeat and corruption.

Yet the whole thing seemed so natural and so simple; once legislative and executive power emanated directly from a popular election, must it not become the pure expression of the people's will, and could that will produce anything other than freedom and well being among the populace?

The whole deception of the representative system lies in the fiction that a government and a legislature emerging out of a popular election must or even can represent the real will of the people. Instinctively and inevitably the people expect two things: the greatest possible material prosperity combined with

the greatest freedom of movement and action; that means the best organization of popular economic interests, and the complete absence of any kind of power or political organization - since all political organization is destined to end in the negation of freedom. Such are the basic longings of the people.

The instincts of the rulers, whether they legislate or execute the laws, are - by the very fact of their exceptional position - diametrically opposite. However democratic may be their feelings and their intentions, once they achieve the elevation of office they can only view society in the same way as a schoolmaster views his pupils, and between pupils and masters equality cannot exist. On one side there is the feeling of superiority that is inevitably provoked by a position of superiority; on the other side, there is the sense of inferiority which follows from the superiority of the teacher, whether he is exercising an executive or a legislative power. Whoever talks of political power talks of domination; but where domination exists there is inevitably a somewhat large section of society that is dominated, and those who are dominated quite naturally detest their dominators, while the dominators have no choice but to subdue and oppress those they dominate.

This is the eternal history of political power, ever since that power has appeared in the world. This is what also explains why and how the most extreme of

democrats, the most raging rebels become the most cautious of conservatives as soon as they attain power. Such recantations are usually regarded as acts of treason, but that is an error; their main cause is simply the change of position and hence of perspective.

In (Canada), as elsewhere, the ruling class is completely different and separate from the mass of governed. Here, as everywhere, no matter how egalitarian our political constitution may be, it is the bourgeoisie who rule, and it is the people - workers and (farmers) - who obey their laws. The people have neither the leisure nor the necessary education to occupy themselves with government. Since the bourgeoisie have both, they have, in fact if not by right, exclusive privilege. Thus, in (Canada) as elsewhere, political equality is merely a puerile fiction, a lie.

But how, separated as they are from the people by all the economic and social circumstances of their existence, can the bourgeoisie express in laws and in government, the feelings, ideas and wishes of the people? It is impossible, and daily experience in fact proves that, in legislation as well as government, the bourgeoisie is mainly directed by its own interests and prejudices, without any great concern for those of the people.

It is true that all our legislators, as well as all the members of (provincial) governments, are elected, directly or indirectly, by the people. It is true that on election

day even the proudest of bourgeoisie, is they have any political ambitions, are obliged to pay court to Her Majesty, the Sovereign People. But once the elections are over, the people return to their work and the bourgeoisie to their profitable businesses and political intrigues. They can neither meet nor recognize each other again. And how can one expect the people, burdened by their work and ignorant for the most part of current problems, to supervise the political actions of their representatives? In reality, the control exer-

cised by voters on their elected representatives is a pure fiction. But since, in the representative system, popular control is the only guarantee of the people's freedom, it is quite evident that such freedom in its turn is no more than a fiction.

Editor's Note: This article by Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) was written in Switzerland, with specific reference to Switzerland. We have taken the liberty of substituting Canadian references to further drive home the timeless points expressed in this piece.



Rock Against Racism!

by: Bob Loblaw

*"Smash The Western Guard and Clan,
Rock 'N' Roll Throughout The Land"*

This was the theme December 16 as Rock Against Racism got off the ground in Toronto.

RAR is a movement made popular originally in Great Britain by political rockers like **The Tom Robinson Band**. During the "hot summer" of 1976, four Asians were murdered by racists. Neo-nazis provoked riots in the streets, and bigoted politicians blamed unemployment and Britains' crumbling economy on non-white immigrants. In response 80,000 jammed Londons' Victoria Park last year to protest and celebrate with **TRB**, **The Clash**, and many others.

Toronto anarchists gathered to assist in the organization and development of the RAR benefit concert at the popular St. Paul's Centre. The evening was an excellent experience for the three hundred plus in attendance.

The first band of the evening was a last minute substitution; a heavy metal group called **Tripper**. While they were good musically, an alert feminist on the RAR committee literally "pulled the plug" on them during their third number because of the blatantly sexist nature of the lyrics. Audience response was very positive, it accelerated to a peak of high energy with the excellent rock 'n' roll of **No Frills** and continued throughout the final set of the evening with **Joe Hall** and the **Continental Drift**. It "blew me away" to see so many people dancing with com-



"The Body Politic was busted for that kind of stuff," feminist explains why plug was pulled on Ripper who had been singing the praises of sixteen-year-olds.



Ripper's set was brought to a sudden close by an outraged feminist who objected to the band's lyrics.

plete joy and with this crowd there wasn't a hint of ageism, sexism, or anti-gay bigotry.

Vern Harper of the **American Indian Movement (AIM)** complemented the evening with an excellent talk as did speakers from the **Action Committee Against Racism**, the **Albert Johnson Committee**, and the **Political Lesbian Organization of Toronto (PLOT)**.

It is also noted that the concert went without negative incident even though there were no cops to keep "order" and in spite of a threatening phone call from the National Socialist "underground" who promised to "smash our skulls in" if the concert took place.

RAR is planning a gigantic open air free concert in the late spring. Keep an eye out for **Tom Robinson**, **DOA**, and many more Reggae, Soul, Rock 'n' Roll, Funk and Punk groups. This is OUR music.



There were brisk sales of Anarchist literature at the ACF booktable in the foyer.



"If my ancestors had had tighter immigration laws we wouldn't have this mess today," said Vern Harper, a representative of the Toronto native community.

The influence of RAR has spread to the U.S. and now to Canada. In recent months Toronto cops have gunned down Blacks Buddy Evans and Albert Johnson. The unarmed Evans was killed during what could have been a simple disturbance issue, and evidence indicates that Johnson, after months of police harassment and complaints filed by him with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, was shot through the head while on his kneec, in his living room, and in front of his young daughter. The statement of the daughter has been declared "inadmissible" by Ontario's number one cop, the attorney general. Blatant physical attacks and harassments by police and western guard scum against Natives, Blacks, East Indians and gays are on the increase.



No Frills really got the crowd jumping with their energetic brand of Rock-n-roll.

Persons Unknown Conspiracy

by: Lazarus Jones

"The law should be used as just another weapon in the government's arsenal, and in this case it becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public."

Brigadier Kitson
(Military advisor to the government)

The first "unwanted members of the public" to be arrested were Ronan Bennet and Iris Mills. They appeared in court on May 27, 1978, where it was alleged that "they conspired with persons unknown to cause by explosive substance, explosions within the United Kingdom of a nature likely to endanger life or cause serious injury (sic) to property." Bail was opposed and they were both remanded to Brixton which being an all-male prison meant that Iris was held in solitary confinement. Apparently none of the established women's prisons were considered strong enough to hold her.

The result of this resolve was the formation of the **Persons Unknown Support Group**. The group began to publish a weekly press statement to counter the "hysterical crap" in the daily papers. In the courts the conspiracy to cause explosions charge was beginning to fall apart because of the total lack of hard evidence. Under repeated questioning by defense counsel Det. Supt. Bradbury was forced to admit that: "Unfortunately... well, fortunately... there have been no explosions." The hapless Bradbury was soon after replaced by Det. Inspector John McClellan.

On July 4 Vince Stephenson was arrested on his way to a **Persons Unknown** meeting. He found himself swept up in a mammoth police operation that apparently involved surveillance on every member of the support group. The police referred to this operation as 'D-Day'. Two days later Trevor Dawton was also arrested bringing the number of imprisoned Anarchists up to six. Throughout this period all members of the support group were subject to constant police harassment and abuse.



Persons Unknown: Vince Stephenson, Iris Mills, Ronan Bennet, Trevor Dawton and Taff Ladd.

The deadliest implication if the whole **Persons Unknown** affair is the State's blatant attempt to equate leftist activity with criminal activity. As we enter the Eighties and a period of prolonged economic depression the ruling classes of the world will desperately attempt to drive a wedge between the masses and the organized left. They foresee a titanic struggle between the possessors and the dispossessed. It is a struggle they intend to win.

WHAT NEXT?

It is easy to see why the Anarchist movement was selected as the test case for the New Fascism. Compared to the other leftist sects the organized Anarchist movement is very small and has few resources. Add to this the instinctive hostility

of the Marxist left and the "natural" connection between "mad bombers" and "Anarchists." What you get is a left-segment that can easily be isolated and attacked with relative impunity. The police can hone their repressive techniques and stack up their precedents while an apathetic and complacent left looks idly on.

We all learned a lot during the course of this struggle — we even won! But the police also learned a great deal. The made mistakes that are not likely to be repeated next time. Their greatest lesson was that it is very hard to convince a jury of the accused's murderous intentions if you don't have any murderous deeds to back them up. A real possibility in the near future is the infiltration of agent provocateurs. Or perhaps the British police will

take a leaf out of their Latin comrades notebooks and cut out the middleman entirely by staging their own bombing campaign.

We must use the short breathing spell granted to us wisely. For make no mistake about it there will be a next time. If not in England then in Canada or the United States. The Anarchist movement, as always, will bear the brunt of reaction's first assaults. We must be ready!

Much of this article was drawn from the excellent pamphlet put out by the **Persons Unknown Support Group**. It can be ordered from: **Persons Unknown**, Box 123, Rising Free, 182 Upper St., NI, England. The cost is \$1.50 (includes postage and handling).

I THINK, THEREFORE I AM...



...IN JAIL

At their next court appearance, on June 5, they were joined in the dock by Taff Ladd. His fingerprints had been found in Iris and Ronan's apartment. It was at this hearing that the substance of the charges were laid bare. Detective Superintendent Peter Bradbury, the investigating officer, charged that the three belong to a London based group of "idealistic persons who believe that they should take positive steps to overthrow society." Security was obvious and heavy as a carefully orchestrated campaign of hysteria was launched.

The reactionary British press cooperated fully in this campaign supplying sensational copy and screaming headlines. The statements of an actress neighbour of Iris and Ronan, who just might have had ulterior motives, were given full credence. "I knew girl in 'bomb-flat' — Actress" the *Daily Express* shouted. "Actress in bomb-besir shock" echoed the *Sun*. The *Daily Mail* stated, with commendable objectivity, "Couple held in anti-terror raid." And, in what could only have been a direct re-print of a police press release, the *Daily Telegraph* declared "Bomb Material seized in hunt for Anarchists."

MASS RAIDS

The month of June witnessed mass raids on the homes of known anarchists throughout the length and breadth of Britain. On June 21 a fourth person, Stewart Carr, was arrested and also charged with conspiracy to cause explosions. The effect of these raids and arrests on the British Anarchist movement was electric. The initial fear and panic, however, was soon transformed into a determined resolve to fight back.

WHY?

The police body most directly involved in the operation was the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS). It was at first thought that the sole reason for the harassment was the ATS's need for a 'make-work' project to underline their indispensability. But soon a more sinister pattern began to emerge. There were three main reasons for the size and scope of the operation:

- 1) to provide the specialist police squads with practice in the type of operation that will clearly become more common;
- 2) to intimidate actual and potential left-wing activists from taking part in any activity seen as threatening to the State; and,
- 3) to provide an opportunity for gathering low level information on political activities, contact networks and so on.

In short, the exercise was nothing less than a full dress rehearsal for fascism.

Meanwhile back in the courts the conspiracy to cause explosions charges had been fully discredited. The "explosive substances" had proven to be weedkiller, flour, sugar and some loose wiring. These charges were withdrawn by the prosecution and replaced by even vaguer "conspiracy to rob" accusations. Apart from their vagueness the conspiracy to rob charges had the added advantage of "depoliticizing" the trial. The State rightly guessed that reducing the trial to a merely "criminal" level would cut away potential support from a revolutionary left divided hopelessly by the legal/illegal dead end. This proved to be the case as the various ML and Trotskyist sects virtually ignored the trial and its implications for the left in general.



Why Taff skipped

Taff Ladd, one of the defendants in the Persons Unknown case, decided not to participate in the show trial. As a result of his failure to appear the two women who stood bail for him have been ordered by the courts to forfeit approximately \$30,000.

Ladd's apparent failure to advise his comrades and the two female sureties of his decision to go underground is reprehensible. But to condemn the decision itself — Ronan Bennet, one of Ladd's co-defendants termed the action "despicable" — is clearly the wrong reaction. As Ladd says in the following statement we should direct our energies towards "helping the sureties to pay the ransom" rather than condemning a comrade for refusing to play the State's game.

THE SURETY COMPLEX

The superficial liberalism of the bail system is intended to defuse

Persons: Cont. from Pg. 1

just ended (Carr's statements were inadmissible in the **Persons Unknown** trial) and from the wealth of detail you were able to give it is now clear that you and your colleagues had been intending to kidnap or assassinate prominent people as well as attacking buildings by explosion."

King-Hamilton's statements infuriated some of the **Persons Unknown** jurors and aroused a storm of protest outside the courtroom. Defence lawyers condemned the Judge's remarks as an outrageous attack on the jury system. King-Hamilton's parting remarks to the **Persons Unknown** jury — "I pray to God that none of you will have cause to regret your decision" — served notice that the **Persons Unknown** case is far from over.

and morally blackmail, in the furtherance of the aims of class justice. The capitalists have in their blind worship of their God, Money, equated it with identity and life.

My release on bail, mainly for medical reasons and despite the terrorism against the sureties, was in the eyes of the pigs a defeat. Their safeguard was to hold me ransom for £17,500 and to make economic hostages of 2 people. The intention was to bind, to appear at their show trial, to deliver myself voluntarily — by moral blackmail — to their corrupt justice.

My failure was that I was unable to make clear to the hostages, despite the obvious escalation by, and intentions of the pigs in our case, that you cannot equate identity or life with money. Also that by appearing at their show trial I would be allowing myself to become a puppet of their manipulations, it

would not have been me taking the action. Those who say my failure was in not appearing, that I "let my friends down" are blind to or don't want to recognize the methods of the pigs, equally they are thinking along the lines of capitalist ideology, being "objective," not

taking a subjective stand in the struggle. Thought should be given to what the show trial means, what prison means, with its control units for "anarchists and subversives," the threat at the trial and in prison to identify and life. Your energy should be directed against the aims

of capitalist judiciary and prisons/control units, in helping the sureties to pay the ransom, and freeing yourselves from the mental chains of capitalist ideology, i.e. your colonisation.
Taff Ladd



Anarchist Feminist Notes

Women and Strikes

Although almost half the women in the US and Canada work for wages the work they most often do is service work — a duplication of their tasks at home. Generally women are poorly paid, poorly organized and the work they do is considered temporary or unskilled. Because women are expected to labour in the home without wages out of love and consideration for their families, they are also expected to be willing to be exploited in the work force for low wages for similar altruistic reasons. The low wages were thought to be justified by some (including those who paid them) because women were supposed to have someone to support them while their income was used for 'frivolous extras.' Also, since the work they did is humanitarian by nature, many people reasoned (wrongly) that a humanitarian service does not generate a manufactured product which could be sold for a profit with part of the product going towards reimbursing the worker. In this light the female service worker was often regarded as living off the labours of the manufacturing sector so, not only was she regarded as a social housekeeper, she was also expected to be grateful for her meagre wage. This view does not understand that service work is still a socially necessary labour.

In recent years the women's movement has done much to dispel the myths of why women work. Women have been organizing themselves at their workplace and their unified actions have started to force society to reorganize its thinking. The dominant ideology concerning women's role in society is becoming less acceptable.

However the attempts by women to organize and unionize has met with problems that the manufacturing sector never had to face in its organization history. Because of women's role in the wage force where they are overwhelmingly teachers, nurses and other social service workers and other peoples' lives depend on their work, women are often subject of an emotional blackmail as well as the more traditional problems of labour struggles. Strikes in the social services elicit a type of response ("orphans are starving" or "patients are dying") that don't arise during other strikes. The fact that orphans' or patients' needs cannot be looked after adequately unless the workers' needs are met is often not a cause for much public concern.

Many women find it distasteful to pit their interests against those who are dependent upon them, even in the short term, and are therefore reluctant to struggle against their role in capitalist social organization. However, new strategies have recently been developed which allow women to avoid the emotional blackmail they are often confronted with, to still provide the necessary services and to provide themselves with a forum in which they can address the public and gain their support — an important prerequisite in order to win their demands. These goals can be achieved by a 'social strike' where women continue to do their jobs. For instance, hospital workers will still tend to the sick, however they will forget to charge their patients or collect the bills. Teachers will continue to teach, but they can refuse to take attendance or to fail students and they can ignore any acts of vandalism to the school property. Telephone operators can place calls but not charge them up. By using this strategy, pressure is generated on the employer to improve the working conditions and to increase wages while not affecting those who depend on the social services.

Of course, the social strike technique is not applicable in all cases and the legal implications are often too great to risk, but this does not suggest that we should abandon struggles. It means that in our struggles, we must be innovative since we are limited in what we can borrow from pre-existing models. Our struggles require a complete rethinking of our goals and a constant re-evaluation of our strategies.

International Women's Day

International Women's Day was founded March 8 by the anarchist women in the garment trades of New York. Ever since, the women's movement has marked this day and its accomplishments by shows of solidarity between sisters and their allies and various educational activities on women's oppression. Plan to attend organizing meetings and arrange rallies to commemorate our historical achievements and our fight for feminism.



Genital Mutilation in Africa

by: Maria Scipione

Last Halloween many of us were asked by small children to give money to UNICEF. We felt that our money would help children all over the world. In Africa this is not the case. The money donated to UNICEF goes to hospitals and doctors who perform "routine" genital mutilations of African female children.

At the World Health Organization Seminar in Khartoum, Sudan, in February 1979, it was revealed that genital mutilation is practiced in at least 30 countries across Africa and Asia. Over 30 million living women and young girls have had their genitals mutilated, and it is estimated that 10 million more are subject to the same.

All of these women are robbed of their rights to their health, their sexuality, their ability to have a normal childbirth, and most of all, control over their own bodies. The trend has been to perform these operations at a younger and younger age. The younger girl is less apt to resist (resistance in rural situations where anaesthesia is seldom used results in a much more brutal operation). Also, she is more inclined to perceive her mutilated body as normal.

"CIRCUMCISION"

There are three basic forms of mutilation:

Sunna Circumcision: The removal of the prepuce and the tip of the clitoris (this delicate operation requires a lot of skill and is only done in a tiny minority of cases).

Excision and Clitoridectomy: the removal (with or without anaesthetic) of the whole clitoris, labia minora and sometimes all external genitalia. Razor blades, knives or glass splinters are often used. It is often performed as a puberty rite, but in some areas, babies have the operation before they are a month old. Among the Masai it is performed after marriage.

Infibulation: (Usually performed on female children 4-8 years of age) the removal of the clitoris and the small lips, followed by the scraping of the labia which are then fixed together with thorns or catgut. The vagina is closed except for a small opening created by the insertion of a splinter of wood. The legs of the young girl are tied together for several weeks until the wound is healed (or she dies).

Short of death, the medical results are appalling. Infections are caused from dirty tools, which only complicate the pain, shock and heavy bleeding that usually occur. The rectum and urethra can be damaged if the woman/child struggles (which most do). After marriage, infibulated women must be cut open for intercourse. In some areas men prove their masculinity by busting the closures with their penises. The hardened scars make unassisted childbirth impossible because normal dilation will not occur, and the man-made blockage of the birth canal must be severed. A woman may be re-infibulated until she no longer has skin left to make it possible.

Most of the women victimized by these practices are illiterate, too young to speak for themselves and unaware of their bodies biological functions. They are under severe pressure solely because of customs and tradition.

CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Western imperialist countries have gone into Africa and stripped their cultures for economic profit, but when it comes to defying culture to spare a woman from gruesome and institutional violence,

traditions become sacred. Neither African Christian Churches nor Christian missionaries have opposed genital mutilation. Catholic missionaries in Tanzania perform the mutilations on the children of its converts in their own hospitals, "with the blessing of the Catholic Church." It is beneficial to all institutions based and dependent upon male supremacy that women be isolated, kept ignorant, terrified into submission and mutilated.



Reluctant victim is dragged to ritual mutilation.

The reasons for these customs and traditions are defined by men:

To control women's sexuality (by destroying it);

To assure fidelity to the husband (by making intercourse unbearably painful);

To protect women from being raped (men can't control themselves);

To increase male sexual pleasure (a tighter hole);

To insure a high price when daughters are sold into marriage (maintaining the value of property);

To increase fertility (25% of infertility is caused by genital mutilation); and

To increase female beauty (mutilation of women's organs is sexy).

UNMUTILATED: UNMARRIAGEABLE

Unmutilated women are unmarriageable in cultures that practice mutilation. In Africa, like everywhere else, women's worth is determined by their ability sexually to please men and to bear them children, especially sons. Unmutilated women become outcasts in their communities. Their actual survival is threatened. Knowing that women are virtually outcasts without having had the operation is the most coercive factor that perpetuates their submission to these atrocities, even in the few countries where the practice has been outlawed.

In order to destroy this cycle of ignorance, coercion, fear and sub-

mission, the women of Africa must have access to information vital to their existence. There has been an international conspiracy of silence.

The conference in Khartoum cited earlier sent a plea to the World Health Organization (WHO) imploring them to help wipe out the practice of genital mutilation. Thus far, WHO has failed to take any action to stop the atrocities. For the past eight months, it has been "studying" the situation.

Many organizations know of mutilation: United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), OXFAM, CARE, World Council of Churches, Christian Medical Commission and countless others. They have been contacted by Fran Hosken, editor of Women's International Network (WIN) News. She has been working to halt these practices by trying to get health and reproductive information to African women. She offered to conduct information sessions with them. She asked for reports on their experience with mutilated women and children in Africa. Most did not respond.

UNICEF RESPONDS

UNICEF had various responses: "We don't know anything about this, we don't want to know, and we certainly have no intentions to do anything at all," various statements of regret for being "unable to get involved in cultural matters of African countries," to the usual optimistic statements of "these practices are disappearing rapidly."

UNICEF, because of its involvement in community health programs, is in direct contact with the women and children in African countries. They could easily disseminate information about sexuality, women's biological functions and genital health. But they don't and won't.

The big excuse most international organizations use is that it is a ritual important to the culture. But since modernization has occurred, excisions and infibulations are no longer done just in ceremonial situations, but have become routine procedure in hospitals, done by doctors of western origin.

Organizations that conspire to hide the fact that genital mutilations occur should be confronted and boycotted until they recognize and begin to combat these violent practices that mutilate women's bodies and destroy women's health. They are part of a system that for thousands of years has torn out women's genitalia.

The mutilation of women and young girls in Africa (including most Muslim countries) is a form of woman-hating. Every country in the world has a history of practices that violate women. It is the responsibility of all women in the world to help our African sisters in their fight against this brutality.

NOTES:

- 1) Jocelyn Margaret Murray; *The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy with Special Reference to the Church Missionary Society's "Sphere of Influence"*; Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of California, Los Angeles, 1974; Page 364.
- 2) 30 Million: *Genital Mutilation of women and Female Children*; Leaflet prepared by Women Against Mutilation, POB 1018, Station K, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- 3) Fran P. Hosken; *The Hosken Report, Genital and Sexual Mutilation of Females*; WIN News, 187 Grant St., Lexington, MA 02173, 1979, Politics 4.

Kamalla's Struggle Continues

by: Brian Amesly

Kamalla Miller is now out on bail but only after experiencing a grueling ordeal at the Orange County jail in Santa Anna, California. Her release came just one week before Christmas following a December 5 bail reduction from \$100,000 to \$10,000.

Kamalla is in this situation as a consequence of her having been charged with "kidnapping" her own daughter, Ishka, from the California home of her parents and fleeing to Arkansas. Her parents had won legal custody in an outrageously biased court ruling favouring them largely because of their wealth and conservative views. Kamalla and her then husband Arthur, both active radicals, were very poor at the time.

Upon her arrival at Orange County Jail following the execution of an extradition order (see the NAA Vol. 1 No. 2) she adopted a defiant stance which culminated in a 19 day hunger strike. Kamalla's captors initially denied her attorney's visits and phonecalls. But this didn't last long. A phone-in protest directed at the jail organized by some of her U.S. and Canadian supporters successfully reversed the situation.

The harassment then took on other forms. Kamalla was re-located in an isolation cell equipped with a cold air conditioner for 6 days. During two of these days the cell was completely bare. It had neither a bed nor a blanket.

She was then re-located again. This time in a protective custody cell. The harassment still continued and even included rumours that a "contract" had been made on her by the guards.

Legal Gains

Elsewhere, the legal situation improved somewhat. The kidnapping



charges stemming from Kamalla's retrieval of Iska no longer apply. The grounds for this development are that the question of who will get legal custody of Iska is not yet settled. A hearing on this is slated for January 19 in Arkansas where Iska is presently living. If the State rules against Kamalla and Iska's father Arthur it will assume custody. Also, charges of Interstate Flight arising from the escape to Arkansas have been dropped.

Two charges remain. One is child stealing which carries a possible one year prison sentence. The other is burglary which carries a possible four years in prison. The "justification" for the burglary charge is that Kamalla took a screen off a

window on her parent's house while retrieving Iska.

In effect, the situation remains grave and in need of even greater defense activity. Wider publicity and raising a lot of money are urgent priorities; legal costs alone will exceed \$8,000 not including possible appeals. The same holds true for actions like the phone-in protest which set an encouraging precedent by facilitating the emergence of a **Kamalla Defense Network**.

At the moment, defense activists are hoping people will write to the Assistant District Attorney for the case, Bob Molko, Orange County D.A.'s Office, Civic Plaza, Santa Anna, California 90620 requesting the charges be dropped. People are advised to send polite "concerned citizen" type letters for the most positive results.

We should not fail to recognize that there is more at stake here than simply the fates of Kamalla and Iska. Kamalla's defense committee in Los Angeles correctly argues "Native American and lesbian mothers in particular, are often confronted with this sort of cultural genocide when the State removes their children to 'better homes'". For anarchists, the questions posed concern one's right to control one's own life.

Expressions of support and requests for the latest information should be directed to: **The Kamalla Defense Committee**, 632 N. Britania, Los Angeles, California 90033 (213-264-9814) which is also the address for correspondence to Kamalla, **The Kamalla Support Committee**, 1324 Powderhorn Paris, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407 (612-729-4236) or **The Kamalla Defense Committee**, 2115 Esplanada Ave., New Orleans Louisiana (504-943-7041).

CNT: Cont. from Pg. 1

the newer influences upon the anarchist movement, wish to see the CNT broaden its orientation. They believe the CNT must involve itself directly in what are termed "marginal" struggles. These include women's and gay liberation, opposition to nuclear technology, ecology, the prison movement and neighbourhood organizations.

Younger militants believe that the CNT must broaden its social base in order to remain socially relevant. That they take this position is hardly surprising. Simply stated, Spain has undergone a rapid social transformation into a highly urban, industrialized society. In little more than a decade the chaos of capitalist economic development has wrought on Spanish society the blight of major pollution problems, the insanity of consumerism and the spread of nuclear technology.

These two different conceptions of what the CNT should be came into focus in a twelve hour debate on the definition and tactics of anarcho-syndicalism. Interestingly, however, there were not two but three positions which emerged which blurred the differences between the young and old somewhat.

One position was that of classical anarcho-syndicalism. Its advocates favoured maintaining the definition and tactics of anarcho-syndicalism as they were elaborated in the 1930's. Significantly, this had the support of a sizeable proportion of younger militants in addition to the older militants.

Another position was also anarcho-syndicalist in perspective but with the added stipulation that anarcho-syndicalism's meaning and tactics were in need of revision to keep them contemporary. The third position was presented by a tendency which labels itself "revolutionary syndicalist" but is in fact not actually syndicalist at all. It would have the CNT evolve away from anarcho-syndicalism. In reality this tendency is composed of left communists, councilists and advocates

of neighbourhood assemblies.

Even though these important differences were elaborated it is crucial to understand that all sides in the debate share a commitment to the goal of libertarian communism. Furthermore, though the struggles which occurred on this and other questions were sharp to the point of spreading disillusionment among many and raising the spectre of a shattering split in the CNT, compromises were possible. The congress re-affirmed the classical definition of anarcho-syndicalism. But, this was simultaneous with a stated commitment by the CNT to help build a parallel libertarian movement encompassing the so-called marginal struggles.

Pressure Groups

The tendencies which clashed over the definition and tactics of anarcho-syndicalism are not the only ones functioning within the CNT. While in theory the CNT isn't supposed to have pressure groups within its ranks the truth of the matter is that it does.

The best known of these is the **Federation of Iberian Anarchists (FAI)** which has the explicit goal of keeping the CNT on an anarchist course. Another is the **Federation of Iberian Anarchist Groups (FIGA)**. The FIGA is quite small and is distinguished from the FAI principally by its enthusiasm for violent action the likes of which the FAI deems unsuitable in the present period. Still another is the **Federation of Autonomous Anarchist Groups (FAAG)**. It has a strong youth base primarily in Spain's northern regions and adheres to anarcho-communism.

The CNT exiles based in France continue to exert a significant influence as well. This is the case even though a CNT plenary of regional organizations made it clear that there is only one CNT, that which exists inside Spain.

The relationship of the CNT members in exile to the CNT in

Cont.: See CNT Pg. 12

A hard rains gonna fall

by: Sue Kabalcusky

A new and dangerous threat to the Eastern North American ecosystem is hovering over us. It is called acid rain and while it may drop like the gentle rain from heaven, its effects are poisonous.

The phenomenon of acid precipitation occurs when sulphur oxides, nitrogen oxides and chlorine are released to the atmosphere from high smoke stacks and react with water vapour to form acids. Rain or snow containing these acids is then referred to as acid rain. The acidic water vapours are then swept hundreds of miles over Ontario, Quebec, the Maritimes and North Eastern USA by the prevailing winds. In Ontario, at least 50 lakes are already dead and another 50,000 are threatened in the next two decades by this phenomenon.

The burning of fossil fuel rich in sulphur is a major cause of the acid rain problem. About 83% of the acid forming compounds are from US sources with the majority coming from coal burned for electricity generation. In Canada, the acid forming compounds are mainly a product of the non-ferrous smelting industry.

Effects of Acid Rain

When acid rain falls on land, it may cause direct damage to the foliage of sensitive plants. When it falls on water, the increased acidity may facilitate the release of toxic heavy metals such as mercury, lead and aluminum which have been previously bound to the lake sediments. These released heavy

metals may then adversely affect aquatic organisms and plants, and eventually unbalance the whole ecosystem. There are correlations between acid rain and the level of mercury in fish located in apparently unpolluted areas.

Acid rain costs us billions of dollars a year for health costs, architectural damage, corrosion damage, loss of fish in acid contaminated waters, and loss of crops and forest growth in acid lake areas. Other costs which have not or cannot be directly calculated include loss of life and livelihood of native Indian populations who are dependant on the northern lakes and the creation of an aesthetically blighted environment.



It is difficult to be optimistic about the years ahead. With the current 'energy crisis' and the increasing reliance on high sulphur coal as fuel, the acid rain problem will likely intensify unless "appropriate control measures are undertaken." But, besides pushing for more coal burning the government is likely to propose "fast track" legislation designed to bypass existing environmental regulations and safeguards in order to expedite the development of new power generating stations.

Air pollution emissions from existing sources are limited by law to the extent necessary to meet local air quality requirements. Such an approach has been partially responsible for the use of high stacks which tend to increase the long range transport of airborne pollutants.

The technology exists today to reduce acidic emissions to the atmosphere. A 50% reduction in sulphur dioxide in the north-eastern U.S. is estimated to cost between 5 and 7 billion dollars a year while a similar reduction in Canada would have an annual cost of \$350 million.

It is doubtful that industries and utilities would be willing to implement acid control technology if it will decrease their profits. As was done with other pollution control facilities, they will most likely ask the government to subsidize them directly or offer them attractive tax incentives to build control devices.

Solution to Pollution: Revolution

In a system that puts profits before people, we cannot always depend on the government to act in our best interest. That is why it is important for the acid rain problem, and all pollution problems, to be fought and solved by those groups directly affected by them.

The labour movement can incorporate specific demands directed at the acid rain problem in the general demands for occupational

safety and health regulations. Job creation programs should be pressured to facilitate the availability of the acid-reducing technology and to reduce unemployment. Links should be forged between environmental organizations, including the non-nuclear network,

and the Amerindian and Eskimo peoples in order to further expand the activities of anti-pollution activists in aid of those who are this phenomenon's most active victims, and to further educate ourselves to the true social costs of production for particular interests' profit.



Little Tyrants

by: Jeff Stein

In a time when "small is beautiful" has almost become cliché, it is hard to be an anarchist. This may seem difficult to believe. Certainly decentralization is a key ingredient in the anarchist stew. It is not the only ingredient, however. Anarchists must point out that decentralization is not a complete answer to modern social ills. This is why I have mixed feelings about the recently republished book, *The Breakdown of Nations* by Leopold Kohr. While Kohr's book offers many valuable insights, it is at times over simplistic and incomplete.

The main point of *Breakdown* is that the underlying cause of all social misery is bigness. Whether we are talking about political problems, like totalitarianism; economic problems, like depressions; or social problems, like crime; it is Kohr's belief that the roots can be traced to a social institution which is too big. In Kohr's view people will dominate and exploit others as long as they have the power to do so. Given control of a highly concentrated government structure, an elected official will use it to rig re-election. Given control of most of a highly needed raw material, an economic cartel will plunge the rest of the world into economic crisis. Given the anonymity of a large city, a rapist will attack at will. It is not that these things never happen in smaller societies, they do. Yet in smaller societies these problems remain within the capacity of ordinary people to solve. As Kohr puts it, "Social problems . . . have the unfortunate tendency to grow at a geometric ratio . . . while the ability of man to cope with them . . . grows only at an arithmetic ratio. Which means that, if a society grows beyond its optimum size, its problems must eventually outrun the growth of those human faculties which are necessary for dealing with them."

Kohr does not propose the fragmentation of society into isolated grouplets. Rather he is a federalist. He believes that where organization is necessary, it must be the co-ordination of a multitude of small institutions of approximately the same size. This type of organization Kohr calls "union through division". A federation dominated by one or two large units, he argues, quickly becomes a federation in name only, as the large units force their policies on the small. Therefore, while recognizing the need for large scale co-ordination, Kohr insists this is only possible by breaking down the large units to an equal size as the small. If we apply Kohr's idea to organizations like NATO or the Warsaw Pact, for example, we see them for what they really are: tools of their largest members, the United States and the Soviet Union. Kohr successfully shows that decentralization and federalism are necessary parts of any lasting co-operation.

I must admit these are provocative and attractive ideas for anarchists. Yet there is something missing. In the first place the root causes of human misery are too complex to be reduced to a single source. Just as Karl Marx was wrong when he tried to explain all social change as a matter of "the mode of production", Kohr also over simplifies things. Culture,

psychology, politics, economics, and individual actions are equally important to institutional size. To argue that one or the other is the "primary" factor while the rest are "secondary" is an arbitrary distinction adding little to our understanding. Indeed, Kohr sometimes must distort reality to fit his theory. As an example there is this passage on the relative power of nations, "... ultimately, other things such as area, technological progress, social integration, and natural resources being equal, the most powerful society will be the one with the largest population." (my emphasis)

I must agree that if we can rule out the influence of these other things (culture, economics, etc.) then size will be the determining factor. But this is begging the

question. Just where in real life do we ever have a situation where the "technological progress, social integration, or natural resources" of two nations is equal? This suggests a vague admission by Kohr that other factors as well as size play important roles.

Another area where I found Kohr's theories lacking was his failure to emphasize self-management. There are three principles to anarchist organization, decentralization, federalism, and self-management. Without self-management, decentralization and federalism can actually make domination more effective. As Kohr points out, huge centralized states are awkward and require administrative genius to effectively control them. By breaking down into smaller units, the central authority can delegate responsibility for routine administrative affairs to lower levels of authority. The central authority can then devote more attention to devising new means of exploitation and control. The most authoritarian of all modern organizations, the army, could not operate at all without the decentralization of its various functions into smaller units, corps, divisions, battalions, etc. One would have to use extremely twisted logic to argue that the decentralization of the army had brought about less human misery.

Just as decentralization by itself does not always mean less domination and misery, federalism has less opportunity to work in an authoritarian environment. One of Kohr's main arguments for the "breakdown of nations" is that small states will be forced to get along with other small states because aggression is too risky. This is based on the assumption that everyone in the small state will have to share the risks of that aggression; in statist organizations, however, this is not the case. In states the amount of risk to an individual decreases as the amount of power of the individual increases. What risks does a Castro or an Idi Amin face compared to the unfortunate foot soldier? It is more likely that a dictatorial power will adopt aggressive policies rather than a self-managed society. Self-management is therefore also necessary to make federalism work. Switzerland (Kohr's model federation), it must be noted, operates its political life on the basis of village assemblies. To the anarchist, this is no mere coincidence. While I agree that self-management is only possible with decentralization, the idea that self-

managed societies can co-exist alongside little dictatorships seems questionable. One is bound to undermine the other.

It is little wonder that *Breakdown* ends on a cynical note. In spite of all the arguments for a decentralized world, Kohr remarks that it will never happen. He recognized that ultimately the elites in this world will never renounce bigness, because bigness is their lifeblood. This is merely stating the obvious. But who says the elites are the only ones who can bring about decentralization? Why not a decentralization carried out by the poor and working people? A decentralization from the bottom upwards. By not recognizing self-management as a crucial part of the solution, Kohr fails to link up with the very people who have the most to gain from "the breakdown of nations."

Yet I am glad I read this book. There are many profound insights held in its pages. There is not enough space to give adequate attention to them all. I will mention one lesson, however that made a great impression on me. It is that federalism is an organizational process, of a cast-iron structure meant to last for all time. It is a balancing act in which society must continuously create new organizations and arrangements to prevent any single institution from expanding to dominate others. If *The Breakdown of Nations* helps this "simple" lesson gain wider recognition, then we will forever be in Leopold Kohr's debt.

References: To get a better grasp of the anarchist concept of federalism, the reader should find these short articles helpful.

Bakunin, Michael. *On Federalism and Socialism*, Michael Bakunin: *Selected Writings*, ed. Arthur Lehning. New York: Grove Press, 1974.

Dolgoft, Sam. *The Relevance of Anarchism to Modern Society*. Minneapolis: Soil of Liberty, P.O. Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, MN 55407, 1977.

Kropotkin, P.A. "The Commune of Paris", *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution*: P.A. Kropotkin, ed. Martin A. Miller. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1973.

Bakunin, Michael. "On Federalism and Socialism", *Michael Bakunin: Selected Writings*, ed. Arthur Lehning. New York: Grove Press, 1974.



The cantons of Switzerland. Kohr considers Switzerland to be a model federation.

Life of Brian



by: Joe Clark

The *Life of Brian* is now showing in theatres across North America. If you haven't seen it, by all means do so - not that it is such a valuable movie in itself, but because so many other people will see it. What kind of reasoning is that, you may ask? The movie contains a number of themes in common with the anarchist movement and many people will be exposed to these for the first time.

The *Life of Brian* is a spoof on religion and leaders. The story concerns itself with a regular type guy who becomes an unwitting messiah. The first crack in the armor of Christian mythology is the rather rude interjection of the vernacular into an idealized, if not formal image of the life and people in "Biblical times". The screeching voice of Brian's mother, played by a male in drag, is rather unlikeable and an offense to whatever illusions we may have had about supposedly semi-divine people.

A recurrent theme is the eagerness of people to create leaders and mystical values. In an attempt to elude the Romans, Brian finds himself on a ledge with several other prophets preaching the way of truth. Immediately he finds an audience tantalized by the thought that he may have the secret of eternal life. The crowd, now in hot pursuit, endow one of his lost sandals with sacred meaning. He becomes cornered and declares that he is not the messiah. A voice in the crowd states that only the true messiah would deny his identity. The crowd cheers again. "Piss off!" says Brian. The followers answer, "But how shall we piss off, master?" in the most reverent tone. The whole ludicrous exchange shows just how pathetic sheepitis can be.

"You don't need leaders," screams Brian. "Work things out for yourself." "Do your own thinking." But to no avail, the crowd continues to worship him in a poignant display of mass stupidity.

Even his lover (a woman) turns to him seeking a leader for the revolution against the Romans. Brian tries to explain that depending on leaders is *not* the revolution. The show is as much a take-off on radical groups, if you know what to look for. The *Judean People's Front* is riddled with differences and seemingly preoccupied with endless (and equally pointless) discussion. They are pretentious and end up refusing to save Brian so that they can have a martyr. Brian is eventually crucified with 139 others. The victims break out in whistling and song, "Always look on the bright side of life," and "Life is a piece of shit, when you look at it." Surely a scene of unequalled macabre humour which must be seen to be believed.

The *Life of Brian* is a superbly stupid movie, entertaining in its own right and embarrassing in its rendition of human absurdity.

Media

I Know the Sound of Power

Droning noise can be adjusted to.
 The exception is that
 which comes in fits and starts,
 its disruptive power measured
 not in decibels, but in associations.
 The steady blare of radios
 and hollered conversations
 Can be ignored, even slept through;
 But not the fits and starts.

A ring of jangling keys approaches
 Crescendo provoking welling tensions.
 In other times servants walked ahead
 with tinkling bells
 to announce the approach of power.
 Today we have democracy
 and power rings its own bell.

I cringe inwardly
 Wondering what today's offense might be
 Cataloguing sins of obscure resistance:
 Hair a quarter inch too long
 Loitering with disruptive elements
 Bed not properly made
 Defiant reflex penned in recent letter

Will the keys stop at my bed?
 Feign indifference.
 Humans hide their heads in sand
 Ostriches are smarter than that.

The jangle recedes;
 The tension too
 But both are always within uneasy recall.

I dream (really!) that jangling was proscribed
 by power awesome enough
 to need no announcement
 But the janglers protested
 that sound and order
 and power's prestige
 would be undermined thereby.
 The argument won the day
 And I lost some sleep.

It's Hard to be Poetic

It's hard to be poetic when
 All the walls are tranquility green vomit
 All the clothes are khaki brown conformity
 All the hair is above the collar regulation
 short
 All the lights go out in mid-paragraph
 world's greatest novel
 All the talk is "only two more months" or
 "Fuck, five more years!!"
 When all the days have twenty-five hours
 and every hour's a day.

It's hard to be poetic then
 But important to try, to prepare for when
 Kaleidoscopic walls
 and clothes
 and hair
 and lights
 and talk
 All in three-quarter time
 Will make it soft.

Despair is Counterrevolutionary

Look, listen, sense
 All around you
 Pollution, racism, hatred, war, sexism,
 greed, ad nauseam
 Shed a few tears
 It's good for the soil.

Sense again
 Children and kittens among the flowers
 All genders and colors
 Growing, loving, sharing
 At peace with one another
 At one, together
 In life force unity.

Perhaps, just perhaps
 While no more than before
 Neither any less
 There is still cause for hope.

POEMS



Rehabilitation

You've kept me here for two and one half
 years.

That's thirty-one months,
 One hundred thirty-six weeks,
 Nine hundred fifty-four days,
 Too many hours, minutes, seconds to count.
 And now you're letting me out.
 What should I say,
 Thank you??

Thank you, for teaching me a lesson.
 You taught me to bend. I failed in break.
 You taught me to guard my every word,
 to survive without love or truth
 or justice or freedom
 or any of the other funny, twisted words
 you taught me in other institutions
 years ago.

You taught me loneliness, frustration, anger.
 So many vital lessons you have given me.
 And I have been a good student.
 So now I graduate.
 I leave you with my thanks.

Thank you Muthah!
 You've taught me well.
 I'm in your debt
 And you'd best believe
 You will be paid in full.

SMILES

A kick to the groin
 Smile
 For grin and grimace are kin.
 A dream died a-borning
 Smile
 No sense in mourning
 Dead dreams are legion.

Smile in handcuffs and chains
 At fears, doubts, pains
 Smile at arrivals and departures
 At children and soldiers
 Flowers, weeds
 The breast bleeds life's milk
 The crushed skull death's
 Smile at both.

Is the masquerade over?
 Is the dance done?
 I did not hear the closing song
 Time to remove the mask
 But which is real?

So much strength spent proving strength
 None left for needed tears.
 I've lost the power to cry
 The reservoir is dry
 So smile
 Till sleep subdues the strain,
 Obliviates the pain
 Of smiles.



CONTEST



CAN YOU IDENTIFY THIS PICTURE?

The most creative answer wins a free subscription to *The North American Anarchist*.

Suggestions:

- Canadian anarchist visits site of 1936 Spanish revolution.
- Canadian anarchist visits Spain in November '79.
- Canadian anarchist banned from U.S., visits Spain six months later.
- Thirty-six Canadian anarchists prepare overthrow of U.S. government. (Can you spot them all?)
- Komeini anti-Americanist guarding embassy against expected U.S. invasion.
- American special forces prepare invasion of Iran.
- Afghanistan troops guarding Soviet embassy in Kabul.
- Soviet advisors defending the Afghanistan people against themselves.
- Secret Service guards Jimmy Carter's retreat at Camp David.

Entries must be received by *North American Anarchist*, Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Canada before March 15, 1980.

Land's End

by: Frank Stevens

"The Land!" shouted the Gracchi. "The Land!" shouted Munzer's Anabaptists. "The Land!" shouted Bakuhin. "The Land!" shouted Ferrer. "The Land!" shouts the Mexican Revolution.

One way to look at human history is as a series of choices, voluntary or involuntary or some mixture of the two. Whether our choices are free or compelled, the act of choosing opens one set of options while forever closing other sets of options. Sometimes a choice is regretted and one returns to the point of choosing and makes a new choice; but things will never be as they might have been had that choice been the original one.

People who attempt to shape future society in a conscious way are making these kinds of choices. Those who want future society to return to some past turning point and make a different choice we usually refer to as reactionaries. Those who wish to press forward toward future turning points we usually refer to as revolutionaries.

But this is an objective distinction, not a subjective one. A reactionary can believe himself to be choosing a revolutionary new way — totally unaware that he is attempting to turn back the clock to an old fork in the road and make a different choice.

Consider an imaginary situation: an anarchist-communist from 1980 stumbles into a timewarp and finds himself in New Orleans in 1842. He knows the terrible Civil War is ahead; he knows the history of the Reconstruction Era. One of us plunged into that period would, it seems to me, begin immediately to work in the anti-slavery underground, to try to promote slave insurrections. As soon as the Confederacy was defeated, one of us would immediately try to prepare black people for the counter-revolution, try to stop the slave-holders from getting back into power.

This may be an imaginary example, but it illustrates our real position as revolutionaries. We are, if we know what we're doing, trying to "push" history in a direction favorable to libertarian politics. The real problem consists of figuring out exactly what "favorable to libertarian politics" really means.

One view that has been fairly common during the 1970's could be

summarized something like this: the material basis for all forms of authoritarian politics is centralized technology and the sprawling cities and factory farms that inevitably accompany centralized technology. All through the last decade, small groups of people moved "back to the land" in the hope of constructing egalitarian islands which they hoped would be refuges from authoritarianism at worst and the beginnings of future society at best.

Being young, healthy, and enthusiastic, they did not do so badly at first. The technology of small farming is not too difficult to learn,



given the will to do so. Neighbours in rural areas are often helpful, and even the Government prints how-to-do-it pamphlets for the small farmer.

After a while, it was not so good. The work is hard and unending, un-

less you have the funds to mechanize. Women found they were confined to household chores and childcare. At best it was boring and became steadily more so. A few stayed on, determined to make a go of it, but most began the trek back to the cities they once despised. And even as they were returning, others were on their way "back to the land" full of the same hopes and bound for the same destiny.

Why should this be so, we can ask ourselves. I think the answer is in the terrible difficulty of turning back the clock. Take away the technology of a modern human and he or she will at once set to rebuilding it with whatever resources are at hand. The absolute necessity of living in a high-technology society is so deeply rooted in human beings now that even conscious rejection of the idea works only to a limited degree for a limited time.

"Addiction to energy is worse than addiction to heroin", I read recently in an anarchist magazine. It's not hard to see why. Heroin provides a few hours of pleasure; energy lifts the burden of toil from the human back once and for all. What is hard to comprehend is the tone of disapproval in either case.

Human beings for the most part seek pleasure in rewarding activities; they likewise try to avoid burdensome toil and boring activities. About the kindest words we have for people who seek out heavy toil and boring, repetitive tasks are "grind" or "drudge". The most common word we use is simply "crazy". The general tendency for people regardless of their position in class society is to maximize their energy use to the limits of their ability to pay for it.

Is this "wrong"? If so, then we will have to turn the clock back a long way indeed, say to that long-ago day when a human being first used fire to cook the kill and warm the body.

To leave the city is likewise trying to turn back the clock. Human beings are social animals. They find stimulation and purpose in associating with other humans. The greater the number of actual and potential associates, the more varied and interesting the human life. A great metropolitan area provides more alternative ways to be human than a tiny rural community or isolated farm. Of course, crowding a large number of people into a small space in conditions of extreme poverty is extremely dehumanizing; people are



reduced to a bitter fight for survival itself and become little better than any other group of caged mammals. But 18th Century London or 20th Century Calcutta are exceptions to the rule; London now is far different than it once was and we may hope that 22nd Century Calcutta will improve as well.

To go further, it is precisely the world's great cities, with their mixtures of peoples and cultures that are providing the training for all of us in becoming Terrans, that is, inhabitants of a single planet. The nationalist ferment so common today is a bitter protest against this tendency, bitter precisely because the one-world tendency is winning. Nationalism and racism now are in the same position as religion in the 15th Century — still strong, still powerful, but threatened on every side by forces it can't possibly understand. Even those who profess the most

rabid nationalist/racist views often find themselves forced to act so as to undermine and subvert the ideas they espouse. More humans are choosing to be human and the clock is running.

"The Land!" cried two thousand years of revolutionaries, but we have reached land's end. Only a few would go back now and we could not force the rest; we could only kill them. We are far advanced now on the road of high technology. As revolutionaries, we can only take it away from the elite that controls it now and place it at the service of humanity. Humanity will certainly use it increasingly to produce more interesting and pleasurable lives, which is as it should be.

And when we are one people on a free planet, do not be surprised if some new revolutionary comes along and looks up and shouts, "The Stars!"

Pension funds are the single largest pool of capital in the US. Presently these funds stand at \$500 billion are growing at an annual rate of 10%. In turn, the combined ownership of these unions amounts to 20-25% of the stock of these companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange. The CED study concluded that by 1986, pension funds will account for almost half the capital raised by US corporations.

Out of the 99 companies surveyed, union related funds constitute 5% or more of the outstanding stock, this well exceeds the share needed for control of widely held corporation. 31 of these 53 companies were predominately non-union.

Even with the high percentage of union pension funds invested in non-union corporations, as well as the legal 5% holding in these companies, almost all major industrial pension funds, according to the New York Times, "are managed at the discretion of corporate management. Nor do unions play any role in the management of company sponsored or of public plans, such as those established for government workers or teachers."

The fact of the matter is that it is those same capitalists who rip the workers off on the job who manage the pension funds that unionized workers fought so hard to gain. In turn, it is same funds that are being channeled into companies that pay their workers less than union-scale and who, in many cases, work under barbaric conditions. The crux of the matter is that it is the labour bureaucracy, those who manage the unions the same way management would run their businesses, who are helping to support class exploitation, sexism and racism both here and abroad.



Unionists' pension funds are often used against them by Big Business.

For anarchist unionists, this matter of pension funds is only the tip of the iceberg. While we envision a different kind of unionism (rank & file controlled organizations that will confront the capitalist system rather than support it), we realize that at the bare minimum all union workers should be demanding of "our" union "leaderships" accountability as to where our pension funds are being invested. It is up to the rank & file to call a halt to the continued exploitation of our fellow non-union workers, and an end to the support of racism and sexism on the part of our unions.

Funding tyranny

by: Mitchell Miller

A recent study conducted under the auspices of the **Corporate Data Exchange** of N.Y. found that more than \$12 billion in union pension funds are invested in firms that are either non-union, who have investments in South Africa, or who have violated Federal health and safety and equal employment laws. The study, entitled **Pension Investments: A Social Audit** is by far the most comprehensive study of union pension investments to date. The study details the investments of 142 of the largest public and private investment plans in the US.

Some of the predominantly non-union companies include **Digital**, **Raytheon**, and **TRW**. Occupational Health and Safety Administration violators include **GE**. Equal Employment Opportunity violators include **A.T. & T.**, **Merill Lynch**, **Uniroil**, **United Technologies** and **Westinghouse**. South Africa supporters include **First Boston**, **G.E.**

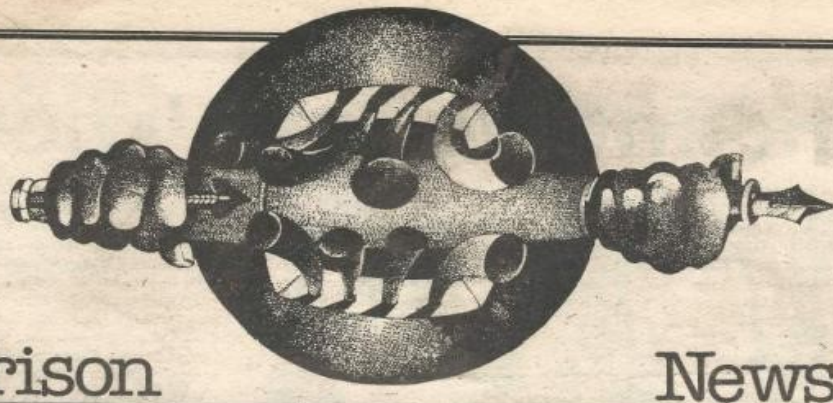
and **United Technologies**. According to the study 118 union related pensions held \$12.6 billion of common stock in 50 predominantly non-union firms, \$2.6 billion of common stock in 14 firms which violated OSHA, \$3.9 billion of common stock in 26 violators of EEO regulations and \$10.1 billion in 30 major investors or lenders to South Africa.

Probably the most blatant disregard for union principles is the fact that the unions which have tried to organize non-union companies are the same unions which invest in these companies. For example, both the **United Auto Workers** union and the **International Union of Electrical Workers** own 2.6% of the stock in **Texas Instruments**, the largest manufacturer of electronic hardware in the US, and a company both unions have attempted to organize over the years.

In the construction industry, union related plans hold about a

half billion dollars worth, or 15% of common stock of the **Halliburton Co.**, owner of the world's largest non-union company, **Brown & Root Incorporated**.

And by no means does the list end here. Even with all the talk about organizing textiles, union related pension funds account for \$70.1 million worth of stock in five textile companies. The service sector (the fastest growing sector in the U.S. economy) is no different. There is \$1 billion of union related pension funds invested in non union companies such as **K-Mart**, **Lucky Stores**, **McDonalds**, **Southland**, **J. C. Penny** and **Winn-Dixie**. For what its worth, **Winn-Dixie**, the South's largest grocery chain and the fifth largest in the US, has been on the **AFL-CIO's** boycott list for a number of years. **Winn-Dixie** has also been an organizing target by the **United Food and Commercial Workers** union for the past few years.



Prison

News

IVAN HAVROT MURDERED

Ivan Havrot, who first rose to prominence as chairman of the B.C. Penitentiary Inmate's Committee (IC), is dead at the age of 25. He was murdered, under mysterious circumstances, at the federal Maximum Security Archambault prison.

That Havrot had earned the undying hatred of almost every prison guard in Canada is beyond dispute. There are therefore solid grounds for suspecting that the guards at Archambault prison are guilty of some complicity in Horvat's death.

The B.C. Pen hostage-taking incident arose as a result of a systematic campaign of abuse carried out by the guards and their union, the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), to provide them with heavy ammunition in their forthcoming contract negotiations. It is a standard tactic used by the guards. They deliberately incite unrest among the prison population to provide a useful background to their simultaneous demands for increased pay, shorter hours, earlier retirement, and so on. Public sympathy for their demands is most easily obtained by provoking riots which the 'hard-pressed,' 'over-worked,' 'under-paid' guards must cope with.

The 1976 hostage-taking incident was just one more example of this vicious strategy but in Ivan Horvat and other members of the IC the guards discovered a formidable opponent.

Havrot had been issuing warnings, to whoever would listen, of the coming trouble and its cause — the deliberate campaign of the guards and their union to provoke a riot. As usual nobody listened — just a bunch of cons complaining — so Havrot and the IC decided to utilize the media spotlight to expose the guards and air prisoners grievances.

Together with the Citizen's Advisory Committee (CAC), a body composed of community representatives set up in the wake of a previous incident that ended in the murder of a sympathetic prison worker by prison guards, they acted as intermediaries between the hostage takers and the prison administration. The

negotiations lasted 80 hours and resulted in the release of the hostages — unharmed — and a "memorandum of agreement" which stipulated that there would be no reprisals, that all requests for transfer be honoured and that a public enquiry into the prison system be convened. It seemed like a great victory but the "agreement" was almost immediately systematically violated by the administration. For the guards themselves it was a bitter pill to swallow.

In a prophetic statement shortly after the memorandum was signed Havrot declared: "I can see that there will be more trouble here, before we even have the time to work out the consequences of (this) recent trouble. As I see it, the men have a right to be bitter; in order to achieve their corrupt goals. It back fired because they didn't expect it to work out as it did, and now we get the reprisals."

It took three years but they finally got Ivan Horvat. The Prison Movement has lost one of its most articulate, committed activists. But it is not in that context that we mourn his death. Ivan Horvat is one more victim of an inhuman system that chews up decent, caring human beings and then spits their bones and mangled flesh back in our faces. Ivan Horvat's most fitting memorial will be our firm resolve to destroy the prison system and all it stands for.

For an excellent account of the B.C. Penitentiary incident and Ivan Horvat's role in it read Claire Chuhane's book **Barred From Prison**. Available from: Pulp Press, POB 3868 MPO, Vancouver, Canada. It costs \$5.95 add a little extra for postage and handling.

IN STRUGGLE AND THE SCREWS

In the wake of Ivan Horvat's murder the public support of the prison guards union by the Marxist-Leninist organization **In Struggle** is particularly sickening. In a recent issue of their newspaper they carried a picture of the leader of the guards union with a caption expressing support of his decision to ignore a court order ordering striking jail guards back to work.

We thought the issue of whether or not to support the "struggles" of police and jail-guards "unions" had long been settled on the left. But apparently the ML's of **In Struggle** were unable to overcome their instinctive affection for the State's machinery of oppression.

CARL HARP ON HUNGER STRIKE

On December 21 Carl Harp went on a hunger strike to protest the removal of Administrative Segregation Rights and Privileges without due process. Since December 7 the prisoners in the Walla Walla segregation unit have had no hot meals, showers or exercise. Even water for drinking and the operation of the toilets has been shut-off.

The guards turn on the water for a few minutes a couple of times a day and tell the public that the prisoners get water every hour for five minutes. In protest the prisoners are sitting in the halls and refusing the clean-up the tier. Support is urgently needed.

'MUFTI' SQUADS TERRORIZE BRITISH JAILS

A British government enquiry into the prison system has revealed that mass terror tactics are being used to break the British Prison Movement. The Home Secretary recently revealed that 'MUFTI' squads (the acronym stands for **Minimal Use of Force Tactical Intervention**) have been employed on six separate occasions between October 1978 and September 1979.

In one incident prisoners at Camp Hill prison engaged in a peaceful sit-down strike to protest the removal of all photos from the cells. The warden gave them 15 minutes to "think it over." But after less than three minutes the 46 prisoners were charged by 150-200 guards armed with batons and shields.

The revelation came to light in the wake of a much larger MUFTI operation at

ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON 6 IN PRODUCTION

The sixth issue of the **Anarchist Black Dragon**, published by the **Anarchist Black Dragon Collective** of Washington Penitentiary (Walla Walla), is now in production. This issue is being produced by the Toronto affiliate of the **Anarchist Communist Federation**. Unfortunately the raw copy arrived just as we were beginning our production cycle for **The North American Anarchist** which has caused somewhat of a delay. A sub-group within **ACF Toronto** has taken responsibility for producing the newsletter and they are working on it whenever the opportunity arises. Once **NAA** production is completed work on the **Black Dragon** should move ahead at a much faster pace.

The **Black Dragon** is a lively and informative newsletter on Prisons and the Prisoner's Movement. The very fact that it exists is a cause for wonder. The **Black Dragon** should be available in early February and copies can be ordered from: **ACF Toronto**, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0. Please enclose a donation, \$1.00 suggested, to help cover costs of printing, postage and handling.

PRISON NEWS NEEDED

If any of our readers involved in prisoner support work have interesting or important news concerning the struggle to abolish prisons we would be more than happy if they could take a few minutes to jot it down on paper and forward it to the **NAA**. Please address all information to: **Prison News**, c/o **NAA**, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

An end to prisons

by: G. Merovych

In my **Crime and Punishment** article I called for the ultimate abolition of crime and prisons. Since then, I have received comradely criticism about the lack of a transition program — between now and a grand, revolutionary change. And crime became still more topical when capital punishment was brought into the recent Democratic primary in New York City as a top issue. So I decided to do some more research into the matter.

In the course of my research I came across a tremendously eye-opening work, **Instead of Prisons**. It comes from a group of ex-prisoner inhabitants and "friends", the **Prison Research Education Action Project**. This group seeks the eventual abolition of prisons and the economic and social causes of crime.

While admitting that most of the ideas in this article are basically lifted from this fantastic book, I must put forward a serious disagreement with what appears to be the basic

assumption behind most of their strategies and tactics aimed at abolition: that the whole prison system can eventually be abolished by appealing to the very system of power ("justice") itself, i.e., court litigations, reliance on so-called progressive and responsive judges and politicians, the police willingly making themselves accountable to the communities.

It will be up to the people themselves, through their communities, unions, and other people-controlled institutions, to wrest these concessions from the rich and powerful who create and control such an unjust and punitive institution as prison.

"Power concedes nothing . . ."

Frederick Douglass

What is the institutional alternative to a faceless, self-serving bureaucratic State in dealing with crime, its prevention and control, and the present so-called criminal population?

For both the **Prison Research**

members so as to serve as a foundation to meet their inhabitants' needs. Self-controlling, autonomous communities, not the government, should begin to provide the care and services that their inhabitants desire. Communities, not the State, should be the agents for the prevention and the treatment of the present day criminal population. A loving, caring, one-for-all-and-all-for-one community should and could become the basis of the re-establishment of social harmony and justice.

While such communities could never fully flourish in a capitalist society because of its basically arch-individualist, dog-eat-dog, profit-over-social-need philosophy, we must start creating such entities as soon as possible. As we libertarians say, revolution is as much a matter of people contracting new relations among themselves as it is guns and changes in property relationships.

How should we deal with the pre-

sent prison population? Stop sending such people to jail ("excarcerate").



It would be quite feasible to release a majority of the present prison population into the community within a relatively short time provided the community could furnish supervision for those who wanted

it. Communities could begin accepting such persons if they provided the released with retraining and re-education centers, rehabilitation counselling, ex-prisoner and peer group assistance groups and centers — all under joint community/ex-prisoner control.

To prevent anti-social acts and deal with those already committed, communities could follow certain procedures: 1) establish community-based dispute and mediation centers with mediators drawn from the area and culture of the disputants and chosen by the latter, to contain and minimize conflicts in progress, 2) establish community-based and controlled (again, with would-be offenders and those coming out of prison) probation system, 3) establish victim assistance programs in conjunction with "perpetrator" restitution programs — this would bring both victim and perpetrator into a face-to-face relationship to

Cont.: See **Prisons** Pg. 15

Independent workers' movement

by: Mitchell Miller

For those workers who are dissatisfied with their corrupt officialdom, undemocratic union policies and sweetheart contracts, and are looking for solutions to these problems will be interested in what some electrical workers in Chicago have been doing for the past five years. Union rebels at five Stewart-Warner Corporations plants recently voted nearly two-to-one to dump the AFL-CIO International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) (the oldest and most craft oriented of the three major US electrical unions) Local 1031 and formed an independent union — United Workers Association (UWA).

Although the rebel workers relied on the National Labor Relations Board to insure an electoral victory — 1519 for the UWA against 885 for the IBEW with 74 for no union — this was a genuine victory for those concerned with rank&file unionism, simply because these workers were able to act in their own self-interests and against the interests of highly paid union bureaucrats. This victory is also a reflection on the part of many rank&filers within the organized labor movement over the nature of present day unionism, lack of militant policies in dealing with the bosses and the class collaboration that is so prevalent in the American labor movement.

Yet the struggle for a union that would be responsive to the needs and desires of the rank&file was long and hard and took many different twists and turns. Back in 1971 — when many Stewart-Warner rebels believed they could reform Local 1031 — their efforts were retarded by the entrenched union bureaucracy. 1971 was an election year for Local 1031 and the incumbents were able to block any sort of effective rank&file slate by moving the local-wide polls to a remote site. Even though the 1031 rebels had built up a strong shop-floor following and organizations, they were never the less defeated because many workers could not reach the polling place. Even with this overall defeat the rebels were able to elect some shop-stewards.

But this electoral victory meant very little in the long run since all of these shop-stewards were removed from their positions and replaced by appointees shortly thereafter.

Last year, in an attempt to bring about limited autonomy for the local, the rebels attempted, through a card signing campaign, to get the International union to charter a separate Stewart-Warner local (Local 1031 is a 15,000 member local covering 50 shops in and around Chicago). Although the International leadership promised a referendum, they later reneged, and so the process of rethinking the rebels' strategies began.

Throughout this struggle Stewart-Warner workers dubbed Local 1031 a "company union", citing government surveys showing that the company sets wages for many jobs more than \$1.00 per hour below Chicago area union averages. With the UWA victory — and part of the overall UWA platform — all stewards and officers will be directly elected, as opposed to being appointed. Part and parcel with the principles of democratic unionism, all UWA officials will be paid no more than the top in-plant union workers. Such a move is a direct reaction to the \$40,000 to \$70,000 a year salaries that Local 1031 officials receive. This also reflects the concern by rank&filers to prevent the creation of a privileged class of union bureaucrats, as well as to prevent any opportunist who is more concerned with filling his/her pocket with money than with the concerns of those who elected him/her.

UWA rebels were not only concerned with the lack of internal union democracy, etc., they were also very concerned with shop-floor problems as well. Shortly before the NLRB election the OSHA ordered Stewart-Warner to reduce noise levels. The order was not sought by 1031 officials, rather it was sought after by the rebel workers. This has been the way the picture has unfolded for the past 30 years: rarely has the 1031 "leadership" acted on grievances filed by the rank&file. And it was even rarer when the 1031 officialdom discussed workplace oriented issues. This officialdom

was only concerned about its political clout, keeping the treasury filled and maintaining good working relations with the bosses.

Throughout the campaign to elect the UWA IBEW officials — as in the past — never raised issues concerning the workplace, rather they relied on red-baiting and the drumming-up of testimonials from civic groups and other unions. Overall, these tactics chosen by the

vote away." On election day, an embarrassed IBEW steward had to correct company poll watchers who told the NLRB they were observing "for Local 1031".

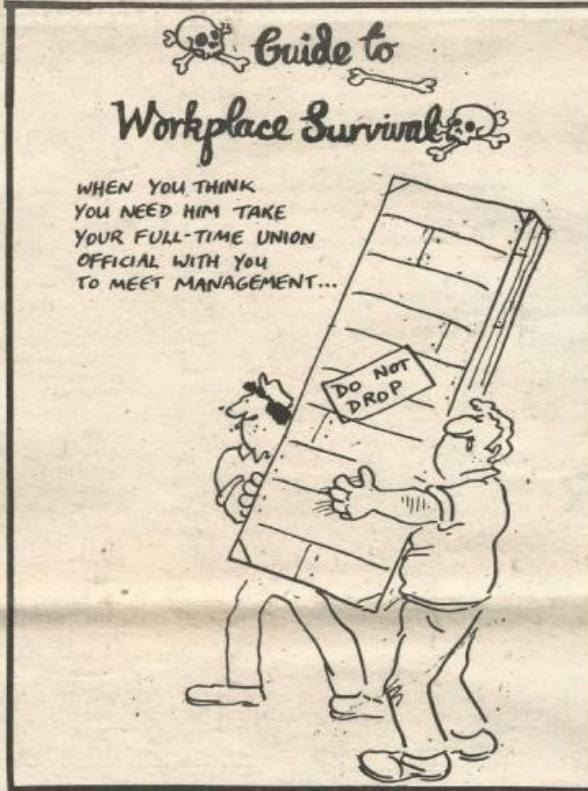
The connection between management and the IBEW has been clear from the get-go. In a McCarthy era article for the Chicago Tribune, a company V.P. boasted how his company brought in the IBEW to eliminate the left-leaning United

gressive union, will have a much harder time making even the most basic changes.

Although the challenges will be great for the UWA the fact of the matter is that working people can control their destiny and their unions. The UWA victory only proves the power of collective action and self-activity. It proves that workers don't have to remain docile and allow the officialdom to run the show. The example of what the Stewart-Warner workers have done should act as a beacon for those who find themselves in a similar situation, or at the very least, help to demystify the notion that working people have to rely on others (usually the officialdom) to fight their battles.

Workers' self-activity can be the only method by which we, as working people, can gain even the smallest victory in our struggle for a rational and equitable social order.

Author's Note: Much of this article has been adapted from an article written by Steve Askin, the labor reporter for The Chicago Reporter.



Electrical Workers (UE) union. UE has represented Stewart-Warner workers until 1949 when management charged "communist domination" and withdrew recognition. Since that time, the IBEW has proven itself time and time again as the faithful defender of the capitalists' "rights" to exploit its workers. In the 30 years that the IBEW has "managed" the Stewart-Warner workers, there has been little shop-floor "trouble". Or at least little trouble that the IBEW couldn't handle — until now.

The future holds a lot in store for the UWA at Stewart-Warner. They will have to go up against a formidable opponent when negotiating future contracts. According to J. Carlin Allen of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, "Stewart-Warner is living in another century as far as benefits and wages are concerned." In the past, Allen noted, there have been attempts by four AFL-CIO unions to bring about company-wide bargaining, but the company has proved it is willing to endure long strikes to avoid even minor concessions. And so the UWA, which is a militant and ag-

CNT: Cont. from Pg. 7

Spain wasn't an issue in the forefront of the congress' proceedings but did create some friction all the same. An important factor in this was the resentment felt by many young militants towards exiles like Frederica Montseny. They view her as a reformist who holds archaic and unsympathetic views regarding struggles such as those waged by women and gays. They also feel if her conception of the CNT were to prevail it would become a completely reformist union.

It is noteworthy that a previous source of internal conflict is a problem which seems more under control. This is the matter of other, fundamentally different social forces penetrating the CNT for their own purposes. These forces have included the left-liberals of the Spanish Communist Party, "anarcho-Christians" and Trotskyists.

Expelled

Of greater consequence was a manifestation of this phenomena some time ago involving a coalition of feminists, assemblyists, ecologists and others, who weren't necessarily anarchists, who constituted themselves into a formal organization united by the resolve to dramatically alter the nature of the CNT. In time, these people either left the CNT or were expelled.

While the decision to re-affirm the CNT as a labour union which is fostering the growth of a parallel libertarian movement was the most crucial policy decision made there were other important tasks taken up.

One of these was the debate over union contracts, an issue which revolved around the degree to which direct action tactics should be employed. The staunchest advocates of direct action see union contracts as mechanisms which tie workers to capitalism. At the same time those who advocate contracts being

Cont.: See CNT Pg. 15

Postal Worker Blues

by: Ann Archy

Christmas operations took a sharp turn for the worse this year at the Hamilton Post Office. With the arrival of a new Postmaster — John Gagne — came more work, less pay and terrible service. Not only did the letter carriers receive less help and drastic reductions in overtime — the help we did receive was slashed by about 50% as compared to last year. By depriving many people of a decent Christmas job and the letter carriers of extra holiday money, Gagne succeeded in thoroughly upsetting the festive season in Hamilton by causing huge delays in mail service.

We were informed by our union president, Vince Principi, that the money was sitting in the bank waiting to be paid to the letter carriers and their helpers. It was deposited last year in a budget prepared by the former Postmaster Doug Duncan. So it has been sitting in the bank, gathering interest for the Post Office and not used for its intended purpose.

We were presented with statistics that the mail volume was down 22% over last year and that is why

they felt justified in cutting back our overtime by \$200 per letter carrier. Why then did the Christmas mail sit all weekend in cases all over Hamilton just before Christmas? With hundreds of thousands of people waiting for their Christmas greetings how did the Postmaster justify such a delay in the mail? It's been years and years since the letter carriers haven't worked the Saturday and/or Sunday before Christmas.

Why was there twice the normal volume of mail to be processed after Christmas and why was the overseas mail processed on Friday December 28 - two to three weeks after it left its European destination, and, at the risk of sounding redundant, why after Christmas? Surely if we were given the help and the time to process and deliver this mail it would have been at its destination long before Christmas Day instead of long after.

Gagne seems to be a valuable pawn in the capitalist scheme of things — his actions reek of the contemptible philosophy of making the public pay!



Was Seabrook a failure?

by: Ron Linville

Was Seabrook a failure? On a very primary level, yes. Its goal was to enter and occupy the plant, and this was not done. Construction continues, having been delayed only a few days.

It is common in leftist journalism to try to call the silver lining the cloud, to enshrine defeats. I hope to avoid this; if you say you're going to do something and they stop you, you've lost and they've won. And, contrary to the "New Age" prejudice (worse, blithe denial) against the vocabulary of competition — more of that and related matters below — there is a stark reality to "won" and "lost" and to "goal-orientation".

Since the goal of all radical acts is the establishment of a new society, before that day dawns all our acts will, in a sense, be failures. The questions are: have we progressed at all? and what can we learn from this? For it is also true that lessons learned, if remembered and if applied correctly (both *huge ifs*), are preludes to success. Our victory will validate them, or our extinction will mark them as pointless tragedies.

Keeping well in mind the distinction between clouds and linings, I would say that the latter are considerable in this case. This attempted occupation was the first of its kind in North America, and it will inspire others. It may yet prove to have played a part in halting Seabrook itself and other nukes.

More generally, the qualitative break that Seabrook '79 represents has implications beyond the nuclear issue, in its fostering of genuine affinity groups as the seeds of a decentralized society, its explicit anti-statism, and its commitment to direct, rather than legal/symbolic action.

My criticisms of Oct. 6 are almost entirely logistical. I expect that these problems were largely due to the inevitably experimental nature of the action, since it was a "first", and future attempts will see improvements.

I came as part of a small group, too small and too new to each other to be an "affinity group". We more or less attached ourselves to an AG (whose members were known to us), and I served as a "runner" and as a general support person. What I learned was that, with some exceptions, support arrangements left much to be desired, especially the "long support" back to the AG's localities. Phone calls to the Boston central during the event were useless — nobody there seemed to know what was happening.

Each AG was responsible for its own support, their support people meeting with others' to co-ordinate efforts. Given the circumstances, this arrangement worked well; given the needs of the action, especially if entry had been made, it didn't work well enough. The specifics of what needed to get done, hour-by-hour, from moving occupiers' fence-cutters rearwards to prevent confiscation to moving information around and forward, were too complex for such a hastily-composed corps. Communications, at least at the field level, were sketchy and uncontrolled; rumors were the main news. Other than the nightly meetings there was no organized effort to distribute latest tactical and other developments except the shaky "runner" system. If entry had been made, this sort of rapid and accurate communication, followed by rapid and efficient support, would have been crucial. Striking exceptions to this looseness were the core (central) medical team and the engineering of the marsh bridges. Core support also did a good job under the circumstances.

The weather, of course, was beyond our control. Nevertheless, our general meetings, held very late (or early) at night and almost always in the rain, would have been more pleasant and more productive if some sort of shelter were available — say an army surplus mess-tent.

others can follow us? Do we concentrate on reaching the objective, no matter our numbers, wait for others to join us, and then proceed to the building or area, or should we divert police so that more breaches can be made? And how do we make these instant decisions and let our support know where we are?

at times the outright hostility, of a large part of the anti-nuke 'establishment'. For a variety of reasons, ranging from principled to opportunist to careerist, individuals and organizations active in previous (pseudo)occupations either gave no or token support or actively obstructed CDAS.

direct action. Now, for some reason, those tactics are "dangerous" and "counter-productive". **CELEBRITY NOTE:** With the announcement of Fonda's retirement from politics in favor of Hollywood, and with Tom's undying lust for a Senate seat, they have at least made their sell-out public.

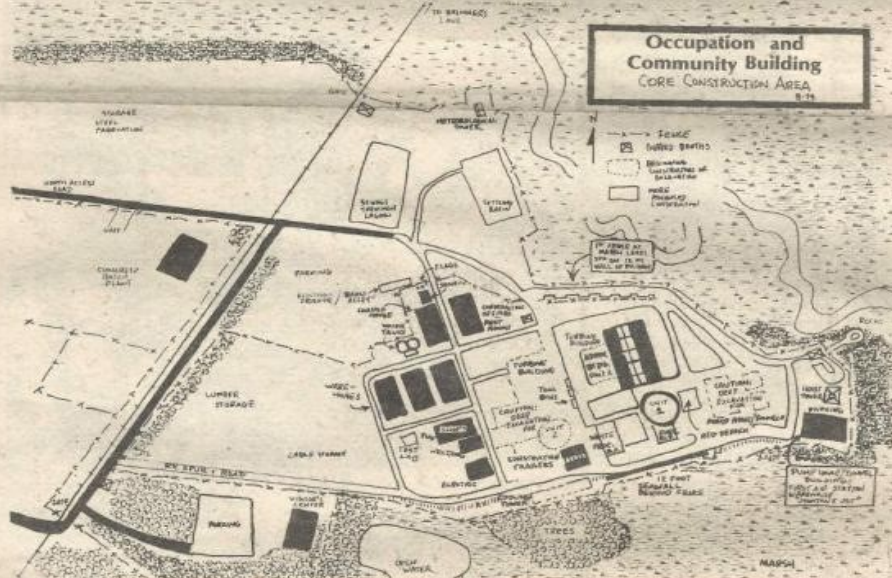
Unfortunately, a philosophical split was present at Seabrook. Despite the clarity of CDAS publicity that we were going to cut fence, that we were going to confront the cops rather than "witness" to them, and that we were dedicated to direct action, there were many present who clung to their liberal ideas. I don't know why they were there, but I know I don't want them there next time.

True, without their numbers even the most optimistic of us would have had to wonder about occupation, but their influence largely negated their numbers. One excellent suggestion for dealing with dogs — spraying them with diluted ammonia or with black pepper, to cause temporary disorientation — was voted down, because it was provocative and violent to harm a police dog!

Obviously, many were intellectually and emotionally unready. When the main northern force held back that first morning, they were 'getting their heads together' and singing "... we are one ...", by which they meant the cops too!

While I definitely do not want to deny the spiritual/emotional element in what we are doing, we also must not mistake spiritualism for politics. Our private consciousnesses do not dictate reality — our (and their) public actions do. We cannot levitate class struggles.

I distinctly felt two halves at Seabrook, not one whole. I think it is good — in any case, inevitable — that these halves should separate and grow along their own lines. Radicals should critically support symbolic or even legal actions that serve common goals, while resisting attempts to co-opt or mute our radicalism; we should work with the liberal anti-nuke forces but not get swallowed by them.



Map of Seabrook from the Seabrook Handbook. Plans are already afoot for another occupation in May. Clip and save, this map may come in handy.

Although many have criticized CDAS for being anti-media, I believe the media were merely not being deferred to, an unusual but entirely defensible position. On the other hand, not enough alternatives were there, especially non-print media. The magnificent film *Better Active Today than Radioactive Tomorrow* was made from an amateur 8mm original. Film and video are underused by the left.

The most serious tactical criticism I have is one that, this time, was moot. Post-entry strategic plans (objectives & priorities) were well thought-out and commonly known, but tactical details — what each group or 'cluster' of AG's was to do (and how) immediately upon entry, were not present in the minds of individuals. Between the sweep of strategic ideas and the pressures of battle, it is easy to forget or ignore vital details. An example: upon entry, do we maintain a supply line(s) back to the fence, send the news back to support, and/or head en masse to the objective and hope

Some AG's may have had these questions worked out, but those I talked to did not, and I suspect most did not. In the future, our non-violence preparation must include rehearsals of these situations.

There were also two major problems not as preventable as these, and the two are related. First, the size: CDAS had been (privately) estimating 10,000 persons. The actual 2500-3000 formed a much less imposing force.

A minor cause for the low turnout was the time of year. The prospect of tenting it, exertion and little sleep in the cold, and then, if all went well, establishing a self-sufficient commune with a New England winter fast approaching was not inviting. CDAS was aware of these drawbacks, but felt that the possibility of plant completion by 'good demo weather' and the momentum from the Three-Mile Island accident, justified a quick strike.

The principal cause for the low numbers, however, must be attributed to the lack of support, and

The Quakers (American Friends Service Committee) circulated a letter — not for publication — that objected to October 6 because of the lack of centrally-defined non-violence training, lack of (my phrase) "peace pigs" to police ourselves, and because property damage, to them a form of violence, was not strictly prohibited. It is true that CDAS' definition of 'violence' does not include property damage; for people who disagree with this, there is no common ground. Beyond that, the commitment to nonviolence was explicit and repeated. No one who honestly investigated the matter could doubt this, so the motives of some who conjured visions of bloodbaths and bombings simply must be suspect.

Less principled than the Quakers' position, but perhaps more damaging, was the refusal to show solidarity on the part of national and local anti-nuke "honchos". They were concerned that their media-based liberal respectability (called 'credibility' by them) would suffer if someone's nice non-violent (?) reactor vessel were trashed, or if the issues of property/capitalism were raised. Many of these people have egos and/or jobs that depend on their monopoly on anti-nuke activism, and simple territoriality kept them away.

Two prominent "leaders" deserve special mention here. Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda denounced October 6. Hayden said that the anti-war struggle was "different" than the anti-nuke struggle, without saying how or why the differences justified opposing direct action at Seabrook. Hayden even went so far as to suggest that CDAS was a dupe (or worse?) of the US, on the grounds that the open call for fence-pulling was leading out-of-staters into federal conspiracy raps (like the one he was acquitted on from '68). "What District Attorney wrote this..." he croaked, sounding for all the world like a politician desperately trying to hold on to a constituency.

Hayden (like anti-nuke "leader" Sam Lovejoy) rose to prominence through advocating and taking



The next "Seabrook", whether there or elsewhere, must be even clearer as to what the participants must be willing to do, and we must find a way to exclude or ignore those who come to impose their own ideologies.

To the good, Seabrook saw real "affinity groups" appear — multi-issue, permanent, and very "tight". Some truly amazing people were there — people willing (and trying to learn how) to build a new world. Of particular interest was the multiplication of women's/lesbian AGs, and the (relatively) high percentage — 40% — of women overall. The natural linkage of radical feminism and radical anti-nukism means a quantum jump in the progress of both and in the eternal struggle for total human liberation. And the bald fact that the North American movement has adopted this new outlook and mode of organization, and is moving in increasing numbers, into confrontation with the State, may be a turning point in the political history of the continent.



CLIFF HARPER

Sexist oppression in USSR

by: Lazarus Jones

As a society based on the supposedly egalitarian philosophy of Marxism one would expect that the Soviet Union would have made great strides in the emancipation of women. After all women made great contributions to the Russian revolutionary movement and actively campaigned for the equality of the sexes in the pre-revolutionary period. In fact it was a women's demonstration, on International Women's Day, that provided the spark for the February Revolution.

With the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy women gained many legal rights and these legal rights were further developed after the October Revolution. But, as the Russian writer Kurganov notes, "equality before the law does not always mean equality in life." The Bolshevik hierarchy was almost completely male-dominated with the only female leader of any consequence being Alexandra Kollontai. Still, in the early years of the Revolution, great strides were made. The marriage decrees of December, 1917, swept aside the reactionary family laws of the autocratic period. Men were deprived of their legal right to dominate the family and women were given the right to freely determine their name, domicile and citizenship. Divorce laws were greatly liberalized and marriage became a purely private matter between the two individuals involved. Abortion on demand was allowed in the first trimester and women, in theory, were freed from domestic servitude and allowed to fully participate in the economy.

After the first flush of the Revolution, however, these reforms began to take a hollow ring. In certain areas women made great gains, in medicine for example with a dramatic increase in the number of women doctors, but under Stalin many of the more advanced reforms fell by the wayside. Despite the Soviet Union's claims that the "female question" has been resolved the reality of women's liberation is yet to be achieved. The position of women in the Soviet Union is officially that of full equality how real that equal-

ty is we will now examine.

As a result of decades of revolutionary turmoil, purges, civil war and the monumental carnage of the Second World War women represent an absolute majority of the Russian population (66/67 Census)



"More production, comrade."

but this numerical preponderance is not translated into political power. Politics is the sole preserve of the Communist Party within the Soviet Union and within the Party women are most definitely in the minority. Only 20.9% of the Party's members are women and they comprise a mere 2.8% of the Central Committee. On the Politburo, the centre of real power, there is not a single female member.

This fundamental political inferiority of women has ramifications which extend to all areas of Soviet Society. Kurganov points out that: "Before World War I Russia had one of the highest percentages of women students in the world." Since the Revolution, contrary to Soviet claims, the percentage of women in post-secondary institutions has been steadily declining. As higher education is a pre-requisite

for advancement within the Soviet bureaucracy this decline has had dramatic effects on female participation in the decision making process.

In the home little progress has been made. Under the Soviet system

provided by women." Women are involved in all aspects of the Soviet economy as workers but they are extremely under-represented at the managerial level. As in the political sphere they are relegated to the lower levels of the hierarchy.

as housewife and worker. Any deviation from this course is subject to varying degrees of opprobrium.

The basic demographic disparity between men and women has produced several other distasteful side-effects. Men's attitudes towards women have been coarsened by the vulnerability of lonely women with little chance of finding a husband. Within the family drunkenness and wife-beating are very common.

The Soviet Union has only recently become an advanced industrial country and many abuses of women, holdovers from Russia's primitive past, survive and even thrive. Outside the major urban centres the practice of selling daughters for marriage still exists and female children, on the whole, are still greeted with disdain and contempt. Despite laws to the contrary many husbands still maintain complete and absolute rule over their wives and family.

The Bolshevik Revolution promised to free women from domestic and institutionalized slavery. This promise has yet to be fulfilled and there is ample evidence to show that it has not even been seriously attempted. Women have gained some measure of economic freedom, as a result of the Soviet commitment to the rationalization of the work-force, but they have been almost completely excluded from political life. The lessons for the women's movement are clear. They can depend on no one but themselves in the struggle for female emancipation. It is also clear that they must avoid the cesspool of Leninist politics and build their organizations on the firm basis of autonomy, mutual aid and free association.



More Letters: Cont. from pg. 2

This letter is also in response to the attitude that all nuclear technology is bad, and that nuclear technology is oppressive. Before I begin, in order to avoid misunderstandings, I would like to state that I view nuclear power plants as an UNACCEPTABLE energy source. I am against Nukes, but have doubt about closing all doors on nuclear technology.

It appears to me that the first function of any technology is to free humans from performing a particular labor, or, to perform a labor that humans can't. Computer technology can perform the first, and nuclear technology, the latter. A little common knowledge can reveal some interesting things.

Let us first examine computer technology. The foremost function of a computer is to store information in a way which makes that information easily retrievable. Computers do not program themselves, that is, they do not create the ways in which that information is used. However, they do save hours and hours of human labor. If I am an astronomer, and I want to translate the light spectrum of a planet into a mathematical equation, I can do so much more easily with a computer than with my own brains and hands. In this way, I can more precisely measure phenomena in space, and better understand the construction of the universe.

If I am a doctor and my patient needs a blood transfusion, and the patient has a rare blood type; I can use a computer to quickly locate a donor with the same rare blood type.

These are only two examples of the uses of computers. There are many more. My point is; when people are free from performing one kind of labor, they are then free to perform other kinds of labor. Since none of us is in love with tedious, uncreative labor, I say let the computers do it, and let me do more enjoyable things. Computers do not oppress. People oppress.

About nuclear technology; X-ray machinery is nuclear technology. First of all, used safely, I don't see anything oppressive about an X-ray machine. X-ray photography helps me keep all my teeth. If I have a problem in my stomach, or heart, or other vital organs, an X-ray can help a doctor to diagnose me without cutting me open. If I have a certain kind of cancer, treatments with radio-active substances can save my life.

Uranium and other radio-active substances are not capitalist inventions. When used humanly, nuclear technology helps people. Nuclear technology does not create nuclear power plants and weaponry. People make nukes and nuclear weaponry. Fire can seriously damage and kill a person, does that mean we should all stop using fire?!

As Anarchists we must be aware of the effects of such regressive at-

titudes. There is no reason for a worker to embrace an ideology if it doesn't first and foremost lighten his or her labors. We want to do less work and live more comfortably. We want to re-organize and redistribute, not destroy. We want to progress as a species, not go backward. It is poor strategy to base tactics toward change on some fantastic concept of the world. We must offer something concrete to our fellow workers, not promises without substance. We must present alternatives for a better life, not dictums of ethical purity.

... Besides, if you had cancer and I told you, you can't have access to diagnosis or cure because I've decided that X-rays are oppressive, what would you think?

Angel Reis
New York, New York

CIENTFUEGOS

Dear Comrades,

Thanks for sending copies of the latest issue of *North American Anarchist*. I must congratulate you on keeping up the high standards set in the first issue and producing such an attractive and readable paper. May the Force stay wavy from your door!

The main reason for this note is to ask if you could send us a copy of the complete RCMP Interrogation Manual for editing and republication, either in the Review or as a separate booklet.

Soviet attitudes to women fall into four basic categories: the 'comrade positive', the ideal communist superwoman working diligently at home and plant; the 'comrade willing' the typical housewife, performing necessary domestic work but being somehow incomplete by not participating in "the building of communism"; the 'comrade reluctant' the woman whose domestic tasks do not preclude her participation in the work-force but, for various reasons, chooses not to do so; and finally the 'comrade parasitic', definitely a bad sort, consciously refuses to work in the labour force, preferring to stay at home living off her husband or parents.

It is obvious from these stereotypes that the "ideal" Soviet woman is nothing less than a super-exploited chattel. The "ideal" Soviet woman has to perform double duty

We'll be doing quite a few things this year — if we get the money! — and as soon as we get our new catalogue out we'll mail you copies. Incidentally, is there any chance of your mailing out copies of the CP Newsheet (when ready) with a future issue of NAA? If so, it might be best for us to send you the artwork and for you to print (or someone) it over there and we send you the money. The cost of postage would be just as much as printing it over there, I imagine. Anyway, compadres, let us know what you think of the idea. We need as many supporters as we can get and as you may know a subscription really is an excellent value for money. Last year's sub. of \$24.00 bought the equivalent of almost \$50.00 worth of books (inc. postage). This year we are keeping the sub at the same rate (with a slight increase to account for the fluctuations of the dollar and the bank charges involved in changing US currency to \$30.00) and hope to increase our output by at least 50% on last year.

I suppose you know the result of the PU case by now. All acquitted! I've just done an article for *Time Out* (a London magazine) on the trial so as soon as I get a copy I'll send you a photocopy. The result is truly amazing, particularly as the judge almost openly directed the jury to find all the accused guilty — even the Prosecutor had to object to the judge's direction! It was basically a political decision by the

jury who obviously decided that the actual charges of robbery (and the non-existent evidence, of course) paled into insignificance when compared with what they were being asked to do by the State — rubber stamp the political police decision to imprison some troublesome anarchists. Anyway, full details will follow in a few days. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Fraternally,
Stuart Christie
Sanday, Orkney

PEN PAL

Sego Sisters & Brothers,

Greetings from Regional Reception Centre (KP). I hope this letter finds your endeavours in good health and spirits. Please put me on your mailing list: Angus Smoke, No. 4970, Box 22, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, K7L 4V7. I'll probably move to Warkworth, Ontario, because this facility will remain a Reception Centre but "protective custody" population will take over general population. In Solidarity. Hoping we'll benefit mutually throughout the 80's. Your paper is superb. Hoping for better weather. Danetoh.

Onen
Angus Smoke No. 4970,
Kingston Pen., Ontario



Libertarian Notes

AND THE QUESTION IS . . .

With the release last December of the question that will be posed to the Quebecois in the Spring referendum the stage has been set for one of the most dramatic debates in Canadian history. The question, in its final form, is a real jawbreaker. It reads: "The government of Quebec has made public its proposal to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada, based on the equality of nations; this agreement would enable Quebec to acquire the exclusive relations abroad — in other words, sovereignty — and at the same time, to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency; any change in political status resulting from these negotiations will be submitted to the people through a referendum; on these terms, do you agree to give the government of Quebec the mandate to negotiate the proposed agreement between Quebec and Canada?" Yes/No?

By the judicious use of semi-colons the Parti Quebecois have followed the letter of their pledge to ask "a single question." The verbosity of the question however has outraged both the PQ's opponents and militants within the party. Both camps wanted a clear, simple, unambiguous question. To the PQ hierarchy however such vagueness and plodding determination are an absolute necessity. Their project, independence, is a major feat of social engineering and they wish to minimize any attendant social "disruption." If the PQ receive a 'Yes' vote in the referendum a major psychological barrier will have been painlessly passed through.

STALINOIDS CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF THE LIZARD-KING

One crisp December morning the citizens of Toronto awoke to find that their city had been plastered with posters

Prisons: Cont. from Pg. 11

work out the solution together, 4) set up neighbourhood street patrols and self-defence courses and block associations in order for people to get (re)acquainted and (re)establish a sense of mutual aid and community, 5) a possible solution for the particularly thorny problem of sex offenders might be a program providing therapeutic communities with no bars or guards and self-operating group therapy (with a minimum residency requirement). Such a program could possibly restore to these offenders a sense of control and esteem, the lack of which is most often the source of such crimes.

But pending this shift from State control of anti-social behavior to community empowerment, "friends" of prison inmates can get themselves involved in several issues: 1) form united, organized constituencies to demand a halt to further prison building, 2) demand and provide fuller legal services to inmates and those under judicial review, 3) support, through publicity and funds, Prisoner's Unions. These unions are fighting to establish the rights of prisoners as citizens and workers. The very emergence of these Unions presupposes a renewed sense of responsibility and affirmation of community within the prisoner population — qualities which, the jailers claim, represent a truly rehabilitated prisoner. 4) Support resettlement programs for groups of ex-prisoners living together within "normal" communities. Such resettlement can provide the ex-prisoner with peer support, "family" ties and a sense of belonging.

Given the present economic crisis, and the system's general sense of priorities (production for profit, not social need), the empowerment of communities might be a long time coming. For libertarian socialists, the full establishment of such a

community presupposes the destruction of both the State, which serves its own ends and power needs, and capitalism, which places individual greed before social need, and people's struggles at their workplaces and places of living, awaits the establishment of a society based on production for social need and people's control of such production.

Again, special thanks to the Prison Research Education Action Project. To obtain Instead of Prisons get in touch with the Fortune Society (29 E. 22nd St., N.Y., N.Y., 10010) or write directly to PREAP, 3049 East Genesee St., Syracuse, N.Y. (\$6.50 plus 50¢ postage for a single copy).

CNT: Cont. from Pg. 12

signed believe they are necessary under present circumstances. On this question the congress did not make a decision clearly favouring either view. Rather, the implementation or rejection of contracts will be left to the discretion of local unions.

With respect to the next round of state-run union elections the CNT again plans to organize a boycott. It will similarly boycott the general agreement which has been reached between the Socialist Union, the UGT, and the government.

A new Secretary General was elected, Jose Buendia, who is a member of the Metalworkers Union in Madrid. Significantly, Buendia is an adherent of the classical anarcho-syndicalist conception of the CNT. He has replaced Enrique Marcos whose performance as Secretary General came under heavy criticism during the congress.

A related decision was to have the National Committee's location moved from Barcelona to Madrid. The people who will make it up along with Buendia will be

proclaiming the 100th anniversary of the birth of J.V. Stalin. Stalin's beaming mug seemed to be everywhere. The ML press was filled with fawning eulogies for the man who more than anyone else exploded their pretensions of being revolutionary organizations. The praise was not totally undiluted however. The Forge, "Central organ of the Workers Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) did admit that during the mass purges of 1937-38 "some honest people were also condemned."

For those with a little better sense of history there is another great anniversary on the horizon. On March 5, 1953, celebrate the 27th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin.

TANKS AGAIN, COMRADE!

50,000 Soviet troops dropped in on Afghanistan's Marxist leader, Hafizullah Amin, on Christmas Day bringing personal greetings from Leonid Brezhnev. Unfortunately they found out that he was a "counterrevolutionary" and had to kill him. That was OK though as they had a replacement sitting in Prague who was soon on his way to entertain the by now 100,000 guests in and around Kabul.

In Washington President Carter huffed and puffed and blew down a giant wheat deal and the "Arsenal of Democracy" declared its intention to boost arms shipments to that great democrat General Zia of Pakistan. The ill-fated SALT II treaty was yanked unceremoniously from Congress and the cold warriors began strapping on their silver armour.

As the world tottered on the brink of nuclear armageddon the United Nations debated the pro's and con's of Moscow's power-play. The Soviet ambassador, in a moment of uncharacteristic humour, labelled the debate "a direct intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation." He was supported in this contention by the ambassador from

delegated by the regional organizations.

These outcomes of the congress, important though they are, will still be overshadowed by the simple fact of the congress being held and its agenda debated for eight long days, being completed to the satisfaction of most of those present. Given the fierce internal struggles which are generally acknowledged to have been a major obstacle to the CNT's growth within the Spanish working class, and which have caused it to lose some members, many feared the organization would break up completely. This didn't happen and consequently the CNT will remain the most powerful organization to the left of the Spanish Communist Party.

BART: Cont. from pg. 15

time employees of BART (their role, by the way, was mostly trying to arrange compromises between the militant mechanics and the less militant train operators). It was another case of a basic structural inadequacy of the union as an effective weapon in class struggle. These cases are starting to pile up.

The question is beginning to get serious: can the existing union structures be used any longer to win even economic concessions from the ruling class? Unions may be better than nothing, but a growing number of workers must be wondering if something a hell of a lot better shouldn't be possible. In the meantime, it would be dishonest not to admit that those anarchists who consider all unions to be hopelessly reactionary and counterproductive have just picked up another example for their side here in San Francisco.

East Germany who delivered his address in Russian. It is not reported if anyone saw the lips of the Soviet ambassador moving.

Moscow's concern that the inmates of the Moslem nut-house to its south might infect its own Moslem citizens with a most un-Marxist religious fervour was probably the deciding factor in Moscow's decision to invade. As the proprietor of the last great Imperial Empire the Russians have a healthy fear of nationalism, especially the new dynamic Islamic brand. The one certainty in this farcical mess is that we, as a race, have been brought one step closer to collective suicide.

A VOYAGE TO INDIRA

Indira Gandhi, who a mere two years ago was swept from power in disgrace and threatened with jail, stormed back into power with the largest majority in India's history. The Western press were aghast and reduced to mumbling inanities about the "shortness" of the voter's memories. But Indira's success was not based on momentary forgetfulness. Her opponents were a dispirited bunch of geriatric nonentities whose only reason for existence was opposition to Indira Gandhi. There inability to deal with India's monumental social problems caused the voters to look with sympathy and even longing for a "strong leader." Trapped in the web of electoral politics the Indian voter made the best of a bad choice and as long as individuals allow the State to decide the spectrum from which that choice is made we will continue to suffer under the rule of tyrants great and small.

RED RUDI DEAD AT 39

Rudi Dutschke, who rose to prominence in West Germany during the battles against US involvement in Vietnam, died in Denmark last Christmas Eve after suffering a fit and drowning in his bathtub. Dutschke had been subject to epilepsy-like fits since a would-be assassin fired three shots into his head in a West Berlin street on April 11, 1968.

Dutschke's "superstardom" was largely the work of the mass media, particularly the reactionary Springer-press. The assassination attempt was a direct result of this imposed notoriety. Dutschke himself fought this tendency to cast him as the 'chief ideologue' of the Socialist German Student Federation (SDS). The SDS had no established hierarchy and worked with a minimum of organization. It was the reactionary attempt to come to grips with this situation that led to Dutschke's elevation into movement "superstar."

While Dutschke was in hospital recovering from his wounds two of his associates had this to say about his future role within SDS: He will, once he recovers, find a firm place in our structure, but not as chief ideologue because we do not need one. He will work with us, as one of our most active members. The personality cult around Rudi Dutschke was an aspect of our student movement which did not know how to articulate its demands to the outside world. Dutschke's new role will be a different one."



Sam Slick of the Duckburg Daily Quack says: "For all the news that isn't fit to print read **The North American Anarchist.**"

Subscription rates are \$5 for individuals for one year (six issues) and \$7 for libraries, institutions and organizations. If you don't have five dollars, send us what you can afford. **The North American Anarchist** will be sent free to prisoners on request.

SEND TO: **The North American Anarchist**, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.



BART workers voice their opinion of the new BART contract.

BART Update

Bitter defeat

by: Frank Stevens

SAN FRANCISCO — In a period when unions all over North America stagger from one defeat to another, can anyone really blame unorganized workers from regarding unions with utter contempt? While the bosses and their journalist hacks rejoice over the defeat of the employees of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system, the average worker out here can only conclude that the unions do nothing for you but take your money and run.

Readers of this newspaper will recall the August occupation of the Concord repair facility and BART management's decision to shut down the system and lock out all the workers. The stalemate lasted through September. But in early October, the State of California ruled that the BART workers were not eligible for unemployment compensation — even though they had been locked out! Apparently it occurred to no one in either of the two unions involved that the same tactic that worked at the Concord facility could have been used against local offices of the unemployment compensation department. Direct action had been abandoned in favor of public relations maneuvers and court suits.

Immediately, BART management went on the offensive. The more than three hundred supervi-

sors and managers were put through crash training programs and BART announced that the system would resume partial operations using management personnel.

At first, the unions said they would tell all their members to show up for work if BART tried to re-open the system. And then they backed down!!! The opportunity for a crucial confrontation that could have won everything was simply pissed away. If BART had used violence to prevent the workers from returning to work, public sentiment would have swung overwhelmingly toward the workers. By staying away the unions nailed their own coffins shut in the minds of everyone.

And even then(!), the unions refused to acknowledge that this was a strike situation calling for mass picket lines and other forms of struggle. Pickets could have stopped the flow of spare parts and supplies that BART needs to operate. No, they did nothing! They sat on their hands and waited.

What were they waiting for? The best explanation is that they were waiting for management personnel, working 16 hour shifts, to become exhausted and, possibly, cause a serious accident on the system through fatigue or inexperience. Had this happened, there would have been serious pressure on

BART management to give in. But what passivity!

And BART management could afford to wait as well. The management running the trains and stations were piling up those overtime checks. BART workers in one union were getting \$50 a week and in the other union a big zero. Some were making it on temporary jobs or living off other working relatives. But the pressures were too great to hold out indefinitely.

Finally, BART management reworded the contract of last July a little, agreed to forget about various punishments they had ordered against workers, and the workers voted to ratify. They got 60% cost-of-living and some minor improvements on compulsory overtime. In other words, compared to what they wanted, they got shit!

If anyone deserves praise, it's the BART system mechanics. Although among the highest paid of all BART workers, they were the heart of this struggle and were ready to fight to the end. Indeed, BART management will shortly find that they are still fighting back.

Whether this fight will take place within the structure of the existing unions is quite another question. This was not a case of "betrayal" by isolated union bureaucrats — the leadership in both unions are full-

CONT: See BART pg. 15

Quebec Common Front?

by: Tom Marick

The rifts opened by the most recent public sector negotiations between the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Federation of Labour underscore the distance of the various union centrals in Quebec from a real "all-in" syndicate for public sector employees. Such a caucus for workers in state industries will not be founded so long as trade unions continue to serve only a general union role for workers in the public sector in Quebec.

The historical trade structure of American business unionism serves to divide the workers of Quebec from one another. It also serves to weaken international solidarity, which must be based on the unity of each country's working class. International solidarity cannot help but be weakened when imposed from outside. This external "unity" atomizes local unions' communications and solidarity.

The Quebec Federation of Labour, for example, based mostly in the private sector of Quebec industry, has been inhibited by a lack of interaction between its locals. Communication is directed instead through international union channels.

When 65,000 hospital workers in

the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) walked out, in defiance of unjust provincial legislation, to back up their demands for a \$265 minimum weekly union wage from the government, Louis Laberge still argued that the Parti Quebecois should be supported by Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL) members. The QFL's secretary general, Fernand Daoust, even denounced the CNTU hospital strike as *useless*. The fact that the QFL non-medical hospital workers failed to walk out with the CNTU members as had been arranged is indicative of their isolation born out of affiliation to over-centralized international business unions.

The QFL is the Common Front union most favourably inclined to the Parti Quebecois. The QFL leadership's fascination for the corporatist strategy of the Parti Quebecois is based on the distance of different union memberships from each other — a condition fostered by the QFL's lack of independence from the conservative Canadian Labour Congress which is dominated by international trade union traditions.

The defeat of the QFL union at United Aircraft aggravated the move away from international un-

ions in the private sector of Quebec and it is probable that the actions of the QFL in the common front in late 1979 will increase the number of break-aways from QFL affiliated unions in the public sector.

Meanwhile according to the result of a vote taken on November 28 by 82,000 teachers belonging to the Central de l'Enseignement du Quebec (CEQ) the last government contract offer has been rejected by a wide margin. The CEQ is expected to strike on January 15 with other Common Front affiliates to resist staff cut-backs, larger classes, and increasing work loads induced by government austerity measures. An earlier strike date was delayed by Quebec government actions ruling all strikes in the public sector illegal until November 29 and the infighting in the Common Front which has slowed the process of local and regional strike mandates by other teachers' unions in the front.

It is clear that public sector members of the QFL must break with traditions of American "international" unions if labour is to effectively fight against the Quebec government's attempts to push the effects of the ruling class' profit crisis onto the backs of working people.

Labour Pains

Fight the "Michelin Bill"

On December 28, 1979, the Progressive Conservative majority in the Nova Scotia legislature passed labour legislation to prevent unionization of one of the province's Michelin plants by the United Rubber Workers of America. The new labour law requires the union to organize all Michelin plants simultaneously in the province or represent none at all. Such vicious anti-labour legislation cannot be defeated by parliamentary means which operate in a framework which serves the rich. Such legislation can only be repealed by the forceful action of the workers in Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia Federation of Labour must not limit itself to working for the defeat of Tory candidates in the upcoming federal election. This is a timid strategy which will change nothing. The Labour Federation must build a general strike in opposition to this backward law if its actions and disenchantment are to be made effective.

SINGING THE CAPITALISTS' TUNE

The United Auto Workers union publication, *Solidarity*, reports "that Muzak — the background music played in many workplaces and supermarkets — is designed to subtly increase worker productivity. During traditional slow work times." *Solidarity* notes, "the beats are gradually increased from 100 to 150 per minute spurring office workers to work faster. Muzak is reportedly used in supermarkets, factories, and offices in the US, Europe, and the Soviet Union, and may soon be introduced into the People's Republic of China."

THE JOKE IS ON WHOM?

The joksters are having a field day over UAW President Doug Fraser's impending appointment to the Chrysler board of directors. One government source suggests that Fraser, who is already a labor representative on Carter's pay board, should also be appointed to represent management. A union member suggests the traditional labor salutation of "Dear Sir and Brother" be changed to "Dear Boss and Brother".

Expropriate Chrysler

The U.S. Government has demanded an additional \$295.5 million dollars in wage cuts from the United Autoworkers of America employed by Chrysler. This would cost each individual Chrysler worker in Canada and the United States \$2040 in wages. The Canadian section of the UAW has refused to take these cuts. The US government has no business making demands on UAW members and must be forcefully opposed.

At present Chrysler union leaders have meekly accepted a Chrysler Corporation contract for US workers which will cost each of them \$4500 — most of which will be extracted by reducing time off. The solution to Chrysler's inefficiency is not to tighten the belt. Rather this company must be expropriated without compensation for the workers' benefit and placed under their direct control. The workers' movement and its allies should agitate and hold educational as well as public rallies to support the only alternative of any consequence to the corporate welfare give-aways of the US Congress.

Radio Shack Must be Turned Off

The employees at the Radio Shack warehouse in Barrie have been on strike now for over six months while the company has employed scabs in order to break the walk-out. The two hundred members of the United Steel Workers of America have been victimized by Radio Shack spies and harassed by company goons. Radio Shack has consistently refused to bargain in good faith and has not seen fit as yet to comply with the Ontario Labour Relations Board ruling that they provide a complete contract offer for the warehouse workers out on strike. Friends of the labour movement should join the mass pickets organized by their area labour councils and set up support committees in their union to aid the workers on strike against the barbaric employer — Radio Shack.

FLARING ERROR

In 1971, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration issued its first standards, with its air contaminant rules, including one limiting the maximum permissible exposure to chlorine. But a typographical error later changed the one-part-per-million (1 ppm) "ceiling" maximum to a 1 ppm maximum average allowed in a day. As a result, 80,000 iron, dye and paper bleachers and other workers have been exposed to higher peak concentrations, in some case "burning out" workers' lungs. Now the chlorine industry is suing in court to block the OSHA effort to restore the ceiling.

BLIND WORKERS EXPLOITED

The National Federation of the Blind has charged that thousands of blind workers in so-called "sheltered workshops" are being paid sub-minimum wages while many of the workshops make big profits. The NFB quoted a spokeswoman for General Electric as saying the company subcontracts to workshops in at least four states because "they don't charge a whole lot of money. It was cheaper than to have our own people do it... the cost of labor is really the only difference."