

North American ANARCHIST

50¢

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action



A Contract Fit Only For The Fire

By Brian Amesly and
Sam Thompson

160,000 U.S. soft coal miners are now into the second month of an historic strike. It began at the end of March as the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) President Sam Church received a rude shock when the contract they were certain would be ratified was defeated by a two to one margin by the miners.

The miners were not duped by the three-year contract including 36% wage increases and a dental plan which concealed a number of critical takeaways. One takeaway increased the power of the companies to mine non-union coal in an industry where under half of total production comes from union mines thus further eroding union rights.

Others provided the companies with the right to schedule voluntary overtime for almost all of the holidays included in the pact. Still other provisions also affected job security through limiting the recall rights of laid-off miners and imposing a 45 day probationary period for new-hires.

Critically, the COLA clause lost during the 111 day 1978 strike was not restored in the contract. In its place was provision for quarterly wage adjustments not measured by the rate of inflation. Another key issue was pensions with the BCOA conceding little after having attempted take-aways in the complex pension system.

The rejection revealed the miners' anger at UMWA President Sam Church who had replaced "reform" President Arnold Miller in 1979 after being Vice-President. The BCOA was counting upon Church to deliver a strike-free contract and insure labour peace in the mines. Thus his failure to do so has discredited him in their eyes perhaps as much as in those of the same rank and file miners who enthusiastically burned copies of the contract in many places.

Reagan and Black Lung

Ronald Reagan added fuel to the miners' militance earlier this year by including in his budget cuts measures attacking benefit rights for miners disabled by Black Lung disease. This slow, vicious killer disease contracted by breathing coal dust affects miners as young as in their forties.

An emotional issue it has been and still is a frequent cause of wild-cat strikes. It moved 10,000 miners to demonstrate against Reagan's measures in Washington D.C. in

early this March while many more staged complementary work stoppages. Black Lung along with the kind of working conditions which recently killed 15 non-union miners in Colorado makes the industry the most dangerous of all in the U.S.

The prospects for the strike are not good given large company stockpiles, continued non-union coal production and warming weather. Further, the big oil companies who now dominate the industry are determined to decisively defeat the strike. While tough company bargaining is nothing new management's hard stance is exemplified by accusations from large owners that the small independent operators are not firm enough.

This rift presents the possibility of a divisive settlement in which the smaller operators break away and negotiate separate agreements. This is crucial since the miners are not solid. Some locals voted for Church's contract.

Nonetheless, this scenario is only a possibility. What is no less likely is a long strike lasting into the summer. If this occurs the stakes will be very high for the entire U.S.

working class because the miners are in fact engaged in a head on battle with capital as a whole.

Build Solidarity

Given this one would think support activity for the strike would at least equal that for the last one. Not so! To date the response has been dismal whereas solidarity should be generated across North America. Should this situation persist the miners will be smashed and could face blows not unlike those being endured by autoworkers.

We must not let this happen. We urge our readers to take up strike support activities immediately. We also urge that monies and other forms of support not be sent to the UMWA National Headquarters as Sam Church and his cronies will use whatever resources are available to promote their idea of a good contract. We recommend money in particular be sent to the UMWA District 17 Headquarters, 1300 Kanawha Blvd. E., Charleston, West Virginia 25325, U.S.A. as our sources assure us this will guarantee it is genuinely helping the miners. Win this strike!

Local Autonomy in Solidarity

By Brian Amesly

Poland recently drew back from the brink of a total confrontation between workers and "their" state. A planned unlimited general strike was threatened in response to police violence against local Solidarity members in Bydgoszcz. It was called off at the last moment because of the efforts of a Solidarity negotiating team headed by Lech Walesa in what has now become a familiar pattern.

The incident crystalized a key issue confronting the Polish workers — the question of whether the structure of Solidarity will continue to be based upon a large degree of local union autonomy. At stake is the future evolution of Solidarity and inevitably the general struggle against the bureaucratic ruling class atop Polish society.

The importance of local autonomy is underlined by the persistence of locally initiated strike action. Jelenia Gora, Rzeszow, Bielsko Biala and Lodz have all been scenes of militant strikes over local issues involving demands for the removal of corrupt officials, acts of repression against union activ-

vists etc. In all cases these struggles developed into a major national crisis. Similarly, the Bydgoszcz incident was initially a local issue.

To a degree these strikes were a reaction to the tendency of local and regional party bureaucrats to adopt a more hostile stand towards Solidarity than the current faction controlling the Polish United

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Jan Rulewski: beaten Solidarity member

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Citizen's Accused Of "Vigilantism" In Atlanta

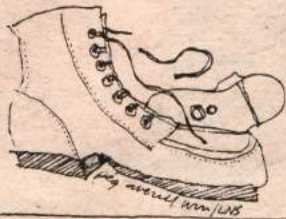
"We ain't gonna take this junk no more," chanted a crowd of about 100 black people surrounding an Atlanta police car. The protesters set up folding chairs around the car and held it hostage until Atlanta police released a man arrested earlier that day. The man had been arrested for carrying a .38 caliber revolver as a member of a newly organized citizen's patrol.

The patrol had been organized by tenants of the Techwood homes in response to rumors that the Atlanta child killers would hit that housing project next. During the past two years 23 black children have been abducted off the streets of Atlanta and murdered. Atlanta police have been unable to stop the killings, in spite of nearly \$3 million spent on police work and the assistance of the FBI. The residents of the Techwood homes had no desire to see one of their children become another statistic. So in early March a retired postal worker and a community activist organized a patrol to police

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For Starters

Planned Obsolescence



is when your new shoes wear out before the laces break.

Inflation is when fixing them costs more than getting new ones.

We received some criticism of the article on El Salvador in our last issue (**What About Revolution?**) that accuses us of taking a neutralist position since the article did not explicitly call for an end to U.S. intervention. We are not, of course, "neutral" regarding this conflict. We will wholeheartedly support, and help to build, a mass mobilization against U.S. support of the Salvadorean junta. What we will refuse to do is become cheerleaders for the Stalinist dominated FMLN and its vision of what should replace the junta. To paraphrase Gus Hall there will only be real freedom for the Salvadorean people on

the day that the last capitalist is hung by the guts of the last Stalinist.

The Case of the Missing Byline: the article on Swedish social democracy in our last issue, **Who's Kidding Who?**, should have been credited to Mitch Miller. The second part of his article, with byline, appears on page 12 of this issue.

In the last **For Starters** column a sentence was dropped from the announcement of the establishment of two new distribution centres for **Cienfuegos Press** publications. This sentence indicated that both centres have published catalogues that will be sent out

free of charge if sufficient postage (35¢) is enclosed.

We'll be printing the results of our Reader Survey, which appeared in **NAA8**, in our next issue. Extra copies of the survey can be obtained from us if anyone missed it and would like to participate. Closing date for surveys that will be included in the article is June 1. Merry May Day!

If you have any comments, criticisms or praise for the views and opinions expressed in our articles please write to: **The North American Anarchist** P.O. Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4A 2M8

LETTERS

OR Veteran Reminisces

Dear NAA,

Best wishes on the continued existence of your newspaper project. As a member of the **Open Road** collective, circa 1977-79, I know how hard it is to sustain the energy needed to keep a paper appearing regularly.

I was most intrigued by the brief discussion in the Jan./Feb. 1981 issue regarding criticism of the **NAA** for daring to publish an article criticising Bookchin. I was much taken by your point that signed articles expressed the opinions of the author, and not necessarily those of the **NAA** or the **ACF**.

I am reminded of the time (I think it was Fall '78) when the **ACF** discussed donating money to the **Open Road**. (I was not present at the meeting, and am basing this account on my memory of a report by the **OR** representatives). The **OR**'s request was rejected, apparently because the **OR** was said to often include contradictory positions. (For example, printing articles on pacifism and armed struggle side by side.) As well, it was reported that the **ACF** would only support a periodical that was responsible to the **ACF**.

The **OR** collective at the time, met and reiterated its decision to remain independent of any outside organization. We believed that neither we, nor anyone else that we knew of, possessed **THE ANSWER**... the total, correct, revolutionary strategy. We saw our role as helping to air the variety of alternatives, that even though seemingly contradictory, were being pursued in an anti-authoritarian manner. We felt that only through debate and evolution, would a valid strategy for liberation emerge.

ACF and the **NAA**, by contrast, seemed to be claiming to present "Anarchist Party Line." I'm hopeful that the "Great Bookchin Debate," and your publication of a variety of positions on at least this one question, implies a recognition of the dangers of a monolithic party line... even if it is an anarchist one.

If so, this opening will be another

step in the continuing improvement, including improvements in content and appearance, that I've noticed in the **NAA** since Vol. 1, Number 1.

In Solidarity
Frank Everett
Vancouver, B.C.

From Thought To Action

Dear Comrades,

I can't get over how good your articles are — detailed, so complete, so full of clear information and thankfully not strewn with "useless rhetoric". Some of the articles have moved me to look more critically at the world around me and to take some action. The recent article **Genital Mutilation in Africa** so shocked me that I have been talking to people about it, especially to my sisters in the feminist movement. I have taken the liberty of photocopying the article and sending it to all my correspondents. The complicity of the "humanitarian" organization in the commission of this barbarous act on millions of women and children is most appalling. As soon as I receive further details on their complicity I am going to speak to and challenge members in the organizations. I cannot fully express my outrage at this crime against humanity nor my thanks to you for the knowledge moving me to take some action.

In Liberation
Raymond Glendenning
Saskatoon, Canada

Kick Out The Jams!

Dear NAA,

I have read some ridiculous things masquerading as Anarchist propaganda, but I'm beginning to think I'll never see anything reach the low that this paper has managed to reach in its short lifetime.

As a few people out there know, I'm rather "extreme" in my views as to what Anarchy is. I believe in backing up my attitude with force of arms if necessary. Most "Anarchists" I've had contact with are

posing as pacifists because they're just too damn chickenshit to take up arms and practice the violent side of the equation.

Then there are the publications that come out with personal brands of who-knows-what and label it "Anarchy." Just where the hell did a supposedly Anarchist paper get a by-line by a person who calls himself "Joey Stalin"? Are we to expect a "Nick Lenin" or a "Berry Ah" in the near future?

But so help me, the January/February issue cops the all-time prize for bullshit. On page 2, under the title "FOR STARS" is an apparent editorial stating how liberal the **ACF** is regarding its policy of printing articles. A section of it goes: "The only criterion for the rejection of an article would be if the editors felt it violated basic anarchist principles. In that case, if after consultation with the author no agreement could be reached, the offending article would be circulated among the affiliated groups and a decision would be made as to whether or not the article should be printed."

But the real kicker is on page 6 under "ANARCHIST FEMINIST NOTES." I don't know that much about Canadian and/or British Law, but I'm sure that in both countries one of the issues to be decided by the Courts is credibility. The Court has the option of believing any story that comes before them. They are to look at the evidence and decide who is more believable and what side the evidence favours. To make a statement such as "A rapist can ignore his victim's begging for mercy, screams or kicks and say that in spite of all the woman's protest he honestly believed it was okay — and he need not provide any grounds for his belief" is nothing more than sensationalism and gross distortion. Not only that, but it's groveling and sniveling of the lowest order.

Maybe you folks at **NAA** don't realize this, but Government has already declared war on Anarchism. We ARE, by our very existence and our beliefs, **ENEMIES OF THE STATE**. It's about time we started practicing the theories of Stirner and Bakunin on the streets and stopped bitching about things we can change instead of just sniveling like a bunch of children. On the other hand, some folks calling themselves Anarchists enjoy

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ACF Declaration

We live in a world in which the vast majority of people are manipulated and exploited for the benefit of a privileged few. The main goal of the members of these ruling classes is to increase their personal power and wealth by any means necessary. They try to blur the distinction between rich and poor by the use of the myth that wealth is available to all. This irresponsible pursuit of economic and political power has brought about not only poverty and unrewarding lives for the vast majority, but threaten the existence of humanity with ecological disaster and nuclear war.

We are anarchists because we oppose the notion that the political state can be used to either protect or promote social revolution. The state is the graveyard of freedom and equality. It means privilege and domination on the one hand, subordination and poverty on the other.

We are communists because we believe that the wealth produced by society rightly belongs to society and not to the few who own and control the machinery of production and distribution of goods and services which have been produced by generations of working people.

As anarchists we recognize that the problems of hierarchy are not only based in the workplace. The habits of obedience and authority stem also from the daily subordination of women to men, children to adults and race to race. In the final analysis no social revolution can succeed without the simultaneous dismantling of all such hierarchical relationships.

We are opposed to the State and ruling classes which dominate every country today. In their place we propose the free federation of autonomous communities and workers' associations united by free agreement. In the struggle to achieve this society of free producers we advocate direct democracy, direct action and autonomy.

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

We urge all who share these goals to work with us.

Adopted July, 1980,

at the Sixth Conference of the

Anarchist Communist Federation of North America

ACF AFFILIATES

CANADA

TORONTO ACF: P.O. Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4A 2M8. *Newspaper Co-Production Group.*

TOTALLY ECLIPSED: 200 Holton Ave. S., Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. *Newspaper Co-production Group.*

REGINA ACF: P.O. Box 3658, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, S4P 3N8. *Pamphlet Production Group.*

UNITED STATES

NAMELESS ANARCHIST GROUP: Box K, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, USA.

RASCAL: P.O. Box 1516, Morgantown WV 26505, USA.

RESURGENCE: P.O. Box 2824, Station A, Champaign, IL 61820, USA. *ACF Financial Group.*

BREAD AND ROSES: 495 Ellis St., No. 1341, San Francisco, CA 94102, USA. *Internal Bulletin Group.*

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS' GROUP: P.O. Box 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113, USA. *External Correspondence Group.*

NO LIMITS: P.O. Box 2605, Madison, WI 53701, USA.

CHICAGO RED AND BLACK: P.O. Box 5507, Chicago, IL 60680, USA.

SOIL OF LIBERTY: P.O. Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407, USA.

MEMBERSHIP PROCEDURES

INDIVIDUALS: All individual members must be affiliated with a federated group. An individual wishing to join the federation must request membership of an affiliated group and it is up to that group to determine whether to associate with a given individual or not. Individual applicants may choose between any of the local groups which will accept her/him. Once in the federation, an individual member may change her/his group affiliation, but must always be affiliated with some group.

GROUPS: The base unit of the federation is the local group. A local group shall consist of at least three individual anarchist-communists living within one hour's travelling time of each other, but may include additional members living beyond this radius. Local anarchist groups that wish to affiliate, must communicate their desire to federate to all groups presently within the federation. The applicant group will be contacted by the nearest federated group. After the applicant group has been contacted and has been given an understanding of the federation's principles and goals, the group or its representatives must then attend a conference of the federation in order to allow members from the other groups to meet them personally. After this the federated groups shall decide if they wish to associate with the applicant group.

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West German West German Rebels Say:

"No power to no one!"

The constant clashes between police and squatters has caused many capitalist newspapers to raise the spectre of a renewed wave of terrorism. One West German newspaper noted that Susanne Albrecht, one of West Germany's most wanted terrorists, was involved in the first squatting incident in Hamburg in 1973.

By Lazarus Jones

From Ireland in the West to Poland in the East, Europe is a seething cauldron of discontent. At the centre of this social maelstrom is West Germany where a vast and growing movement of opponents of nuclear power and weapons, squatters and political activists is coalescing into an almost proto-Anarchist movement whose most widely quoted slogan is, "No power to no one."

Since December of 1980 the movement has been growing in numbers and intensity. On Feb. 3 a march to protest the building of a third nuclear reactor in the Hamburg area erupted into a violent and prolonged confrontation with the police. Alongside of this tradition of militant opposition to nuclear power a large squatters movement has emerged which has led to running battles with police throughout West Germany but most especially in West Berlin which has a severe shortage of available housing.

The root of this "housing shortage" is the enactment in 1974 of tough tenant protection laws and rent controls. The landlords responded in typical fashion by declaring a capital strike. Housing starts, which peaked in 1973, have steadily declined as the demand for housing increased. Unable to get a "fair return" on their investments the landlords cut-back on maintenance leaving hundreds of houses empty and derelict. With a housing deficit of 20,000 units tenants in West Berlin turned to letter writing campaigns and lobbying politicians. Finally, as Kuno Haberbush a spokesman for a citizen's action group, put it: "We started occupying houses because that was the only way to get action."

About 20 per cent of the squatters are marginal types seeking an alternative lifestyle. The other 80 per cent, according to a government study, are almost evenly divided between students and poorly paid industrial apprentices. Some of the squatters are apolitical, others are liberals and various Marxists in search of a cause but, the vast majority are non-affiliated radicals. In the words of the UPI newsagency they "consider the battles of the squatters a fight against the entire system and are striving for an undefined system of anarchy." The attempts by police to forcibly evict the squatters led to a steady escalation in the level of violence.

On one weekend last March West Berlin was rocked by a night-long riot that saw 20,000 people take to the streets to protest the police harassment. There were 39 separate attacks on buildings, mostly in the chic central district, culminating in the second torching of the Reichstag. The original burning of the Reichstag in 1933, the blame for which was pinned on the communists, was the signal for the beginning of the Nazi reign of terror. Coming in the wake of a leaked government

survey that claimed that 18 per cent of West Germans felt that, "Under Hitler, Germany had it better," this event was ominous indeed. The survey, which was commissioned in 1979, further stated that, "A total of 13 per cent of the voters (about 5.5 million) have an ideologically complete frame of mind the main supports of which are a national socialist (Nazi) view of history, hatred of foreigners, democracy and pluralism and an exaggerated devotion to people, fatherland and family."

New wave?

The constant clashes between police and squatters has also caused many capitalist newspapers to raise the spectre of a renewed wave of terrorism. One West German newspaper noted that Susanne Albrecht, one of West Germany's most wanted terrorists, was involved in the first squatting incident in Hamburg in 1973. They also tied in Knut Folkers, presently serving a life sentence for terrorism, who was arrested in 1974 as one of the occupiers of several buildings and offices. The authorities were quick to pick up on the terrorist theme. Roman Herzog, interior minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg state, recently charged that "terrorists" were attempting to infiltrate the squatting movement claiming: "From our experiences with the student revolt of the '60's we must fear that a new terrorist wave could arise. West



Police battle squatters in Munich

German interior minister Gerhard Baum lamely "disagreed" saying that of the 1,300 known squatters "only 70" have ties with terrorists. As the most recent riots in West Berlin, on the weekend of April 11-12, were sparked by the false report that one of the Baader-Meinhoff

terrorists, presently on a hunger strike to protest their prison conditions, had died there will undoubtedly be renewed attempts to link the squatters struggle with "terrorism."

Whether the terrorist link is "proven" or not seems to make little difference in terms of police reaction. In the Bavarian city of Nuremberg, in the biggest mass arrest since Hitler blew his brains out in 1945, 141 "suspected demonstrators" were arrested. The arrests were immediately condemned as "excessive" and when it was discovered that many of those arrested were not demonstrators there were even more complaints over the Bavarian authorities "hard-line"

approach. Unfortunately, the authorities are concerned, the "soft-line" approach advocated by the northern states has proved equally ineffectual. When Hamburg mayor Ulrich Klose invited the staff members of the city's high school newspapers down to city hall for a "dialogue" five of the students responded by dropping their pants to reveal circled A's painted on their bare behinds.

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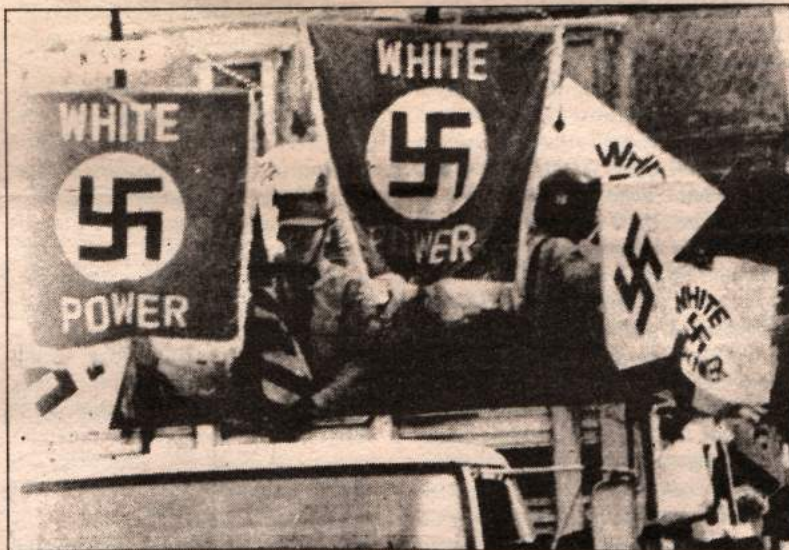
The Rise of the Right

By Arthur J. Miller

Not long ago I was sitting around thinking about the maniac who had just become the president of the U.S. and about the first year of the 80's. If this year is an example of what the decade to come will be like I for one shudder at the possibilities.

Batten down the hatches folks because the Right is on the rise! In Greensboro the Klan and the Nazis were given the OK to murder! This may not mean much to you if you live outside the South but down here it can be felt deep in the guts and soon we may be under fire.

Up in Northern Alabama, the Klan has a guerilla warfare training camp preparing its people for race war. An agent for the Alabama Bureau of Investigation said to the newspapers, "I'm afraid this might be the first indication of a new kind of terrorism that we're not prepared to meet." One big-mouthed Klanner, Terry Tucker, said, "I don't think there is any tactical squad in the state we couldn't stand against." He also said that there are camps in Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi. The Alabama camp is



named 'Camp My Lai' in honour of Lt. Cally.

Guerilla warfare trainer, hit man, Klanner and convicted murderer, John Allen Mosier, told newspapers that he was an instructor at the KKK's Camp Puller which is about 40 miles east of Houston. He also said there were two other secret training camps in Texas—one near Mauriceville and the other near

Cleveland. The KKK also operates an ammunition factory near Vidor by the Texas-Louisiana border. The Klan is "more combat ready than our regular military forces", Mosier mouthed to the press.

It has also been discovered that Boy Scouts were taken to one of these camps and given race war training by the Klan. Their parents did not know about it. They

thought their kids were at a Boy Scout camp.

Murder has been given the OK in Chattanooga, Tennessee as well as in Greensboro. There two Klanners were acquitted of charges that they shot four black women with a shotgun and a third who admitted he fired two shotguns from a moving car received three workhouse sentences totalling 20 months. He only served three and a half.

As is now well known, in Greensboro 5 Klansmen and Nazis were freed after murdering 5 Communists. The evidence included videotapes taken of the shooting by television camerapersons. These tapes showed the Klanners and Nazis getting weapons out of a car and running down the street firing at the Communists. With this evidence and more the all white jury found them innocent of murder.

Actions like these are going on all over the U.S. Not only in the South but in places like San Diego, Detroit, Hartford and Chicago. In Buffalo, after a series of racist knife-wielding attacks, the National

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The New England Anarchist Conference: The Road to Utopia

If you can attract 175 people of diverse backgrounds to an event that is at least nominally Anarchist and create a solid revolutionary organization then you have indeed accomplished something of importance. Has NEAC done this? The answer is partly yes, but mostly no.

By Lazarus Jones

In a letter to the last issue of this newspaper (*A Plea For "Unity"*) Christopher Cooper castigated us for, among other things, ignoring what he felt to be an event of significant importance — "the largest Anarchist conference in North America in 100 years." The conference Cooper was referring to was the founding meeting of the New England Anarchist Conference (NEAC) held on October 17-19, 1980, in Plainfield, Vermont.

The conference was certainly large, the organizers report that approximately 175 people were in attendance, but does size alone make an event significant? It would seem to me at least that the political content and potential of an organizational initiative are more important criteria for judging its relative significance than the actual numbers involved. After all who were the people who converged on Plainfield last October and who did they represent? Rudy Perkins, a member of the Hard Rain group which attended the conference but did not affiliate with NEAC, wrote in the first issue of *Black and Green* (NEAC's newsletter) that: "Many of these people were not affiliated to any group, or any group with a history of concrete activity. This composition limited practical discussion, and will probably limit NEAC's organizational cohesion and stability." Perkins also characterized many of the people involved as "marginal" types heavily under the influence of "New Age" thinking.

To their credit, in an editorial reply, some individuals in NEAC recognized this problem and declared that, "they feel that the influence of New Ageism that NEAC has inherited from the anti-nuclear movement is real and must be understood for what it is and rejected." We wish them luck. As Perkins also noted: "Unfortunately for anarchism (the) emphasis on 'process' and individual freedom lends itself all too easily to new-age politics." The ACF, which some have characterized as a "vanguard party", has so far found itself incapable of dealing with this problem. The NEAC, which lacks even the ACF's nominal commitment to working class action, will have a much more difficult time of it.

NEAC's first conference then, attracted a great many people whose commitment to Anarchism is vague at best. This is, of course, not necessarily a bad thing. If you can attract 175 people of diverse backgrounds to an event that is at least nominally Anarchist and create a solid revolutionary organization based on sound principles with a commitment to collective action then you have indeed accomplished something of importance. Has NEAC done this? The answer is partly yes, but mostly no.

Sectarian?

This is not said out of any kind of sectarian malice for I believe that in some respects NEAC is superior to

the ACF in terms of its conception. For a start NEAC recognizes the need for a general coordinating committee composed of revocable delegates to carry out administrative work between conferences. A committee of this sort was proposed during the ACF's formative stages but never, regrettably, established. For another thing NEAC recognizes that there are indeed, perhaps to the chagrin of Cooper and other proponents of Anarchist "unity", many differences between Anarchists that cannot be resolved within a single organization. Specifically NEAC makes it very clear that individualist Anarchists and Anarchists whose primary orientation is towards the working class are not welcome: In their policy statement on "Individualist and Syndicalist Trends in Anarchism" they declare: "we respectfully request that they (individualists and syndicalists) not participate in the NEAC merely because they and we are 'Anarchists.'" We reject individualism and syndicalism as matters of *difference in principle* and regard them as *tenets that would be disruptive to our organization and thus incompatible with participation in it.*"

While no one would quibble over whether or not it is legitimate to discourage individualists, indeed if they needed to be discouraged, one would be justified in asking just what exactly their "individualism" consisted of, but the rejection of the working class is a much more serious matter. By declaring at its inception that NEAC has little or no interest in the central problematic of human liberation — the person in production — they put into question their very legitimacy as a revolutionary organization.

NEAC proclaims that their focus "is ecological and communitarian rather than individualist or syndicalist" but they neglect to explain how either of their goals can be realized without the direct involvement of the working class as a class or the involvement of Anarchists in the class struggle. After all it is clear that what NEAC is attempting is not some kind of revolutionary division of labour, with the syndicalists taking care of the labour front, they are proposing a radically different approach to revolution itself. Murray Bookchin, the *eminent grise* of NEAC, has made it well known that he regards the working class as being no longer the prime agency for social revolution. Instead he, and NEAC, are proposing a new mode of revolutionary organization that draws its membership from the remnants of the counter-culture, the anti-nuclear movement and the radical feminist movement. They raise a new vision of "social ecology" and counterpose it to what they term "mere environmentalism." And while no one would deny that a commitment to rational ecology must be one of the foundations of any truly revolutionary movement, the kind of



mystical vision put forward by Bookchin and NEAC is very shaky ground upon which to exclusively base such a movement. It may have some attraction when faced with the utter ruthlessness of capitalist exploitation of the environment but, a switch to even a half-way sensible "environmentalist" approach would isolate NEAC faster than you could say Barry Commoner.

Fuzzy-headed

The kind of fuzzy-headed thinking which characterizes NEAC is epitomized in their collective statement, *Who We Are: What We Believe*. It consists of an enumeration of the various ills besetting society, from which the exploitation of the working class as a class is noticeably absent, and offers this panacea: "To answer to these problems and needs, we wish to raise new ideals of freedom and liberatory alternatives in the broadest sense." They then proceed to detail how they would like to see society re-organized and finish by declaring somewhat apologetically, "If our views seem utopian, it may well be that we have reached a point in history where only utopia can rescue us from sheer annihilation." But, as Kropotkin observed, the Anarchist society "is not a utopia, constructed on the *a priori* method, after a few desiderata have been taken as postulates. It is derived from an analysis of tendencies that are at work already." In particular the existing tendency of the working class towards self-activity which forms the only real basis for revolutionary action and the only hope for revolutionary change.

The tendency to present Anarchism, and the self-managed society, as ideals to be realized rather than a *method* for their realization afflicts the entire Anarchist movement in North America. The same criticisms could, and often have, been made of the ACF's collective statement. The problem, as Frank Stevens stated in the last issue of the *NAA* is often one of people who would rather "believe than think." The NEAC resolution on feminism is illustrative in this regard. It begins with a tautology — "Feminism is a social movement based on feminist principles, philosophy and value structure" — rambles on through several paragraphs of dubious assertion and concludes with the imprecation that men, in supporting this movement must "be conscious of their attitudes and actions and the tone and choice of their words." In other words men must be prepared to give almost totally uncritical support to a concept — feminism — which is poorly defined and, at least in its "radical" form,

is permeated with the very attributes of "New Ageism" that NEAC is seeking to reject. Feminism is presented as a unitary homogenous movement, which it manifestly is not, and as an extension of Anarchist principles which it may or may not be. Nowhere in the resolution is it mentioned that feminism, as such, is an overwhelmingly bourgeois movement and that far from "inspiring a continuing movement which will not fail like the revolutions of the past" it has shown an alarming susceptibility to recuperation by the State and Capital. What is needed is a critical re-evaluation of feminism as a revolutionary force. Instead we are given empty phrases and prescriptions for mere role reversal. Surely this is not good enough?

As a revolutionary organization, despite some good intentions, NEAC seems to be very weak. The base unit of NEAC is supposedly the affinity group which is defined as "a small group of dedicated sisters and brothers with a shared commitment to their political vision and to each other." But, as Rudy Perkins noted, the marginal nature of many of those involved in the initial conference raises real doubts about exactly how many such groups NEAC can actually claim. There is no listing of affiliated groups in their newsletter, an elementary requirement it would seem for a federation which places so much emphasis on networking, and there are only two or three affinity groups mentioned by name in all the literature NEAC has put out. It may be that the groups involved know each other so well that such a listing was considered superfluous. But even this is a disturbing sign in an organization which declares its model of social organization to be the New England town meeting "free ... of its parochial and patriarchal trappings." (Emphasis added).

Organization

It is one of the basic tenets of Anarchism that revolutionary organizations do not make revolutions and certainly have no right to attempt to impose their leadership on emerging revolutionary movements. Unfortunately this profound insight has all too often,

in the case of both NEAC and ACF, been used as an excuse for neglecting the organizational basics and failing to come to grips with the role that a revolutionary organization can and *does* play in the revolutionary process. The organization of conscious revolutionaries should exist in a reciprocal relationship with the masses. It should act as the collective memory bank of the working class, *not* as the "brain," but as an active repository of lessons learned and analysis honed in the service of the class.

Of all the manifold currents within society tending towards a revolutionary resolution of the contradictions of capitalism our own self-organization as conscious revolutionaries is the only element over which we have any real control. And while the activities of a revolutionary organization have never been the dominant factor in the genesis of a revolutionary challenge to the rule of capital, the possibility always exists that in a particular revolutionary situation the activity of the conscious minority *may be the determining factor* which decides if that particular situation matures into a fully revolutionary challenge or sinks back into apathy and despair.

The question of revolutionary organization and the relationship between the conscious minority and the masses deserves much more attention and care than it has generally received from Anarchists in North America. This involves much more than just working out better organizational mechanics, although these too are important, it involves the development of a shared analysis rooted in the material conditions of society. We should not look back to an idyllic past or forward to a utopian future. We should firmly base our activity on those movements and dynamics within society that tend towards and have the potential to bring to realization the self-managed society. It is a task which both NEAC and ACF will have to face up to if Anarchism in North America is not to be doomed to irrelevancy.

Copies of the first, and so far only, issue of *Black and Green* are available from: NEAC, Box 373, Burlington, VT 05402, USA. The cost is one dollar.

The Anarchist society is not a utopia, constructed on the a priori method, after a few desiderata have been taken as postulates.

Brown Death in The Cotton Mills

By Kamalla Miller

Lucy Taylor, who worked for J.P. Stevens' Roanoke Rapids plants, breathing cotton dust for a total of 35 years, was forced to quit due to then-unexplainable breathing problems. Lucy Taylor suffered 12 years thereafter before a doctor told her the truth about her disabling illness — Brown Lung disease. Immediately she filed for a workers compensation claim with the North Carolina Industrial Commission. For the next five years she fought the commission, Stevens and the state courts to overturn a statute of limitations which denied compensation to workers who couldn't prove their disability occurred within a year after their last exposure to cotton dust.

The North Carolina Supreme Court in September of 1980, ruled in Lucy's favor and awarded her \$12,000 plus an additional \$4,000 interest for the years the company fought her claim. This was only to result in a file for an appeal by Stevens and its insurance carrier, Liberty Mutual. Fifty Brown Lung Association members then protested at the Liberty Mutual's headquarters and the appeal was dropped, except on that of the interest, which is still pending.

Even with the interest, the award amounted in total to about \$1,000 per year of sufferings. Not near enough to cover Lucy's medical bills nor her pharmacy bill.

Lucy Taylor died of Brown Lung last winter in 1980.

Textile manufacturers, including J.P. Stevens, insist that Brown Lung is not caused by cotton dust. Rather, they claim it is the workers' own fault because they smoke cigarettes, have bronchitis or asthma. Thus, they 'react' adversely to the dust. The courts have not yet accepted this blame-the-victim cover and after lengthy delays the federal government enacted a new cotton dust standard which would have required the mills to reduce the level of dust to 0.2 milligrams per cubic meter by 1984. This, of course, Howdy Doody at the white house wants to cut back on.

What is Brown Lung?

Exact effects can only be described with qualifications — its exact chemical cause is unknown still. Certain circumstances surrounding its occurrence have been pin-pointed.

- It occurs in the presence of cotton dust — a dust that gets into the atmosphere during the processing or handling of cotton fibers contaminated with leaves, stems, bolls, bracts (a crumbly, leaf-like part of the cotton boll's base that grips the underside of the fruit), or organic matter which may have accumulated on the cotton during growing or harvesting.

- Foreign matter (such as bract) rather than the cotton fiber (or lint) cause the disease.

- Much more foreign matter (or trash) is transported from farms to cotton gins and thence to textile mills because now almost 100% of the American domestic cotton crop is machine-harvested. Machines pick less carefully than the human hand.

- In the textile industry, workers in the dustier parts of the mill are most likely to contract the disease. The dustier areas are the picking room, where cotton bales are opened, and especially the carding room, where the cotton fiber is combed.

- Workers who smoke or have lung dysfunction (such as asthma) may be more susceptible to Brown Lung than those who don't smoke and whose lungs are healthy.



An estimated 35,000 workers in the textile industry are afflicted with this disease which rots out and decays the lungs, severely impairing the breathing function.

The symptoms of the disease resemble the symptoms of emphysema and bronchitis — a painful tightness in the chest, shortness of breath, coughing and wheezing — and, as Lucy's fate shows, can be fatal.

In April, 1975, the Carolina Brown Lung Association (CBLA) was formed which is an organization of the disabled workers.

At the first meeting, over 125 textile workers attended. Many were gathering in a group of fellow workers for the 1st time where 'IT' (Brown Lung) was openly recognized, discussed, and blamed on the cotton mills. A very difficult fact that they thus had to start beginning to live with, and fight against.

Compensation claims began to be filed by CBLA members. Demonstrations against compensation delays were held. They demanded the State Occupational Safety Administration (OSHA) inspect mills for cotton dust violations and that legislators change compensation laws. They sought hearings with the labor commissions and legislators to ask for cotton dust warning signs in the mills.

Members took it on themselves to educate the public, fellow mill workers and the doctors on Brown Lung.

Two years after the organization was founded, members took their campaign to Washington, D.C. in the group's first head-long confrontation with industry officials. Years of delay followed. OSHA sponsored hearings on a new proposed cotton standard. Fifty-five members of CBLA went to the nation's capital to tell the government their stories and to ensure an establishment of a standard that would truly protect the mill workers.

A.J. Wood, 61
45 years in the mills
16 years with Burlington

At 60 his doctor told him to get out of the dust. When he asked Burlington for another job they told him to go collect unemployment. If they had allowed him to work in a non-dusty job until he was 65 he would have gotten a \$12,000 pension. He got nothing!

Woodrow Clark, 52
36 years in the mills
23 years with Cone

He had to come out 15 years early because he only had 26% of his breathing left. He got no pension and for one year's treatment had a \$1100 medical bill from Brown Lung caused by the mills. He was denied workers compensation.

Lillian Baldwin, 63: 29 years in the mills
Willie Baldwin, 72: 54 years in the mills
both had 22 years with J.P. STEVENS

She's partially disabled and was not eligible for compensation in S. Carolina. He's diagnosed as totally disabled. They got no pension, no compensation.

These are but a few examples of Brown Lung victims which sparked an organizing drive lasting for 17 years in the J.P. STEVENS southern plants. Six years after, the workers at seven mills in Roanoke Rapids, N. Carolina, voted to be represented by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU), the company agreed to a two-and-a-half year contract which granted the workers every major provision they had demanded through the union.

On October 19, 1980, hundreds of workers at J.P. Stevens gathered to ratify their first union contract. Three other mills ratified the contract a few days later, bringing the total to roughly 3,500 workers in 10 J.P. Stevens plants.

Anarcho-Technology

The Making Of The Corporate Tomatoe

Remember how sweet, tender and juicy tomatoes used to taste? They sure don't grow them like they used to! Have you ever stopped to wonder who 'they' are and why 'they' seem to be so adept at growing tomatoes which taste like cardboard? Read on!

The fibrous, dry, tasteless tomatoes common to supermarket shelves of the 1980's begin their wretched lives on huge farms located primarily in Florida and California. These monolithic farming operations are owned by giant agribusiness corporations in existence for the sole purpose of making maximum profits for a tiny clique of investors who would never dream of getting their own hands dirty working on a tomatoe farm.

From the time of germination until harvest time, the vast, unending fields of tomatoes are fed a steady diet of chemicals. These chemicals, while stimulating growth, destroy the natural micro-ecology of the soil, resulting in weak plants with low resistance to insects and blight. This problem is neatly solved by spraying the fields with tons of incredibly toxic chemical pesticides.

The centralized nature of this mode of production requires that the harvested foodstuffs be transported great distances, at great expense in terms of time and gasoline, to remote distribution outlets. Fresh, wholesome, vine-ripened tomatoes have a vexing tendency to become squashed in transit or to rot during their long journeys. The corporate solution to this profit-shrinking problem is to pick the tomatoes while they are still green, hard and marginally edible. These unripe tomatoes are shipped to factories containing fifty-foot long gas chambers into which 2-chlorethylphosphonic acid (Ethrel gas) is pumped to chemically turn the tomatoes pink and give them the illusion of ripeness. (In a triumph of corporate doublespeak, this dubious process is referred to as 'degreening'). These artificially-reddened tomatoes are then shipped to supermarkets across the nation. They may not taste very good, but they certainly don't burst or rot as readily in transit!

Supermarket tomatoes tend to have tough, thick skins. This is no accident, but is rather the result of years of government subsidized research. The thick skins allow the tomatoes to be harvested by tomatoe-picking machines without being mangled. These machines are the result of still more taxpayer-funded research which sought to replace human farmworkers. Human workers have a troublesome tendency to organize and demand dignity and self-determination for themselves and their families. The thick-skinned tomatoes were given such picturesque names as *MH-1*. 'Dropped from a height of six feet, the MH-1 tomatoe will hit the pavement at over 13 miles per hour without splitting—better than twice the speed of federal auto bumper safety tests! Our tax dollars at work!

The present vanguard of research towards the ultimate corporate tomato involves the development of a *box-shaped* tomato which will pack more easily for shipping. The question of whether or not you and I actually *want* unripened, artificially-coloured, crash-proofed, square tomatoes never seems to enter the picture....

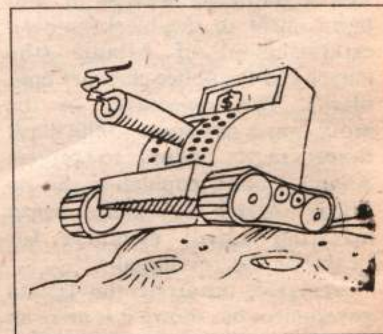
The corporate system focuses the ownership of the means of production into the hands of an elite group of investors who do no actual productive work themselves. This wealthy elite, by creating 'horizontal' and 'vertical' monopolies, makes a mockery of all the platitudes about 'free enterprise' and 'the law of supply and demand'. Have you 'demanded' any square tomatoes lately? You are going to be 'supplied' with them whether you like it or not!

Large, octopuslike corporate structures are successfully seizing control of the means of production and distribution in the western world and beyond. The fact that corporations own the farms, trucking companies, petrochemical industries, farm equipment industries, warehouses and supermarkets means that 1000 family farms, many of them former growers of good, old-fashioned style tomatoes, are compelled to sell out each week, usually to a corporation. These formerly self-reliant families are forced to settle in subdivisions and seek employment working for a corporation rather than for themselves. Corporations are buying up rental property quietly but relentlessly. If all goes as planned, most of us will have a corporation as a landlord eventually. When corporations are employing us, feeding us (square tomatoes!) and controlling all forms of production including *energy* production, then we will be living the Chase Manhattan Bank vision of America-in-the-twenty-first-century.

"I got a little motto", Lucy Taylor once said as she searched through her pocket book. She found the folded paper piece, coughed and read slowly, "It's too late for me. Dust was our destiny. We will keep fighting that the future will be better than the past."

We have only begun to fight one hell of a battle, the battle over our RIGHT of survival. The strength and determination of Lucy Taylor and others like her will help us obtain the persistent and unyielding stance that is essential for us to prosper. We must continue. Thank

you Lucy Taylor. Thank you for your struggle!



Anarchist Feminist Notes

When love is outlawed. . .

The Supreme Court of the United States recently upheld a California law making it a felony to have sexual intercourse with a female under the age of 18. The law provides for a maximum prison sentence of 8 years.

The law does not prohibit females having sexual intercourse with males under the age of 18, and was consequently attacked as a violation of the "equal protection" clause of the U.S. constitution. The Justices ruled that the State of California had a legitimate interest in discriminating against men because "only women can become pregnant".

What is really interesting (not to mention outrageous) about this whole case is that apparently no one considered the effects of such a law on young women.

The State of California in its infinite wisdom has now told millions of young women here that making love to their male lovers can send their loved ones to prison for nearly a decade. If a third party discovers a young woman making love to her lover and wishes for any reason to destroy that relationship (regardless of the suffering of the two people involved), a simple phone call to the police will suffice.

The young woman can be placed on a witness stand and compelled (under threat of contempt of court and perjury) to identify her lover and send him to prison.

The State of California has singled out a large segment of the population characterized by sex (female) and age (under 18) for the most incredible punishment: the deprivation of love regardless of need or desire.

And it goes further still: some young women do become pregnant and want to have and raise their children, even if they have to go on welfare to do it. But other laws already provide that a woman must identify and help locate the father of her child in order to qualify for welfare payments. So she faces a terrible choice: have an abortion or give up the child she wants to keep; or identify the father and send him to prison; or try to raise her child with no public assistance at all.

And finally, of course, this law like all "morals laws" cannot be effectively enforced on a large scale. No, instead we will see a few hundred or a few thousand tragedies every year. Young lives blasted into ruin because a parent came home early or a teacher heard a noise in a vacant room or some other trivial incident snowballed into disaster. Thousands of young lovers will escape the net of the law for each pair that is caught; for that poor unlucky couple we can only weep for their fate.

This law does not discriminate against men; it discriminates against humanity. It is a crime against humanity and it will not go unpunished. When love is outlawed. . . only outlaws will love.

IN MEMORIAM

Arlene Meyers, a founder of *Siren*, an anarchist-feminist publication from Chicago in the early 1970's, died February 12th, 1981, apparently of a heart attack. Arlene made significant contributions to the development of anarchist-feminist theory and maintained a correspondence with anarchists and feminists throughout the world. She played a role in tenant organizing and other social movements of the 1960's and '70's. Her friends and comrades mourn her loss both as a friend and as a revolutionary.

Her letters and her collection of radical periodicals have been entrusted to the care of the Womens Collection of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Friends wishing to add to this collection or to make a monetary contribution to the Arlene Meyers Memorial Fund are invited to send correspondence to Frances Chapman, 836 W. Newport Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

Women in Poland



Women textile workers on strike in Lodz

The following text was distributed as a leaflet at the Toronto International Women's Day march by the large and vocal Anarchist contingent.

For many months now the Polish working class has been engaged in a militant struggle against the Red Bureaucracy which rules Poland. There have also been major struggles by students and peasants seeking some measure of autonomy from the stifling restraints of Marxist dogma. Yet little has been heard of the struggles waged by Polish women against their oppression. On this, International Women's Day 1981, we believe attention should be given to the situation of Polish women and the need for our solidarity with them.

As in North America, the vast majority of Polish women are subjected to the double oppression of being both women in a patriarchal society and workers in a society where the working class is exploited by a parasitical bureaucracy.

Women make up about 40% of the paid workforce. They are paid wages which, on average, are much less than those paid to men doing work of equal value. They are concentrated largely in low-skilled, non-technical, job ghettos. They are forced to endure this out of economic necessity as most Polish families could not survive on the in-

come of one person.

Their oppression extends well beyond their job situations. Polish working women have to cope with a serious lack of day-care facilities. Material scarcity compels them to do a great deal of domestic labour such as making clothes for their families. Their double burden is further compounded by a lack of facilities like communal laundries which could be the basis for the socialization of housework.

Not surprisingly Polish women resent these shortages and the fact that women in high income families have much better access to such facilities as exist. In addition, this enslavement is reinforced by Polish men, who, like their Soviet and Western counterparts, contribute little in the way of domestic work believing that it is "meant for women."

Furthermore, the State glorifies the continued existence of the patriarchal family, encourages women to bear as many children as possible and to be good housewives. The Catholic church does the same as well, damning birth control, abortion and divorce. For its part the Solidarity trade union confederation has done almost nothing to help alleviate the oppression of women.

Nonetheless, many Polish working women do resist. In

defiance of the Church and the State large numbers of them use birth control devices, have abortions and get divorces. Since Polish working women are acutely affected by the realities of the economic crisis they have often shown a capacity for waging militant struggles. Notably, in 1971, the mainly female workforce at a Lodz textile complex staged a strike involving 10,000 workers which forced the State to retract price increases announced two months before. Previous mass strikes had been unable to win this demand.

It is vitally important, and in our deepest interest, to express solidarity with Polish women in their fight against deeply-rooted social oppression. For their struggle is our struggle and until they are free we cannot be free.

For An Autonomous Polish Women's Movement!

Endorsed By:
The Anarchist Communist Federation (Toronto)
 P.O. Box 2, Station O,
 Toronto, Ontario, M4A 2M8
Totally Eclipsed (ACF)
 200 Holton Ave. S.,
 Hamilton, Ontario
Queens' Anarchist Collective
 2A-229 Brock St.,
 Kingston, Ontario, K7L 1S5

Atlanta

Continued from Pg. 1

their own neighbourhood. Half of the 50 members of the patrol were women.

The spectre of armed poor people patrolling the streets was enough to send the ruling class into hysterics. The press began denouncing the group as "vigilantes," suggesting images of lynch mobs or worse. It was a particular source of embarrassment to the black political establishment of Atlanta (the mayor and the police chief are both black). The appearance of the group was a testament to the black bureaucracy's failure to protect Atlanta's black population. So on Friday, March 20, police began arresting patrol members for "carrying firearms illegally."

In making the arrests the Atlanta government has shown it is more an

obstacle than a means for protecting the community. Studies of urban crime show that voluntary efforts of the community are more a deterrent than bloated police budgets. Where strong ties exist between neighbours, people look out for each other and each other's children. Yet city governments like Atlanta, with its gigantic housing projects and impersonal government subsistence programs, have destroyed the mutual aid networks that strengthen the community. Voluntary efforts, like the Techwood citizen's patrol, are viewed by the police and city hall as a threat to the political status quo. Fortunately the police harassment did not completely discourage the Atlanta citizen's group. After using direct action to pressure the city to release the arrested member, the group decided to continue its patrols, but without the open display of guns.

Union "Counsellors"

By M. Archibald

The union steward has long been a fixture in organized workplaces. Originally the steward was elected by the workers to represent their class interests in confrontations with management. With the evolution of the labour relations system, the subversive potential of the steward's role has gradually disappeared. In many shops, the union steward is a full-time, salaried official with a vested interest in maintaining industrial peace.

Now a new functionary has appeared in the workplace—the union counsellor. In the past two years training courses for these counsellors have been held by labour officials in cities across Canada. The union counsellor is a worker who does not actually coun-



sel but rather refers workers with various types of personal problems to social service agencies. These problems include alcohol and drug abuse, stress, emotional crises, legal and debt problems, illness and dis-

ability, and housing.

Looking at union counselling from the perspective of working class history one notes: (1) some of these personal problems are directly job-related and were formerly dealt with through the therapeutic exercise of class struggle; (2) the remaining problems used to be handled by the workers' own mutual benefit societies and the like, not by external agencies.

So what we are seeing today is the unions advising their members to take their troubles, on an individual basis, to outside groups which are almost entirely run by the state and staffed by middle class professionals. In this way the working class is rendered less able to act in its own interests and can be more effectively subjected to state control.

The Tragedy in El Salvador

The tragedy of El Salvador is an integral part of the insoluble world crisis of capitalist political economy and its inability to offer humanity any future except more misery, austerity, repression and, ultimately, imperialist war.

By Diego

Capitalist barbarism is unfolding right in front of our eyes in El Salvador. American imperialism, in connivance with the left and right factions of the Salvadorean bourgeoisie, is butchering thousands of young workers and peasants — a fate it has in store for the entire working-class of the Americas. Between the military Junta of Jose Napoleon Duarte and the Leftist Front of Guillermo Ungo, there can be no choice: The Salvadorean proletariat must wage relentless class struggle against both.

The tragedy of El Salvador is an integral part of the insoluble world crisis of capitalist political economy and its inability to offer humanity any future except more misery, austerity, repression and, ultimately, imperialist war. Within the country the present governmental Junta represents the class interests of the old conservative coffee-growing, land-based bourgeoisie and their Army enforcers. These rabid and autarchic elements are receiving direct military aid from their counterparts in Washington. The Left — the Revolutionary Democratic Front (F.D.R.) — is being supported politically and financed militarily by the more liberal, social-democratic section of the Western imperialist bloc. Both sides are firing M-16's, and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.) — the Leftist guerrilla umbrella — is stocked with Belgian automatic rifles and Israeli sub-machine guns. Soviet bloc arms, supplied through Cuba via Nicaragua, are negligible; its participation is limited to propaganda on behalf of the Left, so as to gain some political leverage. All tendencies within the world bourgeoisie are agreed that the proletariat of El Salvador must die for one form of capitalism or another.

The roots of the current bloodletting in this tiny Central American country lay in the impossibility of structural economic and social reforms attempted off and on by the "progressive" bourgeoisie for the past 30 years. In this camp are the liberals — the mainly export and industrial businessmen who have pushed moribund schemes of land reform and market diversification. With these, the Salvadorean "Communist Party" has stood and coalesced electorally since the 1960's. On the other side are the more backward, feudal-dreaming coffee growers who refuse to accede to any statified changes of their land-holdings and wealth. Straddling both factions is the Army — itself divided into a liberal wing of Colonel Majano and the "young officers", and the fascist group around Colonel Abdul Gutierrez — whose paramount function is to impose by violence either program of capitalist exploitation.

El Salvador is a stark example of the fact that the system of commodity production — Capitalism — is

completely effete and decadent. The efforts of the liberal bourgeoisie to expand light industry did not reckon with the reality of a fully saturated world market. Their textile, petrochemical, paper and food products could not gain the shrinking mercantile ground already occupied by Mexico, Taiwan and South Korea. As the global crisis of political economy began to make itself felt in El Salvador during the 1970's — unemployment, inflation, repression — the proletariat responded by an intense series of strikes from 1974 on. It was at this juncture that the Leftists intervened decisively to take charge of the workers' resistance, and to derail the autonomous struggles of the proletariat.

Just who is the Left in El Salvador? What are its methods? What are its aims? The F.D.R. is a standard *bourgeois popular front* comprised of orthodox Stalinists, Guevarists, Maoists, Social Democrats and liberals, and with a usual sprinkling of Trotskyists. The military high command of the guerrilla units — the F.M.N.F. (formerly the Unified Revolutionary Directorate, D.R.U.) — is staffed by cadre of several Stalinist-Guevarist political organizations, and led by an old "Communist Party" honcho, Salvador Cayetano. Heading the F.D.R. coalition is Guillermo Ungo, a noted Social Democratic politician, vice-presidential election partner to Duarte in 1972, and recent member of the "progressive" Junta of 1979. The main slogan of the F.D.R. is the installment of a "revolutionary democratic government". Such a new regime would seek to direct the nationalization of major industry, foreign trade, the banks, the large landed estates, and to set up a new "People's Army" and police to carry this out. And this program, they claim, has something to do with "national salvation" and/or "socialism"! One can readily see that the "final offensive" of the guerrilla groups is in reality the first offensive of *bureaucratic state capitalism*. And now after the Army has severely crippled the Leftist military units, the F.D.R. has organized a "political and diplomatic commission" to negotiate a governmental settlement with the Junta. The captivated workers and peasants get chopped to pieces while the politicians, sitting in plush temperature-controlled offices of Mexico City, meekly bargain for a Cabinet reshuffle!

Well then, how has the Left been able to assert its ideology of national capitalist recuperation against the autonomy of the El Salvadorean working-class? The difficulty of class struggle in Latin America, and throughout the world for that matter, is the absence of any genuine revolutionary proletarian organizations and traditions within these countries. Because of the epochal defeat suffered by the global proletariat during the 1920's and 30's, and the subsequent incorporation of the old work-

ers' organizations — the trade unions — by the Stalinists, all authentic expressions of class contestation have been submerged behind the hideous cloak of "Marxist-Leninism". The various Latin American C.P.'s — and their Maoist, Guevarist and Trotskyist spin-offs — have wielded a constant bourgeois hammer of electoralism and the popular front, "national liberation" and guerrilla insurrectionism. Each ideological blow serves to batter the skulls of the workers into national capitalist submission. Frontism has everywhere massacred the world proletariat: first in Spain under the Frente Popular of 1936-39, in Chile with Allende and the Unidad Popular of 1970-72, in Nicaragua from 1979 to now with the Frente Sandinista, and here again in El Salvador.

Besides frontism, another of the most pernicious myths of the Left — and specifically the "Marxist-Leninists" — is the odious canard of "national self-determination". This grotesquely patriotic notion fits well as the ideological complement to the inter-class "People's Front". The history of so-called "national liberation struggles" for over the past 60 years has shown again and again that no small nation-state can escape the clutches of imperialist domination. The overriding industrial, technological and military weight of the two principal imperialist powers — the U.S. and Russia — means that every partially-developed country must remain under the marketing thumb of one capitalist titan or the other. This is true for Cuba (from the U.S. to Russian bloc), Vietnam (U.S. to Russia), China (RUSSIA TO U.S.), Angola (U.S. to Russia), Somalia (RUSSIA TO U.S.), Ethiopia (U.S. to Russia); and no matter what their

rhetorical pretenses, *Iran and Nicaragua*, which have never left the U.S. constellation. "National liberation from imperialism" is a total and malicious fraud.

In El Salvador, even if a state-capitalist regime were to come to power after a terrible hemorrhage of proletarian blood, then what? As in Cuba and Nicaragua, and in Chile under Allende, the Left cannot give anything to the working-class except more work, more belt-tightening, more discipline, more militarism. These countries have never gained any "independence" or "socialism"; one set of capitalist rulers has been exchanged for another.

Surely, the "armed struggle" Left in El Salvador — the People's Revolutionary Bloc (B.P.R.), the People's Revolutionary Army (E.R.P.), the Armed Forces of National Resistance (F.A.R.N.) with its Maoist-Guevarist strategies of "People's War", the "foco", "strangle the cities", etc, is just as responsible for the slaughter there as the Army and National Guard, Orden and the White Warriors. In North America, the student-led leftists operate as an auxiliary for American imperialism with a social democratic face.

In El Salvador, the crucial task at the moment for the working-class is to free themselves from all Leftist mystifications and to regain their own historical bearing of unitary class initiatives — the *workers' councils* — against the bourgeoisie. A hopeful sign here is the San Salvadorean proletariat's rejection of the suicidal call to arms by the Leftist militia on January 9th. The urban workers must learn to fight on their own — and not the Leftists' — turf, and with their own weapons: the *autonomous general strike* and class-

wide solidarity. Only the launching of mass strikes — outside of the tutelage of the trade unions and Leftist parties — can allow the proletariat a radical school of class self-activity. Through the organization of their own strikes, through their communication and cohesiveness, the workers can begin to realize a true class consciousness-for-themselves. The Salvadorean workers must mobilize themselves within general assemblies, democratically elect strike, communication and defense committees, coordinate their actions through regional and national *councils* whose delegated members are subject to immediate recall. They must link their campaign against capitalist wage-slavery and its State with the self-emancipation of the entire Latin American proletariat: the construction workers of Mexico, the Bolivian tin miners, the oil workers of Venezuela, the Cuban cane cutters, and their own coffee field *braceros*. This revolutionary course is the only way forward for the freedom of our class.



The two faces of capital



The Television Debate Continues

Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television

Jerry Mander, Morrow and Co.
1978, 371 p.p., \$6.50

Last summer I had the pleasure of watching a documentary film, broadcast over the American PBS television network, dealing with the theories of popular cult figure Erik Von Daniken, creator of the "ancient astronauts" myth of human development. The program highlighted many of the lies, distortions, and half truths which have enabled this man to build up his current following of sheep, not to mention quite considerable inflows of cold, hard cash. Included in the footage was an interview with Thor Hyerdahl, the Norwegian, who discovered the actual origins of the Easter Island statues ten years before Von Daniken and his little green arrived on the scene. Suffice it to say, the sum effect of the film was to deliver a well-deserved debunking of Von Daniken. I hope this little gem is aired again in the near future.

Anyway, the subject of television as covered in the NAA by L. Jones and F. Stevens raised my curiosity about a book, often mentioned, entitled *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television* by Jerry Mander. Having just forged my way through this rather tedious and windy volume I come to wonder if some more productive pastime, outside of reading, such as tiddlerwinks, might not be in order. I won't say that Mander's observations are entirely without merit because it just ain't so. But what insights he manages to pull together must constantly elbow their way through a tangled web of sloppy thinking, bucolic rhetoric, and at times just plain misinformation.

Jerry Mander entitles his book *Four Arguments* etc. yet as the reader soon learns their is really only one, at least principal objection directed towards the tube. And this is basically the same obsessional hatred the author hold towards any and all products of human inventiveness, i.e. it isn't "natural". No doubt many readers of this paper have heard this line of (chuckle) "reasoning" many times, but quite seriously folks, Mander's performance in this area would be a hard act to follow. So I ask for the umpteenth to the umpteenth power times "what's natural?" Now is something "natural" if it existed before the dawn of our species?...or in its Neolithic period? Uranium fits the bill along with most meteorological disasters. Are these good? Does "natural" refer then to something existing in the physical world and not subject to significant physical change or change in function or use? Consider the following: During the course of argument number two, concerning the physiological effects of television on people, the author describes an interview he had with Kendrick Smith, former president of the American Society of Photobiology, who had written an article on the effects of light. This (pardon the pun) caught Mander's eye. Although critical of artificial lighting himself, "Smith denounced what he called believers in 'godslight', people who believe that what is natural is automatically good."

"I didn't tell Smith that I was one of those myself. In the end, I expect science to conclude that since 'natural' was all we had for virtually the entire course of human evolution, that is what our bodies are attuned to. Anything that interferes in this arrangement is potentially dangerous."

What exactly did Smith say? Mander's book is full of unanswered questions. But let's return to the question of the "natural". We mentioned natural catastrophes and such. Now if by "natural" he means a *stable state*, more or less, then evolution would not exist and Neither would we. Every species finds itself enclosed in an "unnatural" ecological niche, which to a greater or lesser degree brings about long term modifications in that species through the differential death of individuals. In other words, the giraffe with a longer neck than its neighbour has advantages; the economical, hard physique of the Arabian horse is not only beautiful, it suits him well for survival in hot dry climates. All of these long term modifications came about as the result of the *mass death* of many individuals, perhaps needlessly. Now suppose we should wish to stop, or at least, inhibit the mortality rate for both other species and our own, (altruism, as sociobiologists have pointed out, being genetically based). To affect this, what avenues are open to us? ... besides the deliberate rearranging of the physical

information is a legitimate process and one many people can not do well. Whether these technics are installed correctly is one matter, but surely they are as proper in television, in the general sense, as anywhere else.

We are left then, with a problem centred about economics and electronics. More on these in a moment, but first a word from the introduction to *Four Arguments*.

"Thinking that television could be reformed so that its potential for good would be realized, media reformers sought new laws, government control, and regulatory policies (ouch, ouch and double ouch). I was among the media workers who fought to limit the domination of advertisers and the effect of advertisers on network policies."

J.M. gives an example of a group of Hopi Indians in Arizona fighting to stop strip mining on their reservation.

"At some point television news discovered the struggle. Network crews were flown out from Hollywood. They shot images of the older men and women standing picturesquely near their kivas. Following the

Mander's hatred for technology in general is expressed in terms of a hatred for television in particular. This act, on first glance, takes on an immediate aura of credibility because television programming is presently so bad.

environment. Well, we could try superstition and magic. But these seem to be a large factor in our present problems. Superstition in its many and hideous forms, from astrology to homeopathy, *does not work*. (Which reminds me of an interesting little fact. Would you believe that yogurt, that *sine quo non* of ideal nutrition according to the gospel of the late and unlamented counterculture, is equivalent nutritionally to the milk that its made from, with one important improvement. "Natural bacterial action has produced a 'whole food' which is carcinogenic. Put that up your ginseng root and smoke it.)

Once again, Mander's hatred for technology in general is expressed in terms of a hatred for television in particular. This act, on first glance, takes on an immediate aura of credibility because television programming is presently so bad. But J.M. believes this would always be the case no matter who is riding herd on the airwaves. This is the substance of his book.

Argument four emphasizes a belief television can only transmit a limited number of general ("coarse") ideas. An example is given of a large political demonstration hacked up by a TV news editor. The resulting coverage homed in on a very brief but "juicy" episode of violence. In other parts of his book the author presents different examples where documentary footage on subjects such as ecology and native rights, to use his terms, "fell flat" or "didn't work" when aired. Now if I am to understand Mander correctly the basic problem here lies in television's insatiable drive towards sensationalism, compounded by its technical and economic limitations. Yet anyone involved in theatre or film would, if asked, confirm the view that dramatic license is a legitimate part of what they do. Any writer, if asked, would agree the ability to summarize large amounts of detailed

network news guidelines for 'good television' they sought a 'balanced report.' They interviewed members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, members of the tribal council, and representatives of the coal company, all of whom discussed the issues in terms of contracts, rights, jobs, and energy."

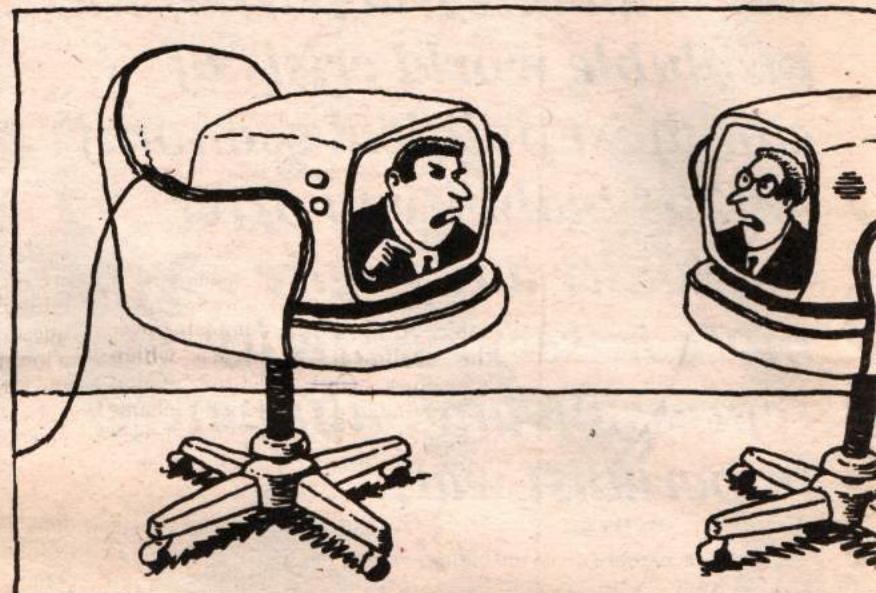
Further on,

"The newsmen added some footage of Hopi sacred dances and images of the Hopi's most spiritual place, the kiva. The elders limited how far the reporters could go into their religion. It's against the Hopi religion for example, to allow ceremonies, and 'power objects' to be photographed."

Finally,

"A week later, I watched the report on television. It got *four minutes* on the evening news. It was an earnest report. The reporters revealed that their sympathies lay with the traditionals, but had created—as they had no choice but to do, a formula story: Progress versus Tradition."

Progress won, or will do so. But would a "natural" formula, i.e. Tradition versus progress and tradition wins the day—be any better? I believe this is what Mander wants. Anyway, please take note of the italicized words in the above quotations. Does any of this really come about as the result of the way in which the video machine works. I don't see it. Mander goes on about how the medium is insensitive to the "mystical" graces of the Hopi's way of life. Well, no doubt I shall be verbally castrated for what I am about to say, but quite frankly as much as any anarchist should be in favour of a people's right to live as they please provided this harms no one else, I can't get particularly fired up about anyone's religion no matter how decent are the people involved. For me, atheism is an absolute, about the only one I hold, and if TV occasionally helps this along, then all well and



good. Good arguments for ecological common sense are not really that rare or unfathomable, and these could be made to "work" on television. So I guess we're left with the technical aspects of the medium. Here, as Mander might probably agree, even if most of its other bad points could be reduced, the poor quality of picture and sound discredits the beast.

The Machine Itself

But is television an inherently low 'fidelity' medium? Well, yes and no. Writing from both the viewpoint of an anarchist and an electronics technician I can only say that Mander's technical objections to TV simply don't hold up under careful scrutiny. I will list a number of these in point form and the reader can judge their validity for themselves.

"The images pass through your eyes in a dematerialized form invisible. They are reconstituted only after they are already inside your head."

ANSWER—All vision is a process of reconstituted images. It is the brain not the eyes that actually "see." And with the brain (we may hope) it is possible to fully understand a picture on the phosphorescent screen is not the same thing as the real world. Television is not a substitute for real life and neither is any media. The TV addict is like the fool who stands under a tree during a thunderstorm. I mean, one day, we in the movement have got to rehabilitate the old-fashioned notion of personal responsibility (natural responsibility?) as a revolutionary virtue to be admired and strived for. That's of course presuming we all don't want to end up in some marxist paradise, and like Winston Smith be 'too little, too late.' Now perhaps Mander expected too much of television, the medium in which he spent fifteen years of his life. I guess it disappointed him. Myself, I don't see now, nor ever have seen, television as a surrogate christ, so maybe that's why it bothers him more and me less.

"The small size of the television screen, precludes eye movement which has the effect of limiting conscious appraisal of the information."

ANSWER—Somehow I can not accept this, although Mander does give some evidence to suggest this may be a reasonable hypothesis. I do not see that garbage broadcast over the tube should be more tolerable, in an insidious sense, than same spread over the wide cinema screen by five channel stereo sound. If the movie *Star Wars* had been aired first on television would the public have clamoured up such a storm about it. *Star Wars* was, and is, one of the biggest turkeys ever made, but its popularity was assured by the use of technical gee-whiz gimmickry, heavy

on quantity and nothing else, which would have had less impact on TV. In this instance television would have portrayed this film's 'constant' far more honestly.

A few more quotes together,

(1) "As has been mentioned, the television screen produces an image by way of a grid of dots located along five hundred lines. This might seem to be sufficient for fairly detailed images but it is not."

(2) "An enormous percentage of television images are close-ups of faces. This is not accidental. Faces in close up are about the sharpest signal that television can produce while still conveying content."

"Dramatic programs are constructed so that there are very few adornments and props."

(3) "It (sound quality) is very low; although it could be greatly improved. High fidelity sound, equal to recorded sound, is possible with television speaker technology but is too costly for mass markets."

(4) "An additional factor fuzzing up the sound is the high pitched whistle that emanates from all television sets. Caused by the interaction of the audio and visual magnetic fields, this whistle is unavoidable with television technology, at least in marketable price ranges."

ANSWER(s) - Mander believes the above limitations impoverish the TV image so much that,

"What television can convey is a reduced version of what is possible in real life or even in still photography

But is television an inherently low 'fidelity' medium? Writing from both the viewpoint of an anarchist and an electronics technician I can only say that Mander's technical objections to TV simply don't hold up under careful scrutiny.

or film. The human relationships which are shown on TV therefore, tend to be those that can be shown. These dwell on the grosser end of the human emotional spectrum. The more subtle expressions, intimate, deeply personal feelings, are lost in the blur."

(1)(2) Granted the system of broadcasting used in North America is by far the worst in the world from a technical standpoint. Called by its initials N.T.S.C. (for National Television Standards Committee) this has come to mean, in some engineering circles, "Never Twice the Same Color". This refers to the annoying habit which North American color sets have of shifting colors as channels are changed. Recent models

Reviews



additional circuitry which tends to reduce this but the problem should be corrected at the source, the broadcast station. As for the fuzzy images, have it or not, the theoretical limit of television picture quality, in other words, its resolution (ability to show detail) is actually slightly better than that of sixteen millimeter film. This is easily proved if you have the right equipment. First, watch a ten mm. film projected on to a relatively small screen. Compare the image with a similar program displayed on a large screen color television (not a projection type) where the source is a videodisc recorder or a strong signal channel over cable. The recorded image is preferable as these present a level of noticeably better quality than even live 'over the air' broadcast. If the video equipment is in good condition the viewer should see no difference between the two. The film has a definite advantage in its ability to show a wider range of contrast (light to dark) than video. Sunsets are very hard to put on television. Very often the problem of 'rainbow colors' experienced on the latest and most expensive video sets is due to severe misadjustment of its controls. This in turn is more times than not, to the detriment of the viewer to watch the set in a relatively bright room usually with a lamp over the set. Reducing the ambient light and the color intensity and contrast will sometimes give the 'film like' effect.

Sound quality has been a sore

inherently low
all yes and no.
viewpoint of
electronics tech-
at Mander's
TV simply
reful scrutiny.

with television for years but there has been considerable improvement. Sound circuitry in recent sets is at least on a par with a good quality FM table radio. Television sound is itself frequency modulated. In most cases an outdoor speaker of 'hi-fi' standards is not required. It is also possible to rewire most TVs so that the audio can be tapped off before it reaches the set's audio circuitry and feed this into the high level 'hi-fi' input(s) of a stereo amplifier. The modifications needed can be done in one afternoon through kits available at any public library. Particularly, to have this work done by a technician would not be more than fifty-five to thirty dollars. This is

hardly "too costly for mass markets."

(4) The high pitched whistle which comes from some older sets. It is almost inaudible in most newer ones, and is not caused by the "interaction of the audio and visual magnetic fields." Even when this sound is evident I would say this is preferable to the annoying clatter of a mechanical film projector. Televisions are also more dependable. All in all the complaint over the technical problems which sometimes affect television remind one of the audio addict who claims Beethoven isn't 'really' Beethoven unless he's heard on a ten thousand dollar stereo set. Most of us can't afford that, as nice as it might be to have, but many people can afford a few hundred dollars for a stereo or a color TV set. And nowadays a little less than the best is still pretty good.

So much for the technical side. To wind up this diatribe I'd like to call your attention to another man who has also written on the subject of

what we could call the sociology of television. This is Grant Noble, author of *Children in Front of the Small Screen*. He contends much of the criticism levelled at television in terms of its supposed deleterious effects on kids is not based on any defensible criteria. He devotes an entire chapter to the subject of television violence.

"Most research studies have committed the cardinal error of reducing questions of a higher order to ones of a lower order in an attempt to explain the former."

In one experiment different control groups of young children ranging in age from three to six were shown, respectively, a film of an adult attacking a large punching bag toy in the shape of a doll. Other groups saw a person not a film do the same thing. Another group saw no aggressive behaviour.

The children were led to another room which contained the same large doll and a mallet as shown on the TV. See TV Pg. 11

I am a terrorist I am a ragged clown

by Lazarus Jones

The first thing that must be established in attempting to evaluate Rainer Fassbinder's film *The Third Generation* is that, contrary to the considered opinions of various bourgeois reviewers, Fassbinder is not showing us terrorists "as they really are." Instead, one gets the distinct impression that Fassbinder is holding up a satirical mirror, and that his intended audience is none other than the terrorists themselves. What makes the film doubly fascinating is that Fassbinder critiques terrorism from an almost explicitly anarchist perspective.

The opening credits declare that *The Third Generation* is: "A comedy in six parts, a fairy tale told to children, to help them bear their life unto death." Fassbinder's choice of comedy as his vehicle, even if it is comedy of the blackest variety, is illuminating given the seriousness he attaches to the subject. Fassbinder's contribution to the collectively produced film *Germany in Autumn* — which also deals with the causes and consequences of terrorism — was of an autobiographical nature and clearly showed that the Mogadishu incident and the subsequent murders of Enslinn, Baader and Raspe affected him profoundly. Fassbinder is not unsympathetic to the terrorists but he has also stated that he is "convinced they do not know what they are doing."

The three generations alluded to in the title refer to the generation of the Weimar Republic, the generation of Hitler's Germany and the post-war reconstruction and the third generation — heirs to a mindless affluence devoid of any semblance of social purpose — the generation that produces the terrorists. The three generations are represented in the film by the family of one of the terrorists. The grandfather likes to make statements such as: "Back in my days we used to read positive things like Hegel, Kant or Nietzsche." It's his opinion that what the younger generation needs is a war to give them a purpose in life. The father is a policeman and the son, Gerhard, a failed composer turned amateur terrorist.

The Third Generation opens with a German industrialist bemoaning the fact that the decline in terrorist acti-

vities has had an adverse effect on his company's sales of computer technology to the security services. Fortunately, however, he has an ace-in-the-hole. One of his agents has secretly gathered a band of middle class bozos into a proto-terrorist group ready to be set in motion if the "real" thing fails to appear. As Gerhard's father, the policeman assigned to protect the industrialist from terrorists, ironically notes: "I had a dream that Capital invented Terror to force the State to protect it better."

The terrorists in *The Third Generation* are all comfortably middle class. One is the wife of a banker, one a teacher, another an apparently well paid record store clerk and yet another the executive secretary of the industrialist himself. The only character drawn from the "oppressed classes" in the film's opening sequences is the female heroin addict that Gerhard has taken under his wing. August, the industrialist's agent, casually declares that the woman will "have to be gotten rid

of" and Gerhard does not protest convincingly. The fact that the motivations that led him to take in the woman are also, presumably, the same ones that led him to consider radical action do not seem to discourage him from casually discussing her possible murder. The coherence of means and ends has never been terrorism's strong suit.

The arrival of the woman's former lover Fritz, with another friend, Bernhard, in tow further complicates the situation. August decides to investigate Bernhard's suitcase and is astonished to find it filled with books. Plucking a volume of Bakunin from amidst the pile he proceeds to taunt Bernhard as much for the fact that he actually reads as for his Anarchist beliefs. Later in the movie Bernhard's reading aloud of a long passage from Bakunin, on authority and its insidious influence, serves to dramatically underline the tendency of conspiratorial terrorist groups towards authoritarian modes of thought and action. As a perceptive reviewer noted it might have

done the group a lot of good if they had read more Bakunin.

The two men hover inconclusively for a while on the fringes of the group. Fritz eventually joins after he discovers that his two years of explosives training in the armed forces do not qualify him for any kind of civilian work. The contrast between Fritz's proletarian radicalization and the bourgeois boredom that motivates the other members of the group is marked. Bernhard, the Anarchist, with his simplistic notions of freedom is not even invited to join.

The group is finally thrown into action when August decides to arrange for the assassination of the one real terrorist in the bunch. The man, who had received guerrilla training in Africa, is quickly and brutally disposed of. Whatever tenuous connections the other group members had with the real world are totally shattered by the urgent need for new identities, disguises and a life in the underground. Their personal iden-

See *Generation* Pg. 10

New And Recommended

Toward An Ecological Society

Murray Bookchin, Black Rose Books, 1980, 313 p.p., \$8.95

A collection of previously published essays, some revised and expanded, on the theme of "social ecology." Available from **Black Rose Books**, 3981 Boulevard St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H2W 1Y5.

Anarchism & Marxism

Daniel Guerin, Cienfuegos Press, 1981, 23 p.p., \$1.25

Interesting little pamphlet by Guerin on the similarities and differences between Anarchism and Marxism. From a paper presented in New York in 1973, also includes a new introduction written for this edition. Available in Canada from: **Cienfuegos Distribution**, P.O. Box 3524, Station D, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6H8. In the U.S. from: **Cienfuegos Press**, 3512 12th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55407, USA.

October 1917

Marc Ferro, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980, 351 p.p., \$50.75

Subtitled "A Social History of the Russian Revolution" this book is a valuable addition to the mountain of work on the Russian Revolution. As with other RKP books, **Reinventing Anarchy** for instance, the price is absolutely ridiculous. Get your local library to order a copy.

Anarchism: A Theoretical Analysis

Alan Ritter, Cambridge University Press, 1981, \$30.00

From a brief skim while standing in a bookstore this looks like an interesting book. Author attempts a theoretical analysis of the work of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. Appears to be competently done although a trifle academic and condescending (i.e. great theory but impractical). We are trying to get a review copy from the publisher.



Fassbinder's Third Generation

Direct Action and Survival

By Sharon Grisor

For too long a mere handful of alienated beings, disassociated from the naturally endowed world, have assumed their power more absolute than nature. Finally the technocracy of capitalism has become too powerful to be rendered. No historic precedent since the Industrial Revolution can compare with the magnitude of the despoliation of the natural world as in the last few decades.

Although the proliferation of nuclear technology would astound H.G. Wells' visions of the 20th century, the destruction of life has always been logical to the capitalist form of reason. All the world is a fantastical game for competition and accumulation to the capitalist law of life. Nature, no different than human beings, is just another inanimate thing—another object and commodity for sale in the marketplace. Each is a means to be plundered, exploited and manipulated.

If humanity and the natural world are to be salvaged, social life must converge in ecological harmony with nature or we shall cease to exist. The low social and economic diversity of people's lives are comparable to the pollution and stress of their environments. Only a social life variegated in life style and activity and scaled to a human dimension can (cor)respond to the organic variation and complexity required of an ecologically balanced society. Self-development which itself is activated by a diversity of stimuli and experience nurtures well-rounded and balanced individuals.

A social scale which remains within the comprehension of the individual shall transform the city into communities—into decentralized communes—rounded and diversified communal bases which nullifies the centralized bureaucracy of a national economy into an ecosystem. That which Murry Bookchin refers to as regional ecotechnology "in which the instruments of production are molded to the resources of an ecosystem." A decentralized, ecological system which negates nationalism which merely produces for the dictatorship of its products and a subsequently, impersonal mass culture would for example have no ecological store for oil many seas away from the comprehension and control of the community, nor a human desire for the depletion of non-renewable and nondiversified sources of energy which are industrial pollutants.

Indeed the machine has always had an inherent dualism of creativity and destruction—technology as hope and freedom or as the psychic mechanization of our slavery and fear. However the historical notion

of the domination of nature, it must be recalled, predates capitalism.

The seeds of domination itself are rooted in the ancient split between spirit and reality—into the depth of a past which has pitted a schism between mind and body. Both humanity and nature have always been the victims of an hierarchal society. Both prey subject to the violence of domination.

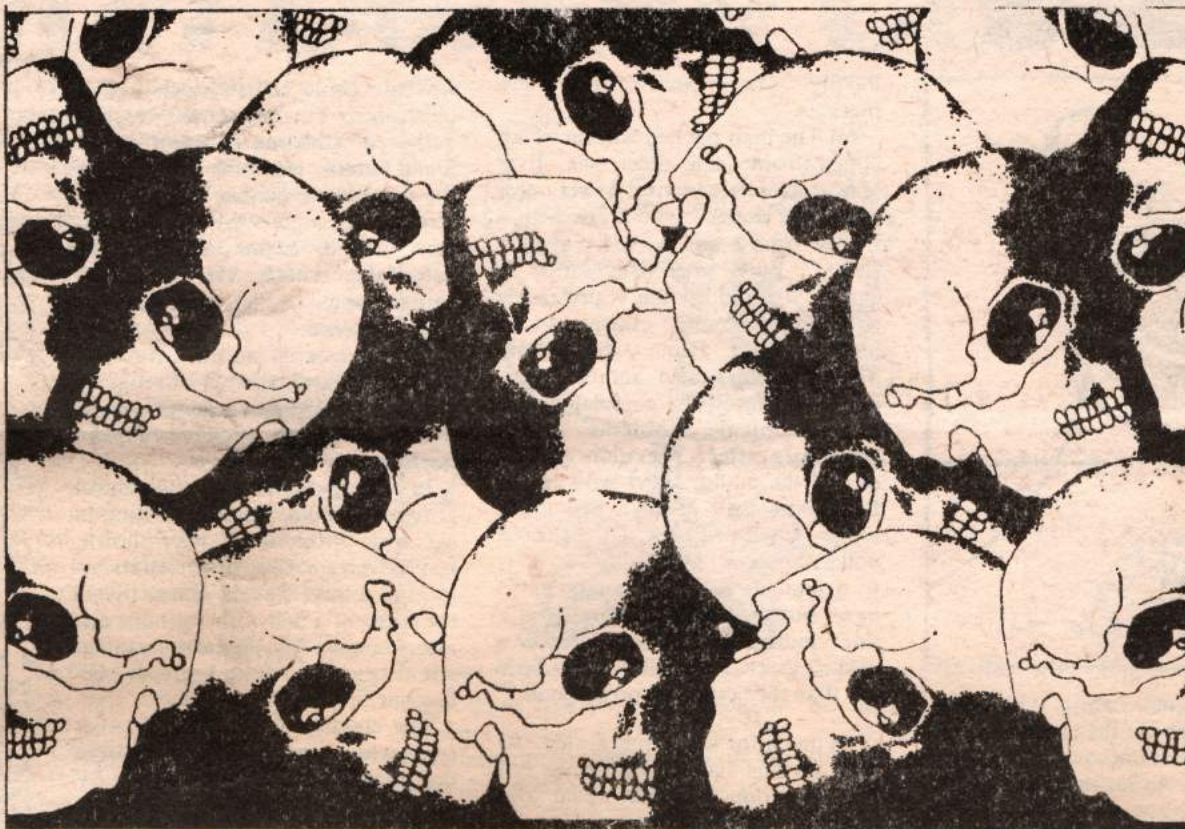
American pacificism of the 18th and 19th centuries, and even the philosophies of Mahatma Ghandi of India and Dalamos Dolci of Sicily of the 29th century, could still be postulated on moral principles, but at the hierarchical apex of America's technological overripeness, nonviolence almost has come to be compulsory. Whether one believes the planet is threatened by a nuclear tragedy or environmental disaster, a peaceful relationship with nature and the human species is as compelling a necessity as a desire.

In the 20th century presence of nuclear weapons, supersonic aircraft, nerve gas, germ warfare and intimidating firepower against revolutionaries, a small band of armed guerrillas overthrowing the United States government is not only inconceivable but obsolete. The daring heroism and self-sacrifice that wasted so many lives in the Spanish Civil War is no more a political reality today than a social one.

Its doubtful that anyone unpoisoned by propaganda and patriotism would have a burning urge to go out and kill a total stranger. Nonetheless violence, like capitalism, is an insidious force permeating the culture. It becomes a state of mind. Male children are still bred on it. And of course with the threat of permanent unemployment present, the draft may be the only course open to the poor. The economic conscription of blacks today represents 30% of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF).

Only a series of democratic actions which make people aware of themselves as individuals who can affect their own destiny in the framework of a mass molecular of affinity groups will dismantle the institutions of power. Only a conscious, well-organized movement based on self-management can begin the task of creating a society liberated of domination, aggression and violence. For only an anarchist movement which reaches popular proportions will cause capitalist institutions to begin to disintegrate out of a want of support.

Certainly the nonviolent approach of the anti-nuclear movement has been a successful legacy from the peace movement of the 60's. In the past six years, resistance and direct action has brought



George 1975.

the introduction of nuclear power plants to a halt. And in fact where direct action as a tactic, as a method of abolishing the institution, refusing to appeal to or recognize the legitimacy of state or corporate authority, by the direct occupation of the plant or plant site, collective direct action in the full control of the community has proven nonviolent in the face of police repression. The direct action at Seabrook, a world-wide symbol of resistance to nuclear power to blockade, occupy and even build an on-site com-

munity on the framework of a nuclear power plant, significantly threatens the building of the plant which after more than 10 years of active opposition is on the verge of financial collapse.

Perhaps a more monumental task during a renewed war era will be to avoid the inevitable lapse into the styles of the political pros of the left. Amassed in a popular movement, our imaginations may have to reign with creative inventions of protest. For only true col-

lectivity will engender the courage and the forms of direct actions, inspirational to not only ourselves, but which will also serve as models for others. That is, a faith to fill us with the spirit of harmony today and a belief in a libertarian, non-hierarchical society of tomorrow.

Indeed our relationship to humanity and the natural world must be non-hierarchical and non-violent if the human species and the planet shall not be annihilated with this epoch of history.

A Note to Subscribers

Mike Bakunin
447 Your Street,
Anytown, Yourstate,
USA.

1:10

You'll notice a slight difference on the address label of this copy of the NAA. For one thing it's typewritten, for another it should now show you when your subscription runs out. The code in the bottom left hand corner of the address label indicates the volume and number when Mike should renew his sub. It translates as Volume 1, Number 10, so we should be receiving a cheque from Mike in the near future. Won't you check your label and see if you should do the same? Please forward subscription renewals to: The North American Anarchist, P.O. Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4A 2M8.

Generation

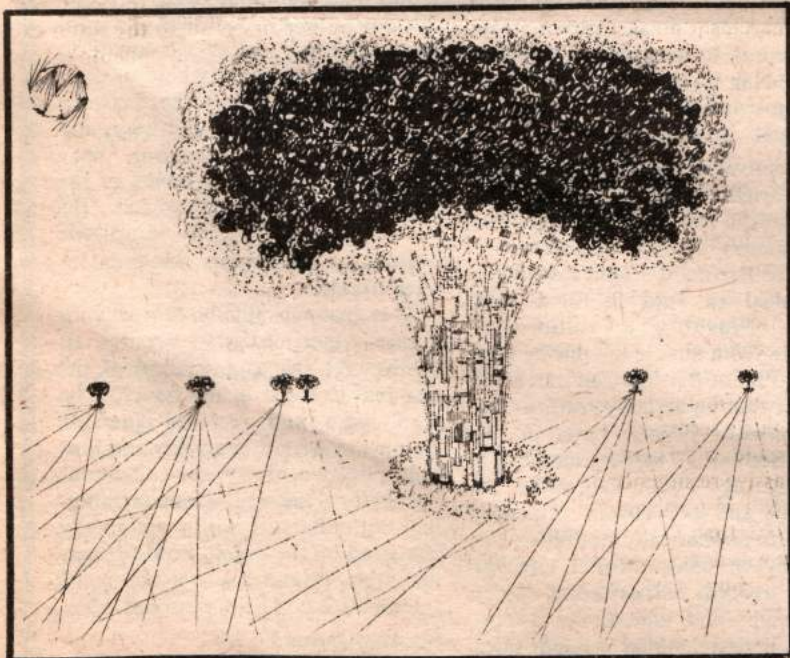
Continued from Pg. 9

ties are stripped from them by the ever-present fear of exposure and sudden death. With the die cast they desperately seek a "revolutionary" task to perform. Eventually they decide to "free all the political prisoners in West Germany" because "that's the way it's done." They dress up in clown costumes to kidnap the industrialist completing their transformation into veritable caricatures of revolutionaries. The movie ends on a note of total absurdity with the stoical industrialist dutifully reading and rereading a prepared statement as the terrorists, still in their clown costumes and make-up, scamper around trying to capture it on videotape. They have become pawns in a game they cannot even imagine let alone comprehend.

The Third Generation is a rich and detailed film both visually and aurally. From the Newtonian Ball Game (illustrating Newton's principle that for each action there is an equal and opposite reaction) which the group members use as a secret sign of identification to the multiple-levelled soundtrack. Only a person fluent in German (which this reviewer is not) could fully appreciate the intricate by-play between TV, radio, tape, background and foreground conversation in the film. Even the subtitling of the main line of dialogue is so rife with misspellings that it leaves the viewer in some doubt as to its reliability, a feeling that is reinforced when the subtitles break off at one point in mid-translation of one of the items of wash-room graffiti that Fassbinder uses to divide the film into six "acts." But, even with these limitations, *The Third Generation* is a powerful indictment of the terrorist mentality and the terrorist path.

On Class And Culture

Due to late receipt of the manuscript and space limitations we are unable to print Part Two of *On Class and Culture* in this issue of the NAA. It will appear instead in our next issue NAA11. The series will conclude with Part Three in NAA12.



A Comic Opera Coup D'Etat?

As the generals prepared for a replay of July, 1936, what was the left doing? For the most part they were burning membership cards, destroying party lists and appealing to the workers to "remain calm."

By Lazarus Jones

In the weeks that followed Lt. Col. Antonio Tejero's farcical coup d'etat attempt on Feb. 23 some of the humour has worn off. The little man in the funny hat has turned slightly sinister as it became obvious that although the coup had failed in its primary goal, the overthrow of the parliamentary government, it may well have succeeded in its secondary goal of halting the leftward drift of Spanish society. It has also become clear that the conspiracy went far deeper than has been admitted and that only the absolute minimum of those involved in the mutiny have been arrested and charged. Tejero, who became a nationwide TV star when a remote control camera captured the initial events and beamed them across Spain, is a likely candidate as scapegoat. In assessing the effects of the attempted coup a strategist for the Socialist Party, which had been widely expected to gain a majority in the 1983 elections, declared: "We lost the general election on the night of Feb. 23. The middle classes won't vote for Felipe (Gonzalez, SP leader) now. They don't think he'll last two months with the military."

When Lt. Col. Tejero burst into the Spanish parliament with 288 Guardia Civil troops the Spanish people were treated to the spectacle of seeing their noble parliamentarians scuttling under their desks like cockroaches zipping down a drainpipe after a burst of machinegun fire. Only outgoing Prime Minister Suarez retained any degree of dignity as he sat bolt upright at his desk. In Valencia General Milans del Bosch sent tanks into the streets as Spain tottered on the brink of a plunge back into the fascist nightmare.

As the generals prepared for a replay of July, 1936, what was the left doing? For the most part they were burning membership cards, destroying party lists and appealing to the workers to "remain calm." As CP Secretary-General Santiago Carillo told reporters after the danger had passed, "We were all aware that the only person who could oppose this adventure was the head of state."

In the absence of any resistance on the Left's part, and the Spanish Anarchists it would seem were as quiet as the rest, the role of the king in defusing the crisis was pivotal. He immediately contacted all of Spain's powerful regional army commanders and made known his opposition to the coup. Only after he was certain the coup had been forestalled did he go on national television to make public his oppo-

sition to the coup — seven hours after the initial seizure of parliament. The king's popularity with the officer corps and the army rank and file coupled with his adamant opposition to the coup attempt apparently disoriented a wide-ranging conspiracy involving most of the army's high command. In any future coup attempt the isolation of the king will be a primary goal, he will not be allowed to repeat his performance.

El Alcazar, a rabidly right-wing Francoist newspaper that had been calling for a coup for months, has already started a smear campaign against the king. **El Alcazar**, which is often distributed free in army barracks, is urging all 'patriots' to follow the colonels rather than the timid generals. It characterizes the king as "the unmentionable, useless fool, a womanizer, a wastrel and a traitor." The campaign is apparently paying dividends. When king Juan Carlos spoke at the Zaragoza Military Academy the week after the coup attempt his speech was followed by the usual cheers of "Long Live Spain!" and "Long Live the Army!" but the cheer of "Long Live the King" was noticeable by its absence.

Generals arrested

In the wake of the coup attempt four generals and 24 other officers, including Tejero, were arrested and charged with mutiny. The 288 Guardia Civil troops were also arrested but 220 of them were released almost immediately on the grounds that "they did not know what they were doing." For Tejero it was his second attempt at revolution, he was also involved in the abortive 'Galaxia' affair — named after the Madrid cafe where the plot was hatched. For his part in that little bit of nastiness he was sentenced to seven months in prison. Upon his release he was promoted and reinstated in the Guardia Civil. It is widely expected that the plotters this time around will be treated equally lightly and may even be pardoned on the occasion of Pope J2P2's visit to Spain in October.

Tejero himself has become something of a cult figure since his arrest, holding court from his prison cell as hundreds of visitors flock to congratulate him. There is even speculation that he may stand as a candidate in the general elections if he's still in prison in 1983. The government's attempt to nip the cult in the bud by transferring Tejero to a northern prison has backfired as his admirers continue to make pilgrimages. The army, despite its deep involvement in the



An unfunny man in a funny hat

plot, has emerged totally unscathed and continues to exercise its baleful influence over Spanish society.

One of the plotters prime motivations in moving against the government was a desire to crack down hard on Basque separatism and the terrorist activities of the ETA. In an attempt to mollify the military the government of Prime Minister Calvo Sotelo has given the go-ahead for the military to move into the Basque lands to combat the terrorists who ex-Prime Minister Suarez had always referred to as a "police problem." Another legacy of the attempted coup is the so-called 'law to protect the constitution' designed to give the government the power to close down any

newspaper or other media outlet that is felt to be attacking the constitution or inspiring the army to mutiny. The law is aimed at **El Alcazar** but is loosely worded enough to be used by the government to silence any newspaper it disapproves of.

So Spanish "democracy" has survived its first major test and the generals have learned to their chagrin that things are no longer as simple as they were in 1936. Spain is a rapidly modernizing industrial society much more sophisticated than it was in the '30's. The original impetus for democratization came from the desire to see Spain more fully integrated into modern Europe, specifically as a member of

the Common Market, and a rejection of the autarchial policies of Franco. The industrial and commercial interests which once looked to the Caudillo as their saviour and protector are now a much more complex amalgamation. They are much more likely to view trade unions and traditional Left parties as useful mechanisms for integrating the workers into capitalism than as deadly foes of Holy Spain. An inflexible and intransigent military are becoming a source of acute embarrassment for them. But, the military remains a potent force in Spanish politics and they take their role as guardians of a unified and disciplined Spain very seriously. We'll be hearing from them again.

Squatters

Continued from Pg. 3

The Anarchist influence on the squatting movement is strikingly apparent. Even accounts of the West German events in the North American mass media are full of Anarchist references. But, it is difficult to tell how deep this influence goes. The movement has deliberately, and admirably, discouraged the emergence of any 'official' leadership and speaks in terms of a "solidarity without bureaucracy" yet there is also a strong current of pure nihilism expressed in the popular slogan: "Germany all downhill now — fire and flames."

Well before the emergence of the current wave of riots we here at the NAA received a letter from a West German Anarchist magazine that specializes in re-printing translated articles from the international Anarchist press asking for an exchange of publications. They mentioned, as an aside, that though there were many people in West Germany who defined themselves within the Anarchist tradition there was a dearth of ideas about what exactly they could do. The advocates of pure spontaneity might suggest that all they have to do now is look out the window but the problem surely goes deeper than that.

A report prepared for the Swiss Parliament on the recent Zurich riots noted that: "There are no clear goals of the youth movement. It is not supported by an educated elite which would be in a position to analyze its situation and that of society." One does not have to accept the assertion that only "edu-

cated elites" are capable of producing ideas to realize that there is a serious failure to articulate an alternative vision of society in the visceral revolt of European youth. A failure to transform the mere annoyance of generalized unrest into a coherent challenge to the rule of capital. It is, as Proudhon said of the Paris revolt of 1848, "a revolution without ideas."

Historic opportunity

The Anarchistic form of the West German events represents a profound rejection of Leninist modes of revolutionary organization. To Anarchists, however, this spectacle is not one of unalloyed joy. The utter bankruptcy of Marxism and Leninism, the much discussed "Crisis of the Left," has created an ideological vacuum that offers Anarchism an historic opportunity to fulfill the promise of the self-managed society that was stillborn in the Russia of 1917. But, after more than 60 years of absolute Marxist hegemony, the once powerful Anarchist movement has become, for the most part, a stagnant backwater.

As a movement, under the "slings and arrows of an outrageous fortune," we have shrunk into an almost pitiful caricature of what we once were. Now history, against all reasonable expectations, is offering us a second chance. The coming decade offers the prospect of a massive resurgence of Anarchism as a real historic possibility. Whether or not that promise becomes actuality will depend greatly on what we, and our comrades around the world, accomplish in the next few years. The task we face is great. It involves nothing less than a critical

re-evaluation of the basic tenets of Anarchism and a firm coming to grips with the organizational problematic. The alternative is irrelevancy and the final, utter defeat, of the Anarchist vision.

TV

Continued from Pg. 9

film and used by the live adult. Other toys were also available in the room. Naturally children from the 'real-life' and film control groups began hitting the doll. What the experimenter (Bandura) did not bother to notice was all children including those from the control group who saw no aggressive behaviour were equally inclined to play with the toy guns in the room. Noble asks, "But what else can one do to a self-righting 'Bozo' doll except hit it?" One four year old girl on her first visit to the room exclaimed, "Look, Mummy there's a doll we have to hit."

Likewise many of the tests which attempt to establish a cause and effect relationship between television and school performance appear to move in two directions at once. Some studies done both in the United States and Britain in the late fifties show that five and six year old viewers have vocabularies sometimes a year in advance of non-viewers but more intelligent teenage viewers do less well on knowledge tests and in school than non-viewers; but once again, "(One researcher) noted that in the long term viewers read *as many books* as non-viewers, and that dull children even more books than before watching." Meanwhile, "bright students manage to cram television watching, reading, athletics and school activities into their 'life-space'."

Swedish Social-Democracy Part Two: Trade Unions and the State

By Mitch Miller

The basic premise of socialist theory is that there can be no lasting peace between labour and capital. In Sweden this basic premise has been completely ignored by the bureaucrats of the *Landsorganisationen i Sverige* (LO), the Swedish confederation of trade unions, and the *Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation* (SACO), the Swedish confederation of professional associations. Instead these two labour centrals have opted for amalgamation into the capitalist state apparatus. The massive power of these two labour centrals, the LO represents 90% of the blue collar workforce and the SACO 60% of the white collar workforce, is used to keep the Swedish working class as docile as possible.

Both organizations are reformist and bargain only for gradual improvements, reforms and advancements within the context of social democracy. Since democratic socialism ostensibly bases its strength on the trade unions, the LO, and to a lesser extent the SACO, wield considerable power. This power, however, is used to strengthen and not to weaken the capitalist system and the state.

Organizationally both the LO and SACO are highly centralized and bureaucratically organized much like trade unions in America. Accordingly the rank and file have very little control over the course their respective confederations take. While there is a semblance of democracy and militancy, in the union locals in particular, the whole show is controlled by the bureaucracy. For example, there is no right to strike without the consent of the governing body of the LO. And if a strike is declared by a particular affiliate, the LO leadership, which controls all strike funds, can withhold the payment of strike benefits. Real union democracy is virtually non-existent as most union leadership positions are appointive and it is a very rare occurrence for a union leader to come from the shop floor. Similarly there are internal divisions between manual and mental workers, high and low wage earners, the young and the old and between the native Swedes and the rapidly expanding immigrant labour force.

Union Study

An official union study noted that: "In Sweden the classic conflict between labour and capital has been institutionalized in the relationship between the centralized federations LO and SACO. Their control of the labour market reached its peak with the central wage bargaining which emerged during the 1950's. The stability of their *modus vivendi* has, however, been threatened by tensions which surfaced during the late 1960's. Central wage bargaining has become more difficult . . . , the negotiations lasting longer, requiring more mediation, and coming closer to the brink of open conflict. More recently the control of the federations over their membership seems to have become more strained." (Quoted in *Insurgent Sociologist*, Dec. 1975).

Under the Social Democratic Party's (SDP) long reign strikes were outlawed between central bargaining periods a ruling the LO and SACO religiously respected. In the last 22 years of SDP rule not a single major strike was called by either union central. However, in response to deteriorating health and safety conditions, the lack of control by the workers of the workplace—despite the supposed "workers' councils" elected in the shops—and wage differentials, a

series of wildcats took place in early 1970 and have periodically re-occurred since then.

The initial wildcat took place at a state-owned mine and therefore brings to light the fact that, even when industry is controlled by the social-democratic state, such an administration works counter to the interests of those who work there. The supposedly "socialist" SDP government was quick to react. Addressing the wildcatters with words that would do any bourgeois politician proud Prime Minister Palme solemnly declared that: "The interests of society as a whole demand respect for the law." One is entitled to ask of *whose* law and *whose* society does Palme speak? One is also entitled to suggest the answer—the law and society of the bourgeoisie.

Rather than pursuing the class struggle the SDP committed itself to piecemeal reforms. Instead of struggling for democratic workers' control the SDP sought to more thoroughly integrate workers and their organizations into the capitalist state. Their reformist brand of "industrial democracy", prior to their 1976 electoral defeat, was based on the gradual enlargement of workers' decision making powers and the gradual transfer of stock in all large—and only large—enterprises from employers to employees. Even if the SDP's program had been effectively

carried out "the more profitable firms would (only) come to be employee-controlled in 20 or 30 years . . . In 50 or 60 years the Swedish economy would be essentially socialist." (In *These Times*, May 3, 1978). And so, in the opinion of these "democratic socialists", the process of building workers' control and socialism would take almost 100 years to implement. Moreover, since the SDP's scheme would involve a transfer of corporate stock control to the "top-down" unions of the LO this would mean that corporate control would pass to the heads of the unions—rather like replacing all the members of the Chrysler board of directors with the UAW's international executive board. This arrangement would not alter the autocratic internal structure of corporations or give workers real control over all aspects of operations.

Industrial democracy

Industrial democracy should be a system where there is *real* workers' control, socialism from below, rather than a system controlled by a top heavy structure managed by elites who are detached from the actual lives of the workers. Swedish social-democratic "contributions" to industrial democracy have only increased economic stratification and rationalization. Rather than relying on the input of workers at the local and shop level they have promoted such methods of

capitalist "efficiency" as time and motion studies.

In the private sector "industrial democracy" was merely a catchy phrase for a "cooperative spirit between capital and labour." In most private industries and services "enlightened employers" have allowed industrial councils to be set up by the unions. Ostensibly these councils were designed to democratize the workplace in both form and content. This was supposed to allow the workers a greater voice in the management of a particular office or factory. However, these councils are merely paper organizations set up to appease the workers and sidetrack any sort of militant action. Instead of being organs of the co-management and filing grievances, these councils are merely "advisory" bodies that generally meet only four times a year and have little or no real say in how things are managed.

If a conflict were to arise these councils have no power to call a strike or to take any form of direct action. The basic assumption underlying their function is that all conflicts are merely "misunderstandings" that can be ironed out if management and labour sit down to discuss them "rationally". The only action that the "councils" can take is that of attempting to reach a compromise between the two parties and nothing else.

This sort of "worker participation" was the very essence of the SDP program for industrial democracy. This theory rests on the presupposition that there can be increasingly more on-the-job democracy and a gradual equalization of wealth even while the relations between labour and capital remain static. What we find beneath the social-democratic facade is a new rationale for exploitation only now it is exploitation "with a human face." The fact remains that industrial democracy can not be decreed from above or exist within the parameters tolerated by "enlightened employers." Nor can industrial democracy exist if it is only "allowed" in a few workplaces rather than throughout the whole economic spectrum.

The general thrust of this article has been to examine the realities of Swedish social democracy. It should be clear that Sweden's variation has, in fact, nothing to do with socialism. Instead this variation has acted to stabilize a capitalist economy. As an Anarcho-syndicalist, I would reiterate the words of one of the founders of Anarchist thought, "Socialism is the opposite of government . . . We want workers' associations and groups united in the common bond of the (new) social republic."

Right

Continued from Pg. 3

Socialist Party of America called for a white civil rights rally and asked for '100 White Men with Guts'.

I have read that there are over 10,500 Klanners. Add to that all of the other right-wing homicidal, blood-thirsty maniacs and one could say that no matter what part of the U.S. you may live in these scum are present near by. Consider this together with the fool just voted in as President and you see that it is a time for worrying, a time for action.

KKK History

For those who read this who do not fully understand what the KKK means the following is a little of its history. One hopes everyone who reads this knows what the Nazis can do.

The KKK began in 1886. It was composed of Confederate veterans with General Nathan Bedford Forrest as its Grand Wizard and began to spread across the South. It invaded black homes, whipping and murdering the occupants along with any whites who tried to stop the bloodshed.

Here in New Orleans 297 blacks were known to have been lynched during one month in 1871. On July 4, 1867 Klansmen marched into most of the major Southern cities in full regalia. In 1874, in one week, 200 blacks were killed in Vicksburg, Mississippi. And, between 1866 and 1875, 3500 blacks were known to have been killed in the South by the Klan. Who knows how many victims were never found?

In the late 19th Century many black-white coalitions were formed. The Klan and the Red Shirts (another paramilitary organization) conducted a campaign of terror to try to break them up.

The Invisible Empire

On Thanksgiving Eve, 1915, Willeam Simmons invited 15 friends to the top of Stone Mountain in Georgia and set fire to a wooden cross. With this ceremony the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan

was launched. It became the largest Klan ever. By 1920 this Klan grew to an estimated three and a half MILLION members. And they continued their violent repression of blacks, radicals, unionists, immigrants, Catholics, Jews and 'nigger lovers'. Twenty-eight blacks who had just returned from WWI were burned alive. Some were still in their uniforms.

The KKK had many massive gatherings in this time period. Like in 1923 when 100,000 came to a ceremony in Indiana. In 1925 40,000 Klansmen marched on Washington. Then in the 30's the Klan had many splits internally and began to collapse with the help of many anti-Klan groups.

In 1957 blacks defended themselves against the KKK. With this began the civil rights movement as well as the Klan violence against it. This violence included 50 bombings in Birmingham alone. Without going into the details of the civil rights movement suffice to say that the KKK did their bloody work throughout. Thus the KKK never died and is again showing its ugly face smeared in the bloody gore of murder and hatred.

The last 10 years has seen the rise of many right-wing terrorist groups supported by the swing to the right of the U.S. government. They will definitely become increasingly visible and violence will rise.

Living here in New Orleans it is the Klan which worries me the most. In Metairie, a suburb of New Orleans, David Duke has his headquarters. A long time Klanner he was until recently the Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the KKK. Subsequently he has come out saying he has quit the KKK and is beginning a new organization called the National Association for the Advancement of White People. He has been succeeded as Imperial Wizard by Alabama Grand Dragon, Don Black.

David Duke and Bill Wilkinson, the Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, split in 1975. Since then there has been a very heated rivalry. Wilkinson is a stocky little man from the Bayou country of southern Louisiana. Many say that

his Klan is by far the most violent of the various factions noting the open brandishing of submachine guns and sawed-off shotguns at rallies and the hidden network of commando camps where Klansmen with "their" women and children are being taught how to kill. Bill Wilkinson's headquarters is in Denham Springs, Louisiana while his home turf is Baton Rouge some 90 miles from New Orleans. His Klan is estimated at 2,500 members. As for blacks he says, "They've got their place and we've got ours. There's plenty of wide open space in Africa".

Police Racism

The Klan is active here in New Orleans so I expect to see a lot more violence from it in the future. New Orleans is a stick of dynamite ready to blow. Half of its population is black while half of them can neither read nor get real jobs.

The New Orleans cops are quick-fingered, gun-slinging morons who need little reason to blow you away. In the past few months they have shot down six blacks in the housing projects. Each time the residents of the projects gave a different story from the cops. It is even dangerous to be a plumber. One was shot down by a cop as he was coming out from underneath a house he was working on. The woman he was working for came out of her house yelling, "You killed my plumber! You killed my plumber!" The cops were looking for a bank robber.

The point is that the cops down here are trigger happy fools who shoot first and then proceed to cover-up their actions. If you then take the anger, frustration, poverty and oppression in the Black Community into consideration one can see why there will be fireworks in the Bayou lands.

Two more notes on New Orleans. First of all, the racists have armed camps out in the wetlands for the race war they are sure will come. Secondly, at the foot of Canal St. (the main street) there is a monument to White supremacy. It commemorates a battle brought about by the White League on September 14, 1874.

And finally: A trucker named Dick Cockrell rescued a woman

who was being raped by three men at a roadside park. Not all applauded his act as the woman was black and the men were white. Since this he has been threatened by the Klan, lost \$1500, moved three times and has had several fights. He says he is now packing a gun. He is still proud of what he did and would do it again in a minute. Dick Cockrell is a middle-aged white man.

Think about it people. The Right is on the rise and we must not put anything past these people. I know. My life has been threatened many times in the past by the Right.

The bad part of it all, as well as the source of my analysis and my anxiety, is the fact that I do not believe the Right will be stopped through non-violence. I do not make this analysis lightly believing the truth is more important than idealism.

I have had experience dealing with their cruel mentalities. In San Diego off and on from 1969 to 1976, the movement and I experienced terrorism from the Minute Men, the Secret Army Organization and the Nazi Party. This terrorism included these actions: threats to life, threats to bomb homes, shooting up homes, firebombing a house where people were asleep, fire-bombing cars, sniping, busting up movement offices, stealing and destroying equipment as well as papers, kidnapping, breaking into a home in order to tear it up while threatening the lives of the women living there, sabotaging cars and tearing a print co-op.

We had to have 24 hour guards at our houses. We soon found out how cops were aiding this terrorism. Once the back of our house was fire-bombed by the Secret Army and before our guard got around to the back of the house there were cops seen leaning on their car joking. The Secret Army Organization was started by an FBI agent. It shot an IWW member. It also threatened to blow up homes including the one of my parents.

As stated before, the right mentality cannot be appealed to with anything short of a gun. In saying this I appeal to all who read this to keep their guns away until there is no other way of defending oneself.

Unschooling Society: Free the Children!

By Manfred W. Smith

Unschooling — teaching your children at home — is not theory. There are thousands of families who have chosen this educational alternative, and their numbers are growing daily.

Most parents who send their children to school are basically concerned with whether their children are receiving a "good education": does every child have a textbook? is good instruction provided? will my child receive special help if needed? When some parents discover that not only is school *not* educating their children but instead is making them insecure and dependent, they choose to teach their own.

There are certain kinds of childishness that most people accept as being natural. Such behavior is often characterized by self-indulgence, cruelty, random rebelliousness, and addictiveness to toys. Children often exploit adults to take them to places, amuse them, and do things with them. These kinds of behaviors are, I believe, a result of peer pressure created specifically because children are thrown together in schools and develop these means, much like prisoners do, as a means of passing dull time and tormenting authorities to cope with an oppressive situation.

Since the above behaviors are considered "normal", it is not surprising that many parents do not pay much attention to their troubled children. But even the most oblivious parent becomes alarmed when the school experience changes their children from happy, eager learners, to insecure conformists who develop "learning disabilities" and other institutional diseases. When problems like these arise, most parents try to solve them by talking with school personnel. Often parents change schools. Some parents, however, are so dismayed by what they see happening that they search for a different educational alternative altogether. Eventually some discover home learning.

Overcoming feelings of inadequacy is often a first task of parents considering home learning. Next comes learning to trust in one's children: children *want* to learn, and *will* learn. The view that learning is a slow, painful process that can only be accomplished in a highly structured fashion, is all nonsense. Children learn well without formal instruction, as evidenced by the great rate of learning that takes place *before* they enter school.

Parents who wish to unschool their children have a number of options from which to choose. The most common method used is to write a detailed letter of intent to teach one's own to the local school board. Another option is to do nothing and proceed with home learning. Still another is to register the child with an umbrella organization like **Santa Fe Community School**. This school acts as a cover, sends learning materials, and acts as a go-between with local officials should you need help. The enrollment fee is \$70 a year, and many parents choose this route for the measure of security it provides.

As parents proceed with the intent of teaching their own, a few surprises are in store for everyone concerned. Most states, it turns out, do not legally require children to attend school. A reading of the law shows that children are obliged by law to attend school unless it can be shown that they are receiving an *equivalent education somewhere else*. The law also makes no men-

and, as your principal, let me remind you once again that, as you continue your quest for knowledge,

we will assist you in every possible way in obtaining a substantive anti-communist anti-minority anti-pervert and pro-God, family, and Republican education.



Peg arcull LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

tion of certification in order to teach — that is state policy for *their* schools. The next surprise is that virtually every court case around the nation involving home learning has been decided in favor of unschoolers.

Regardless of the law, some school systems will pursue their AWOL charges with determination and sometimes outright vindictiveness. Schools who take legal action against parents usually do so on grounds of truancy or even child neglect. Unschoolers have been winning these court battles because they can show that they are providing an equivalent education, and are therefore protected by law. Recently some parents have refused to provide proof of providing an equivalent education on the grounds that it is up to the state to prove that they are in fact doing so. This position is being supported by some courts. They key for winning in court is for parents to be well informed and prepared, understand the local law, and refuse to be intimidated by school officials.

After all is said and done, is home learning worth confronting authorities, possible legal reprisals, and even death (John Singer of Utah was shot and killed when

trying to prevent authorities from taking his children away from him)? Yes! seems to be the unanimous response by unschooled families world wide. Parents find that their "kids" change back into people: they become eager to learn again, trustworthy, more understanding and caring of others. Families discover that not having the day revolve around an artificial school time, leaves them time to learn and explore at their own choosing. This freedom allows families to grow up together, knowing and respecting each other as people in a more intimate way than formerly possible.

Finally, as anarchists can we afford to send our children to schools where our efforts to live by non-competitive, decentralized values will be negated by the authoritarian nature of those schools? For decades radicals have been trying to change the basic structure of schools only to find that nothing has changed. Perhaps it is time we unschool our minds, kick the school habit, and follow the beat of a different drummer.

(For more information regarding home learning write to: **Growing Without Schooling**, 308 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. 02116)

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The New Indian Wars

The new Indian Wars on the American continent continue. In what is either curious coincidence or a systematic campaign of terror, several Indians involved with the Leonard Peltier case are facing trials, forced medical treatment or "suicide" while imprisoned. At least nine people with close connections to Peltier have been killed since June 26, 1975 when two FBI agents were killed during a firefight on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. This was only one in a long series of fatal incidents involving gunfire. The one difference this time was that the people and their supporters fired back.

Most recently, on February 23, 1981 Dino and Gary Butler from the Siletz Confederated Tribes of Oregon were arrested by members of the Vancouver (British Columbia) police force following a high speed car chase which culminated when the pursued vehicle crashed and overturned.

Out of that incident in which the police allege that there was an exchange of gun fire, Dino Butler faces seven charges and Gary Butler faces four including two counts of attempted murder each and various weapons charges. Needless to say the court denied them bail. But the court also refused to release their sacred medicine bundles which were seized from their car at the time of their arrests, claiming that the bundles were being held due to some investigation against the two men in Oregon.

There is great concern for the physical safety of the two men. Dino Butler has been continually harassed by the FBI and local police since his acquittal in 1976 for "aiding and abetting" in the killing of the two FBI agents at Pine Ridge. Since that time Dino Butler has been active in Peltier's defense and support groups. Peltier was convicted on the same aiding and abetting charges and received two life sentences.

The Butlers go to trial in late May in Vancouver. AIM people from across the continent have made their way to Vancouver to help prepare a defense. As was shown in the illegal extradition of Peltier, the Canadian authorities are all too willing to lend a helping hand to help the Americans "neutralize" known leaders of the Indian movement.

The Butlers can be reached by writing Darelle Dean Butler, or Gary Leroy Butler, Oakalla Prison, Drawer O, Burnaby, B.C. Their support committee is, **Society of the People Struggling to be Free**, c/o Marginal Market, 1016 Granville St., Vancouver, B.C.

Another of the principles in this long-running tragedy, Standing Deer, was recently transferred back to the Medical Centre for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, MO. He was told that the reason for this transfer was for a "hernia" operation. This came as some surprise to Standing Deer since he has never had any hernia problems. He personally fears that he is being set-up for a lobotomy, an operation for which Springfield is infamous.

The FBI and prison officials have never forgiven Standing Deer for his refusal to keep his end of the bargain in a plot against Peltier's life. The plot was to rig an escape which would get Peltier to the fence at Marion prison where he would be murdered by a guard with a high-powered rifle. In return for Standing Deer's participation in setting up the "escape", he would receive medical treatment for his back problems and have seven detainees in Oklahoma dropped—they were in fact dropped—each of which carried a possible life sentence.

On July 4, 1978, Standing Deer met with Peltier in the yard at Marion and after a full day of discussing sacred matters and the Indian Struggle the plot was discussed and it was decided that Standing Deer would pretend to go along with the State since otherwise there would only be a new and unknown assassin chosen.

Standing Deer's evidence is crucial in proving the existence of a high level government plot to assassinate Peltier. Standing Deer has submitted documents to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California substantiating these charges. Peltier did in fact escape from Lompoc, California in July 1979. He managed to elude his captors for five days before being recaptured by the local sheriff's department.

The other two participants in that ill-fated escape attempt did not fare so well. Dallas Thundershield was shot in the spine and bled to death on the ground after raising his arms to surrender at the fence. Bobby Gene Garcia who was recaptured at the fence had been Peltier's body guard in Marion. Garcia was found hanging from the ceiling of a solitary confinement cell at the penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana. His body which was found to be covered in bruises by independent investigators was found the morning after he had been transferred to the dreaded "hospital" unit where solid steel doors muffle any sound that might arise from an altercation. Garcia's friends give no credibility to the claim of suicide.

The dubious death of Peltier's co-defendant, Garcia and the previous beating of three other witnesses for Peltier's defense, David Owens, Christopher Hulett and Donal Gene Richardson shows the determination of the state to retaliate against those who are willing to expose this government conspiracy. Standing Deer has received many threats against his life from both prison and FBI. A mammoth international letter writing campaign was instrumental in getting Standing Deer transferred from Springfield during his first "visit" there beginning late last year. This is what is needed again. See the addresses below.

Not all the recent news is bad though. The conviction against Peltier for his escape has been overturned which means either a new trial which will allow the evidence of the conspiracy to be introduced or the dropping of the escape charges. Peltier has also been released from the hole at Marion penitentiary in Illinois where he had been charged with inciting a work-stoppage. He is now allowed contact visiting with his friends

See Prison Pg. 15

More Letters More Letters More

Continued from Pg. 2

rolling over on their backs and licking their nuts when kicked.

Well, to hell with it. Print this or don't. Personally, I'm tired of hearing insane drivel passed along as Anarchist propaganda. I'm tired of hearing light-weights complain about things when they have the power to change them. It turns my gut to see crap being out in the name of Anarchy.

I've got a black flag flying in my cell here. Everybody thinks I'm a nut because I believe in FREEDOM and opposition to the State. But opposition, complete and total, is the only way to win. (Edited)
Neither God Nor Master
John H. Bosch, member
Anarchist Black Dragon Collective/Walla Walla Unit

Marx Was A Great Guy - Really!

Dear Friends,

One last time on the subject of Marx, Lenin and their interpretation by Lazarus Jones. (See NAA 5) As usual Jones shows that he knows *nothing* of Marx, and where he does not know he makes up fantastic fiction.

Jones talks a lot about Marx and the role he saw for intellectuals. I may refer Jones to a "Circular letter" by Marx and Engels written Sept. 1879 in which they state: "*When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle-cry: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working classes themselves. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic persons from the upper and lower middle classes.*"

That Marx criticized workers in certain respects is true. For this we should condemn him? Do not anarchists criticize workers? Those criticized as "asses" and "idiots" by Marx were the self-proclaimed leaders of worker's movements, among them; Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (defender of the middle class who fought against the use of the strike by workers); Ferdinand LaSalle, (German Social democrat and believer in state "socialism"); Michael Bakunin (who amongst other things supported goals such as "the economic and social equalization of classes")

Jones criticizes me for believing that "Lenin's views on the party and its role are inconsistent with Classical Marxism." First, that was never my argument. Lenin's views do bear certain connections with those of "classical Marxism" — the Marxism of the Second International. Second, my contention is that the views of Lenin are divorced from those of Marx (in concept of party, the state, even the very definition of socialism itself).

Jones also clings to the notion that the split between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks within the Russian social democratic movement was not based on any differences concerning democracy, but only "democracy within the party". The argument is typical of one ignorant with the debates of the period. Let him read Karl Kautsky's *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* and Julius Martov's *State and Socialist Revolution*. Kautsky (leader of the Menshevik "centrist" tendency) and Martov (leader of the Menshevik Internationalist group) repeatedly criticized and fought against the suppression of democracy by the Bolshevik seizure of state power.

Jones ends by adding that libertarian socialists are nothing but "an

irrelevant tail on the Leninist dog." Of course, we can expect no other view from one who knows little about Marxism, less about Marx and nothing about the Marxist alternatives to the Leninist distortions. (Edited)

Len Wallace
Windsor, Ontario

Or Maybe Not?

Dear NAA,

The argument about whether Marx was "Libertarian" or authoritarian is likely to go on forever. At the risk of contributing one more gram to the tons of material written on the subject, I would like to answer of few of the points put forward by Len Wallace in your last edition. (NAA 7)

Comrade Wallace states that Marx never "tried to obtain personal power" in his everyday life. This statement is so at variance with all except the most sycophantic accounts of Marx's personal life from people who knew him that one can only wonder whether comrade Wallace actually believes such hogwash. Another old piece of standard libertarian Marxist rhetoric that Wallace brings out is his accusation that L. Jones has never read "Marx on Marx" and is therefore ignorant and unfit to comment. This piece of sympathetic magic is a typical rhetorical assumption that is usually wrong. But it sure is comforting for the true believers! The idea is that if those ignorant anarchists were ever to actually read St. Karl in the original they would be struck from on high by the grace of the Lord of the Workers and would instantly realize the error of their ways. Christians often assume the same silly attitude towards atheists who they automatically presume have never read the Bible. Well friend Wallace, you can obtain MY address from this paper, and if we compare our "readings of Marx" I suspect that I will be found to have read just as much and perhaps more than you have. And no lightning bolts have descended on my area yet.

As to the attacks on Bakunin. It is not anarchists who are naming themselves after one man, presuming his genius and seminal character (though many anarchists often act towards Bakunin like you Marxists act towards Marx). I will agree with everything that you say about Bakunin and will add more. Personally I think it is a disgrace the way that so many anarchists refuse to realize the truth about St. Mike. Yet, I am an "anarchist", not a "Bakunist". It is you who choose to label yourself after one man, not me or my fellow anarchists — no matter how deluded they may be as to Bakunin's real character. I would submit that Bakunin only looks good in historical perspective because, like Trotsky, he was graced with an opponent who was far worse. St. Karl that is. (Edited)

In Solidarity
Ivan Neigum
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

I Love It!

Dear NAA,

I wonder if you would consider making your paper still more absurd. I think it could yet become rather more entertaining than exasperating to me. One suggestion: give your most original commentator, "Frank Stevens", even more space.

I find in his zany irreverence a fresh and hilarious portrayal of the old order. How more clearly, for example, could anyone have possibly held up to ridicule both high technology and work itself than: "Since the bulk of modern technology is operated by workers

on a daily basis, it seems obvious that it will work just as well for self-managed workers as it does for boss-managed workers." Satirizing modern technology, working — and self-management — in a single sentence!



And then when he reminded all of us seekers of anarchy that "we have to figure out how to self-manage an entire planet", I exploded with mirth at this outrageous master of the ridiculous.

While you're at it, a few more new policy decisions could also bring NAA into its own regarding absurdity. Like the one to solicit paid advertising; selling commodities to end the commodity system — that shows great comic promise.

Expanded coverage of the ACF bureaucracy would help, too. More on the Internal Discussion Bulletin, for instance, and other examples of this hapless organization fetish.

Keep it coming, you're getting there!

I love it,
John Zerzan
San Francisco, Calif.

As anyone familiar with Zerzan's writings will agree, he has a finely honed sense of the absurd. Keep those cards and letters coming John! We love it!

Solidarity Not Sectarianism

Dear Comrades,

I must agree with the sentiments of the comrade from DC on the sectarianism of NAA. After having spent almost two years in the U.S. Marines under not the most favourable conditions I was pleased to see that an Anarchist newspaper had begun to publish on a consistent basis. . . I am very dismayed however by the tone and spirit of factionalism and sectarianism that characterizes much of your copy.

Articles on your front page like the one on El Salvador do nothing to build the movement or consolidate the gains of the masses. Instead they play into the hands of the far right. For your information, over 13,000 people were murdered by the Junta forces in El Salvador in 1980. . . Struggle, my friends, is not a middle-class hobby. It is not an exercise in snide petit bourgeois scholasticism. Like the other comrade I see much hope and prospects in the NAA and the ACF — your Anti-Draft posters were exactly what was needed — please don't

turn the ACF into another Trot sect. . .

DON'T BLAME THE MASSES FOR YOUR OWN BACKWARDNESS is a slogan I saw in an anarchist bookstore in Seattle a few years back, which you should sear into your minds. DON'T BLAME THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE FOR YOUR OWN BACKWARDNESS. It's easy to sit in the safety and relative comfort of Canada and write snide little articles, it's something else to be risking your life on the frontlines. . . The only alternative is misery and death; this is what the reality of life is for the masses of *obreros* and *campesinos* in Central America. This is why for us in North America the primary task is building international *solidarity* and broad anti-fascist unity. It is through our example in struggle that we will build the anarchist movement.

In Struggle
(Signature illegible)
Prince Georges, Maryland

It seems to be true that those who fail to learn the lessons of history are condemned to repeat them. You would think that after the Vietnam debacle people would be a little more wary of an issue that every Trot and ML sect are salivating over as visions of "Another Vietnam" and another uncritical mass movement to manipulate dance before their eyes. The victory of the Stalinist dominated FMLN, as opposed to the true victory of the Salvadorean people, would only lead to the establishment of an incipient bureaucratic collectivist state. The Polish working class is showing us every day what they think of that type of regime in its fully developed form. Solidarity with the Salvadorean people, and a mass mobilization to smash U.S. interventionism, is certainly needed. But a distinction must be made between the true interests of the Salvadorean people and the machinations of the Stalinists and their liberal and clerical stooges. If the El Salvador solidarity movement is to avoid merely becoming an ML recruiting drive we, as anarchists, must ceaselessly point out that only by creating their own autonomous organs of struggle will the Salvadorean people be able to avoid the imposition of a new yoke even as they throw the old one off.

Lazarus Jones

Bitter fruit?

Dear NAA,

I was pleased to see the March/April issue of NAA address itself to the current situation in El Salvador and Nicaragua. For the most part, Lazarus Jones' analysis of the situation from an anarchist perspective is a good one. However, there are certain statements in the article that I find misleading or downright false.

First of all, the January 11th offensive was far from "desperate" nor did it grind "to a halt in the face of bitter resistance of the junta's forces". Anyone who has talked with either DRU or FMLN leaders in the past year knows that the majority of the guerrillas did not speak of a "final offensive" but of a "general offensive", the beginning of a long, and protracted struggle. The aim was to show their strength, test, season, refurbish their troops, then withdraw. The FMLN took the second largest city in El Salvador, Santo Ana, held it for three days and then retreated taking with them a significant portion of the Salvadorean Army which defected. Although the call for a general strike was frustrated because the junta used the advance warning to carry out an effective campaign of terror against anyone suspected of being sympathetic to

the strike, popular response to the insurrection was wide-spread.

Jones' characterization of the left as "a particularly disorienting brew of Marxist alphabet soup" is also erroneous. The Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) which is the political spokesman for the opposition forces, has as its president Guillermo Ungo (Social Democrat), and incorporates members of the National Revolutionary Movement, and the majority of the Christian Democrats who have abandoned Napoleon Duarte to the embrace of the junta. The Front also includes the principal union organizations representing roughly 90% of the organized working class associations of professional workers, the two major Salvadorean universities and five mass organizations running the gamut from catholic to marxist in orientation. It seems to me that this is a pretty broad endorsement of the Front by the people of El Salvador.

I agree that in the long-run "The only hope for revolution in El Salvador, Nicaragua, or the rest of the Third World is a victorious social revolution in one or more of the advanced industrial societies." I strongly condemn, however, an attitude that seems to say, since this is the case we refuse to support those peoples attempt to control their own destiny since it does not agree with our recipe for revolution. As Malatesta used to say — you can only take the people as far as they themselves are willing to go.

We as anarchists must approach all popular movements as the farmer his orchard — feeding, nurturing, helping to bear fruit. To proceed in any other manner is to isolate ourselves in the wilderness.

Enjoy,
Adam Versenyi,
New Haven, CT

Theological Ecology

Dear NAA,

I would like to share some of my thoughts regarding the furor caused by Frank Stevens' *Theological Ecology*.

There is nothing like an active dialogue between people of differing opinions in getting everyone else involved. Murray Bookchin closed the door to further enlightenment with a resounding BANG! It was *Theological Ecology* that led me to read Bookchin's "Open Letter..." in Open Road. It was Bookchin's hysterical, reactionary reply to *Theological Ecology* that got me to read everything else relating to these articles.

I liked what Bookchin had to say in "Open Letter...". I thought that the article was informative and indeed was saying the same things that I have been feeling about "managerial radicals" in the anti-nuke movement and elsewhere. Bookchin is an accomplished writer and has lots of experience to back up his opinions. However, his vicious reply to Frank Stevens and NAA in general, makes this reader very suspicious of Murray Bookchin.

First of all, what is all this crap about 'moral Hygiene' preventing Bookchin from responding to Stevens' article? Why not respond — I for one would be very interested in what Bookchin would have to say. Instead I am offered a reply that immediately reminds me of a stern, authoritarian father scolding one of his errant children. Rather unseemly for an "Anarchist", don't you think?

In Solidarity,
Manfred Smith
Baltimore, MD



Libertarian Notes

Trots Pull Fast Shuffle

Trotskyites from the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) pulled a tricky maneuver at the last CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) conference. They showed up with about 200 members at the February 13 conference in Detroit in hopes of taking over the anti-draft movement. During the early going they were frustrated in attempts to purge Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Nor could the Trotskyites find much support for resolutions for "unconditional defence of the Soviet Union" or solidarity with "all armed struggles for liberation in the world" (excluding the one in Afghanistan, no doubt). So they waited until the last evening of the conference when attendance had dwindled from the initial 1000 to about 300 people, and pushed through a resolution to restructure the organization "to give more decision-making power to local groups."

What was behind this phoney decentralist rhetoric was an effort by the SWP/YSA to remove the control of CARD out of the hands of the National Board towards the various campus-based anti-draft committees. Each of these "local groups" would have their own member on an open CARD steering committee. The Trotskyites figure that their own military-like party discipline will make it easy for them to dominate the loose, politically incoherent local anti-draft groups. Certainly this approach will have a greater chance of success than trying to directly confront the national leaderships of the organizations that put CARD together.

At the moment many activists in the anti-draft movement are wondering what can be done about Trotskyite subversion. Some have suggested leaving CARD to the Trots and starting a new organization. They don't say what would prevent the SWP/YSA from doing this all over again. Perhaps a more centralized organization will be attempted (i.e. fighting bolshevik dictatorship with a left-liberal dictatorship).

There are a couple ways this could be avoided. Why not require all organization members to agree to "oppose all conscription, regardless of the nation-state or the political circumstances?" This would effectively exclude the Trotskyites, who ardently support the armed forces of the Russian empire. If this would prove too much for left-wing nationalists like DSOC or the liberals, an alternative would

be to adopt a federalist organization structure based upon one vote per political organization. Thus the SWP would only have one vote, just like the War Resisters League, the ACLU, the Quakers, and each of the other sponsoring national organizations. This would put a stop to packing meetings, since the Trots would no longer have anything to gain. Hopefully, anti-draft organizers will adopt one of these or similar approaches, and put an end to the SWP's power games.

The Guns of Brixton

*You can crush us
You can bruise us
But you'll have to answer to
Oh—the guns of Brixton*

The Clash

The explosion of anger and rage that rocked the Brixton area of London, England, on the weekend of April 11-12 had been building for a long time. Britain's infamous 'Suss' law, which allows police to detain and question anyone on the basis of mere "suspicion", has been used to systematically harass Britain's black population for years. Special SWAT style teams were established in 1978 to patrol the Brixton area in armoured trucks. Their specialty is the vicious dispersal of black demonstrations and general intimidation. In 1979 a black school teacher, Blair Peach, was killed by a single blow to the head that literally shattered his skull. It was later ascertained that the weapon used was not only an unauthorized police weapon but that the carrying of such unorthodox and deadly weapons was quite common among the members of the special squads.

A special report prepared and submitted more than three months before the Brixton riot by a Brixton community relations officer declared that the black population "totally mistrusted" the police and felt that they were the targets of systematic "police intimidation, arbitrary arrest and harassment." The brutal oppression meted out to Brixton's blacks has made them very receptive to Left politics and it didn't take long for Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir David McNee to pin the blame for the riot on "subversive elements" rather than his own thugs in blue.

The Brixton riot was definitely not a "race riot," very early on white youths joined their black brothers in attacking

the police, it was an *anti-police* riot. Even the local Brixton council recognized this when they asked Scotland Yard to withdraw their forces as the surest methods of defusing the violence. The police arrogantly refused declaring: "We control the streets of London and that is all there is to it." For now, my friend, only for now.

Have Gun—Will Travel

John Hinkley's bloody but unsuccessful attempt on the life of U.S. president Ronald Reagan unleashed a veritable flood of pathetic banalities in the North American press. They positively gushed over the stream of one-liners that erupted from Reagan's lips after the incident. As the accumulated legacy of many years on the banquet circuit came spitting out like sparks from a malfunctioning robot the media cooed and burbled "what a brave little man."

Vice-president Bush, his face twisted in consternation, declared that he just couldn't understand how anyone could work up enough hatred against Reagan to want to kill him. May we suggest that several million Salvadorean *campesinos*, who at this very moment are being butchered with U.S. weapons dispatched personally by Reagan, might be able to give him an answer. The failed assassin Hinkley, a pathetic neo-nazi, did not of course shoot Reagan out of any compassion for human suffering in El Salvador or anywhere else. But, we can only hope that when the next CIA report on the butchery in El Salvador crosses Reagan's desk he gets a slight twinge in his left shoulder.

In contrast to the manic hand-wringing in the establishment media, a manifestation perhaps of liberal guilt at the fulfillment of a sordid secret fantasy, the reaction of the bulk of the general population was a casual "so what?" shrug. Perhaps after two successful and five failed attempts on the lives of U.S. presidents in this century the American public is coming around to the view of the Italian Anarchist Errico Malatesta who commented, after refusing to press charges against a man who had tried to kill him, "assassination is an occupational hazard of kings, presidents, and revolutionaries."

How to Talk A Good Revolution

It must have been very disappointing for the boosters of Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as a revolutionary titan to discover that he is just another "oreo cookie"—black on the outside, white on the inside. After loudly calling for UN sanctions against South Africa Mugabe recently declared that Zimbabwe will not apply them. As Mugabe waffled: "This is not to say we are against the international community imposing sanctions against South Africa. We voted for those sanctions at the United Nations because we had to be seen to be giving support to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and to the efforts of the international community." South Africa did not even have to tug on its economic leash to bring Mugabe to heel. The prospects for the liberation of South Africa will be bleak indeed if they have to depend on "allies" such as Mugabe.

Free At Last!

Octavio Alberola and nine others accused of "complicity" in the 1974 kidnapping of a Spanish bank director in protest over Franco's policies have been acquitted of all charges following their trial in Paris (for details see *Franco's Revenge* in NAA9). Thanks to all who responded to our appeal for letters of protest.

Soviet

Continued from Pg. 16

Much more precise information is available with respect to the resistance expressed in the attempts by workers to form autonomous trade unions. The most notable thing which emerges from an examination of these attempts is how a continuity has developed. When Soviet oppositionist Alexander Ginsberg announced earlier this year that a new attempt to organize was underway it marked the third such initiative in less than five years.

The first attempt occurred in late 1977. The initiative for it came from workers who were victimized for being courageous enough to openly speak out against many of the injustices they face at work.

Notable among them was Vladimir Klebanov, a mining engineer, with a reputation for tenaciously protesting violations of the Soviet Labour Code since 1958. For his efforts he has endured loss of work, KGB harassment and confinement to psychiatric hospitals.

Many of the workers who began The Free Trade Union Association of Soviet Working People met in the Waiting Room of the Central Committee of the Communist Party's offices in Moscow in fruitless attempts to seek redress for being persecuted. Their new union was formed along industrial lines encompassing both skilled and unskilled workers from various occu-

pational backgrounds. Most were unemployed.

The removal of most of them from the active workforce proved to be a major weakness of the movement as it isolated these workers from employed workers. The new trade union was also isolated from the general Democratic Movement making it less troublesome for the state to crush it by arresting many of its members. Vladimir Klebanov was incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital in early 1978 and has not been heard from since.

Late in 1978 a second short-lived attempt to form an autonomous trade union took place. The Free Inter-Professional Trade Union Association (SMOT) distinguished itself from its predecessor by having direct links to the general Democratic Movement. It also had the advantage of a membership which consisted mostly of actively employed workers.

Nonetheless, it was quickly crushed. Just weeks after its formation a number of its members found themselves forced to emigrate, confined to psychiatric hospitals or tried and imprisoned. Critically, those workers who were forced out of the USSR were able to give the SMOT some badly needed international publicity. Consequently, the persecution of SMOT members gained wider recognition and active defense work.

Hopefully, these experiences will have given the latest attempt to form an autonomous trade union

the strengths derived from being part of a developing tradition and having precedents to learn from. As for the question of the impact of the Polish situation it is impossible at this point to draw any certain conclusions because of the lack of solid information. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to believe there is some degree of awareness of the Polish events among those involved as well as among the rest of the Soviet working class.

Given the limited insights to be grasped from the strikes to date along with the consecutive attempts to form autonomous trade unions it is possible to believe the Polish contagion *could* begin to take hold among Soviet workers. But, in view of the nature and isolation of the struggles so far, any notion of a rapidly approaching wave of worker unrest seems to be wishful thinking.

In effect, a significant workers' movement is a real but remote possibility. If the influence of the Polish struggle is to spark a powerful movement in the near future this will happen in the satellite states. In large part because the regimes there have considerably less popular credibility. Romania would seem to be the most likely to experience a revolt based upon the working class in the near future. Consequently, a look at worker unrest in Romania will appear in the next issue of the *North American Anarchist*.

For a Detailed account of the first attempt to form an autonomous trade union in the USSR see

Workers Against the Gulag (Pluto Press) \$4.95. Included are documents about the Novacher-kassk revolt.

Prison

Continued from Pg. 13

and family. Old charges dating from five years ago in Oregon have also been dropped. His support committee is more optimistic than in quite some time that their efforts are beginning to pay off.

These political prisoners need support in the form of letters to themselves, prison officials, and

their support groups. But it is essential that money is sent in for stamps, especially when writing to the support groups.

For general information, write to: L.P.D.C., P.O. Box 1492, Rapid City, South Dakota, 57709, USA. Leonard Peltier, P.O. Box 1000, Marion IL 62959, USA. Robert H. Wilson, No. 01499-168 (Standing Deer's "white name") Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65802. Write to the warden at the same address to just let him know that we are watching.

A very good booklet, *In Total Resistance* containing prose and poetry by Peltier, Garcia and Standing Deer can be obtained for \$2.50 (US) from L.P.D.C., c/o John Soto, P.O. Box 176, Mohegan Lake, NY 10547, USA.

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Worker unrest in USSR

By Brian Amesly

When people discuss the Polish workers' movement the question which is always lurking in the background is whether there will be a spillover effect into the other Warsaw Pact countries. Inevitably the main focus is upon the prospects for worker unrest spreading to the heart of the beast, the USSR.

There is no easy answer to this question. What is certain is that neither wild optimism about imminent mass upheavals nor the belief in an inherent passivity on the part of Soviet workers, which will insure many years of social stability, seems justified given a relatively well informed opinion about worker resistance. Excluding every day examples of individual defiance in the workplace the evidence to date shows two principal forms of conscious worker resistance. One is strikes which tend to be isolated and spontaneous. The other is the formation of short-lived autonomous trade unions; a new and persistent phenomenon.

To assess these developments they have to be seen in an historical perspective. This inevitable shows how Soviet workers have been without any ongoing organs for expressing their struggles or in any way defending their interests since the very earliest years of the Bolshevik state. For as soon as the Bolsheviks conquered power they moved to suppress the autonomous Factory Committees, created by the workers themselves, by forcibly integrating these organs of class power into the trade unions. Subsequently, the trade unions were able to retain a slight degree of autonomy allowing them to defend the interests of the workers to a limited extent and giving them at least the pretense of having real input into managerial decisions. To an ever lessening degree this was the situation which prevailed until 1921.

Early in 1921 the 10th Congress of the Communist Party saw a major confrontation over the role of the trade unions in relation to the



Vladimir Klebanov (on far left) one of the prime movers in forming autonomous trade unions in the USSR.

Soviet state. During the debates, a faction known as the Workers' Opposition pressed for an expanded role for the unions which would have essentially placed management of the whole Soviet economy in their hands. This position was soundly defeated with its proponents being charged with anarchism and syndicalism. In the process policies were passed which ensured the total subordination of the trade unions to the state. The unions were transformed into the obedient tools of the bureaucratic ruling class which they remain today.

Strikes

Inevitably, this has been a determining factor in shaping the forms of Soviet worker resistance. Strikes are largely spontaneous revolts incapable of long lasting effect, due to their isolation and the use of either brutal repression, immediate economic concessions or a combination of both to stop them.

Brutal repression was the reply of the bureaucracy to one of the most powerful strikes in recent Soviet history. It happened back in 1962 in the Ukrainian town of Novacherkossk. The result was a massacre.

In brief, on June 2, the workers employed at the local electric locomotive works went on strike in

reply to a cut in piece-rates combined with the announcement of sharp price increases in some food-stuffs. Joined by their families the workers marched to the town square where they were met by a barrage of dum-dum bullets which left at least seventy dead. The town was then sealed off by the military and more repression followed.

In contrast, the strike last year by autoworkers in Gorky was met with considerable economic concessions. Food and scarce goods suddenly appeared in abundance in response to the strike.

The great concern within the bureaucracy over strike activity was unmistakable. But it was not Gorky alone that made the bureaucrats nervous. It has recently been learned that there was major strike in the city of Perm near the Ural mountains last May. The incident remains shrouded in mystery, however, which is not surprising as non-Soviet citizens are not allowed access to Perm.

These events point up the spontaneous, isolated character of strikes in the USSR. Unfortunately, the number of verified strikes also shows how relatively infrequent they are.

See Soviet Pg. 15

Continued from Pg. 1 Local Autonomy

Workers' Party (PUWP) at the national level. But mainly they were testimony to the militance of the rank and file at the base of Solidarity. Indeed, this fact is acknowledged by almost all observers of the Polish situation except for those who are apologists for the regime.

Given this, the preservation of strong local union autonomy has to be seen as a decisive factor in facilitating continued militant action by the workers. The same holds true with respect to effective rank and file power over the decisions of the union confederation.

At the moment Solidarity is still essentially a loosely held-together confederation of regional unions. Thus it remains consistent with the spirit and intent of the heroic struggles waged last summer. However, the danger of this structure being eroded in favour of a more tightly disciplined, centralized framework is increasing.

Predictably, Walesa and the former KOR activists have been prominent among those pressing for greater centralization. "National interests" would supposedly prevail over "regional interests". The desire, exemplified by Walesa, to avoid strikes, co-operate with reform-minded bureaucrats and uphold the Polish Nation underlies this position. Interestingly enough, Walesa maintains this desire for social peace in part because he says he feels "tired" and would like to withdraw from his current union activities. Even if this is not just a pressure tactic to intimidate the

militants it is obvious that Walesa's prime goal is to integrate Solidarity into the Stalinist state structure.

Evidently, the KOR shares a desire to see a more disciplined, controlled Solidarity. This is fully consistent with its essentially social-democratic outlook as well as its nationalism.

Strong pressure has also been applied, by forces external to Solidarity, for a less militant policy. Reformist bureaucrats, including Kania, have recognized from the moment of Solidarity's inception that a more disciplined, centralized structure would make it easier to get compromises which would maintain the social peace essential to the continued rule of the PUWP.

Workers' Response?

The over-riding question is whether the Polish workers will allow local autonomy to be subverted thus crippling their ability to determine the course of their struggles. At this point this question cannot be answered in a definitive way.

Nonetheless, reasons exist for believing this danger will be met with continuing resistance. One is the growing pressure from the rest of the Soviet block states to stifle Solidarity for good. There is simply no way the USSR and its allies will ever accept anything other than a very docile independent union organization; one which would not be acceptable to Walesa let alone the bulk of the workers.

This is related to another reason. Namely, that new confrontations

are inevitable. The second crisis, the internal turmoil shaking the PUWP itself, selective acts of repression against noted oppositionists, and the government's failure to live up to most of the points in the Gdansk agreements are all potential causes of major social unrest.

Most of all there is the militance of the workers themselves who have so much to lose by not preserving strong local union autonomy. They seem quite conscious of the implications. This can be seen in the depth of the criticism expressed at the way the agreement was reached to avert the general strike threatened recently. Specifically, Walesa and his colleagues concluded the pact by neglecting to properly consult the union's national commission on the negotiated terms. The reaction can be judged by the concern expressed afterwards by Solidarity leader Andrzej Gwiazda about the danger of the weakening of internal democracy within the union confederation. The denunciation of the agreement as a sellout by a beaten Solidarity member from his hospital bed is also indicative.

One can thus be certain the struggle over the question of local union autonomy will be ongoing and intense. From a libertarian communist perspective the outcome will prove to be a matter of fundamental importance. Only by maintaining direct control of their organizations can the Polish workers hope to deepen and develop their historic struggle for autonomy.

Labour Pains

Hospital Strike Aftermath

The repression in the wake of the illegal eight day strike by 10,000 under-paid, non-medical hospital workers in Ontario has been enormous. Thirty-five workers have been fired with only a few reinstated. Some 4,000 were suspended. Another 2,000 received letters of reprimand and contempt of court charges are forthcoming. These victimizations are even more of an outrage considering the lack of an effective response.

Consistent with their role during the strike, the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) and the New Democratic Party (NDP) have sat on their hands. In addition, the leadership of the hospital workers' union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), has similarly been consistent in consciously refraining from any action which would mobilize the rank and file.

In spite of this many hospital workers have not taken the repressions lying down. Rallies and fund raisers for the fired workers have been organized at the local level. The credit for these actions belongs to many rank and file militants and local unions officials; the same people who were the backbone of the strike.

The main shortcoming of the effort so far has been that it's largely confined within CUPE. While attempts to broaden the struggle have been made they have met with limited success. This is partly because they were insufficient. But most of the responsibility can be attributed to the failure of other unions to respond appropriately.

All of these factors have serious implications which should be weighed heavily by workers. Principal among these is the need for workers to fully recognize that the leadership of the OFL and the NDP in general can in no way be counted upon to genuinely support crucial struggles like the hospital strike.

Another thing which is implied is the absolute necessity to generalize such struggles through sympathy strikes and other forms of direct action. Given the far-reaching effects of the strike for combatting social service cutbacks and the erosion of the right to strike the basis for this strategy clearly exists.

An essential component will be the recognition in practice of how the initiative for effective action consistently comes from the base of the workers' movement. This entails the concentration of the resources and the muscle of the unions at the local level to undercut the ability of the bureaucrats running the unions to sabotage future struggles.

This contrasts with strategies aimed at capturing leadership positions in the belief this will facilitate struggles. These are an illusion since militants elected to positions removed from the shop floor consistently capitulate. This is inevitable given the inherently reformist character of the trade unions; a fact which is not about to change.

Until illusions to the contrary start to be shattered workers will remain easy prey to phenomena like the aftermath of the hospital strike. With the convention of the Ontario division of CUPE about to take place a groundswell of rage against these reprisals is certain to be expressed. The question is however whether the needed steps for a strong workers' counter-offensive will begin to be acted upon.

The Conflict Between Industrial Unions

One of the long standing dilemmas of the labour movement in Canada has to be the multiplicity of union centrals. Why are there so many break-aways and regional independent unions? The answer is probably to be found in jurisdictional squabbles.

As far back as 1902 the historic Berlin Trades and Labour Congress Conference was laying the ground work for these divisions in the union movement. And as recently as the building trades unions' refusal to pay dues to the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) these myopic antagonisms have flared up.

The 1902 Conference passed a key resolution that no union could organize where another member union had jurisdiction. And the attitude of the building trades leadership towards Quebec Federation of Labour and Confederation of National Trade Unions organizing drives in the Quebec construction industry indicates the far reaching nature of this primitive perspective which is part and parcel of bureaucratic business unionism.

As far as some observers are concerned this reformist current in the union movement is clearly linked to government supervision of internal union affairs. Its most obvious effect is to divide the union into ring leaders and members at large so as to bribe, intimidate and isolate union tops and thereby pacify the rank and file.

That just goes to show the dangers which are inherent in attaching too much importance to state recognition of unions. We can't let our class interests be warped to suit the passing fancies of the ruling class without sacrificing freedom of association and solidarity.

Absence makes the heart...

Canadian ruling circles are increasingly concerned with an epidemic of absenteeism which has afflicted Canadian industry. In any given week, nearly eight per cent of the workforce — about 745,000 people — do not show up for work. The amount of work-time lost to the economy through absenteeism is running at over ten times the work-time lost due to labour disputes.

In an effort to combat absenteeism, management alternately resorts to the carrot (bonuses and prizes for attendance) or the stick (disciplinary action). Experience has shown that nothing works (either discipline or rewards) for more than two years.

So what else is new? Well, management can draw on a new source of support in fighting absenteeism — the Canadian Labour Congress. The CLC is determined to do its share to control the workforce and has set up an Employee Recovery Program to help curb absenteeism. In its zeal to assist management, the CLC has uncovered what it calls "on-the-job absenteeism" — poor productivity, missed deadlines, and proneness to accidents. The CLC is working to help management identify "distressed" employees and see they get professional help.

What neither the CLC nor managements experts seem to grasp is that absenteeism is a social phenomenon and cannot be cured by band-aid techniques at the individual level.