

North American ANARCHIST

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The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

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fine in relation

An eyewitness account

Assault on Seabrook



When the cops moved against the assault force they concentrated on seizing gas masks. The attempted occupation failed this time, but the lessons learned were invaluable. We'll be back!

by: Ron Linville

The attempt to occupy the Seabrook (New Hampshire, USA) nuclear power plant began before dawn on October 6, 1979. If the following report 'suffers' from subjectivity, or incompleteness, it is because of the near impossibility of being both a participant and a reporter at such an event, and being "good" at both — "good" in the case of reportage meaning objectivity and omnipresence. I chose to be primarily a participant.

For some the confusion started early. Directions to the distant staging area (some 20 miles from the site) where most groups other than those from Boston and Newburyport would spend Friday night, were in one case completely wrong, the road to be taken being marked as *not* to be taken. Nevertheless, the small circle that greeted us grew into a crowd, meals and meetings were called (and held, mostly in a steady cold rain), and a group feeling was born. Still many out-of-state groups, travelling for hours, did not arrive until midnight or later. With jump-off scheduled for 5 a.m., there was pressure for a day's delay of the assault.

It was decided, upon learning that one group was already in position on the marshes and not easily reachable for co-ordination, and

that the southern group (Boston) was determined to stick to the original plan, that our 'cluster', targeted for the north, would proceed to the fence as planned where the final decision to attack would be made.



The northern groups arrived at low tide — Seabrook is on the ocean and high tides make the plant site a virtual peninsula — and crossed an amazing series of pontoon bridges that had been erected in the dark just hours before by an advance team. The main northern body halted about 100 yards from the fence, and a meeting was called. The gathering was typified by its
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PQ lays it on the line

by: Lazarus Jones

"Soon the time will come to express the democratic will of the Québec people and by that very means, give its government the mandate to open the most decisive period of our history."

Parti Québécois white paper on Sovereignty-Association

Ever since the Parti Quebecois (PQ) election victory of November 15, 1976, the people of Canada have eagerly awaited the publication of the PQ's detailed statement on what exactly is meant by the term sovereignty-association. Quebec comedian Jean-Guy Moreau has often stated that what the Quebecois really wants is: "An independent Quebec in a united Canada." The recently released PQ white paper has confirmed this observation.

The basic PQ platform calls for an economic union in which the Canada/Quebec community would share a common currency and fiscal policy. The two states would not erect tariff barriers between themselves and the common border would be open and unpoliced. In the political sphere the PQ demand control of taxation and the legal system as well as the right to have an "international presence." This "presence" would involve Quebec's membership in the United Nations and an equal seat on all the international commissions and organiza-

tions that Canada presently sits upon. These would include NATO, NORAD, the International Joint Commission (St. Lawrence Seaway) and, surprisingly, the British Commonwealth.

In the referendum campaign, scheduled for the Spring of 1980, the PQ will be asking for a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association with the federal government. The PQ are conveniently ignoring the repeated federal assertions that they will refuse to negotiate, by taking a "we'll see" attitude. Any agreement would then be submitted to the Quebec people in a second referendum.

Heading into the referendum campaign the PQ are in sorry shape indeed. Their well-orchestrated

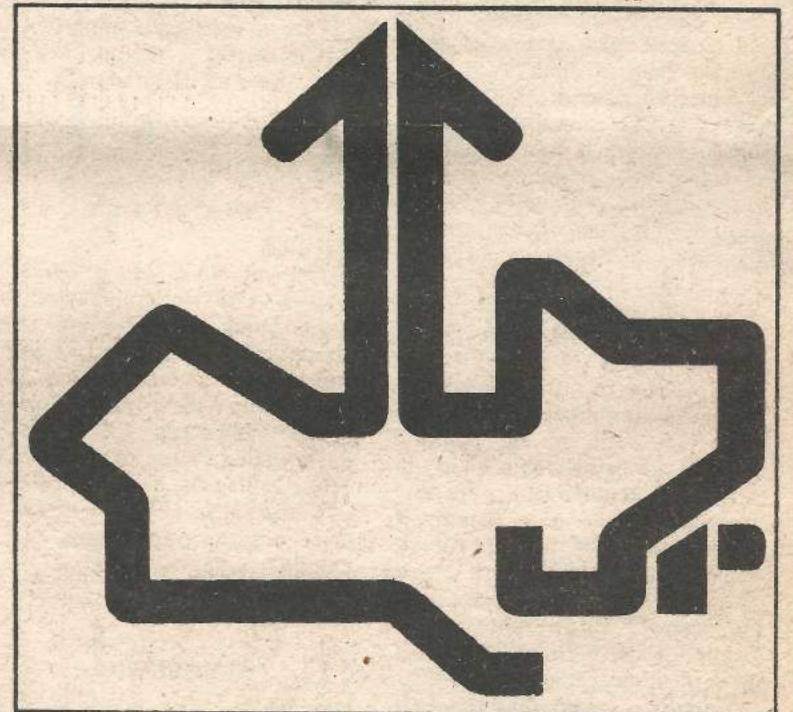
build-up to the whitepaper's release was effectively sabotaged when striking civil servants smashed their way into the auditorium where journalists were to be given advance copies of the document before its official release in the National Assembly (provincial parliament). The strikers occupied the hall in the early morning, quickly eating up the free food and coffee laid on by the PQ, forcing the government to cancel the whole affair. The press had to wait like everybody else. The incident dramatically underlined the PQ's contemptible betrayal of their social-democratic roots. This be-

trayal has effectively alienated organized labour — once a pillar of PQ power.

Internally the party is wracked by dissension, with embittered resignations coming from both the "left" and right wings of Premier Levesque's cabinet. The party rank and file are also becoming alienated

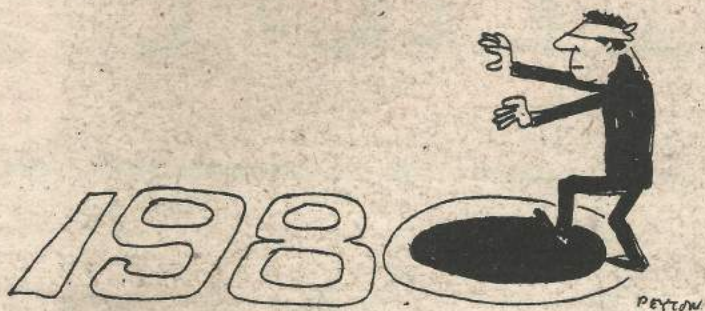
as a result of Levesque's increasingly autocratic ways.

The political alliances forged by the petit-bourgeois technocrats, whose political vehicle the PQ is, are rapidly degenerating as the PQ scramble to reassure international capital that it will be "business as usual."
Cont.: See Quebec Pg. 10



Logo from the front cover of the PQ white paper. Hopefully, the resemblance to the infamous 'finger' is purely unintentional.

For Starters



The response to NAA No. 1 has left us slightly overwhelmed. It was very gratifying to read the many complimentary letters and even more gratifying that most of them contained at least five dollars for a subscription. We would also like to thank the people who enclosed substantially more than five dollars. Your generosity has brought us one step nearer to our goal of a monthly publishing schedule.

We attempted to answer all letters that seemed to ask for a reply but soon found that this was impossible. So we concentrated on those letters that explicitly asked for more information on the **Anarchist Communist Federation**, and so, if you didn't receive a reply we hope you will bear with us.

We are still working the kinks out of our distribution system, a monumental task, and we would recommend that you take out a subscription if you wish to

ensure that you continue to receive **The North American Anarchist**.

One reader expressed the view that he would be more than happy if subsequent NAA's were half as good as the first one. We're sure he won't be disappointed, as we feel this issue is at least as good as NAA No. 1.

Included in this issue are articles such as Frank Steven's **The Politics of Toppless**, an incisive look at a subject which is almost completely ignored in the Left press, the sexual fantasy business. Mike Kubanin takes one more look at the events surrounding the suppression of the Kronstadt Soviet as reflected in the latest self-serving drivel dished up by the Trot press. Lazarus Jones, in his article **Looking Back on Iran**, analyses the events in Iran from an anarchist perspective. Also featured in this issue is the conclusion of the

RCMP Interrogation Manual and the conclusion of our article on dissent within Czechoslovakia.

Unfortunately, this issue does not contain the promised article on the Persons Unknown conspiracy trial. We have yet to receive the Trial Bulletin. The article has therefore been delayed and will now appear in NAA No. 3.

Once again we would remind our readers that we welcome, even encourage, letters and critical comment. We want to establish a dialogue with our readership, to make this paper a catalyst for an anarchist resurgence in North America. Please address all correspondence to:

The North American Anarchist
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M4B 2B0.

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

LETTERS

AMAZED

Dear NAA,

I picked up your newspaper the **North American Anarchist** at the anti-nuclear rally in New York this October and was amazed at how much my own point of view corresponded to those expressed in most of the articles I read. This especially so since I would consider myself a "libertarian socialist" (whatever that means) rather than an anarchist; I'm much more well versed in the writings of Marx and Marcuse and have never read any anarchist works. In general, though, I share your disgust with "capitalism, and its hideous twin, state socialism" and the "authoritarian Left."

Especially relevant was the article on the possible extension of the lifespan, in which it was commented that the realm of human thought "is practically infinite." It is the most terrible crime of civilization as we know it that these human potentialities have not been attained yet! Such is the call for revolution.

Unfortunately, the main speakers for "revolution" these days tend to be advocates of "state socialism" or the "authoritarian Left," neither of which seem to be pointing towards the creation of a society in which human potentialities are fully expressed. Furthermore, anarchy, if ever mentioned by the main American press, is connected with terrorism and violence; witness West Germany's Baader-Meinhoff Group. Libertarian socialism is never mentioned at all.

Marcuse . . . said that the Left must develop a "counter-consciousness" among the people which will provide the basis for revolution;

along the line, we must not be afraid to appear as intellectuals presenting abstract theories or vocabularies. On this point, your newspaper and my theoretical beliefs diverge. I feel that we ought not to avoid "all specialized political terminology." What we should avoid is the ritualization of theory — making theory dogmatic to the point that we apply concepts even though they are irrelevant and need to be changed. In short, if political terms are made to fit the reality and are not used mindlessly as "catchwords", then we ought not to be afraid to speak our minds.

Your newspaper is important in that it keeps the radical discourse going. Keep up the good work.

In Solidarity,
Mark Marotta,
Allentown, USA.

SRAFREPLY

Hi Folks,

Just got NAA. Good effort! I like the ACF Declaration and the wide mix of articles. I'm disappointed that after two years you still feel it requisite that you define yourselves as the off-spring of an "impotent" SRAF. You ought to find a more positive way to define yourselves, especially considering the logical absurdity of impotence producing off-spring.

Good Luck.
Jim Bumpas
San Francisco

EXCITING

Dear NAA,

It was very exciting to read your first issue. I usually wait until the second issue of a new paper to send

in a donation but I can't this time, so here it is (\$50).

Most of the articles were clear and well written although the ones on the Miners and Czechs were hard to follow and confusing.

The review of the pamphlet on terrorism was excellent and quite thought provoking. It's refreshing to see a lively and militant anarchist paper that doesn't sabre rattle to "prove" itself.

I'm glad you have a section on prisons as this is a particular interest of mine and the focus of my activity.

It sure feels good to send a sub across a national boundary.

Salud,
Name withheld by request

OPEN ROAD

Comrades!

Congratulations on putting out a fine paper! We are just coming out with our interim issue of **OR** and would like to mention NAA in a short article. We would like to know any information that we could pass on to our readers about the next issue, and anything else you would like us to mention.

Yours in Struggle,
The Open Road,
Vancouver, B.C.

YOUTH IN ACTION

Dear NAA,

I would like to see more emphasis on building the basis and foundation of our new society. We will have to start creating an alternative to the rat race to draw others into contact with the anarchist perspective. We need to start building our new world in the vacant lots of the old. The creation of liberated zones, such as the Paris Commune and Berkeley People's Park bring our ideas out of books and our own minds and into practice. The way to capture the imagination of our youth is to turn them on to our

ideas in practice. If they want utopia, they can follow the church zombies, but this crazy frustrating world demands real answers and workable solutions. Experience is the ultimate teacher.

In the process, we will find others open to controversy and new ideas (or old ideas). Our brothers and sisters will learn to develop their own lines and clarify old ideas. I believe the task of revolutionaries is to "rock the boat" and cause as much disruption in people's everyday boring, cold lives as we can get away with.

As people begin to accept the responsibility of their actions, the use of direct action permits each to express their own level of commitment. On an individual level, sabotage (all types, including graffiti, etc.) lets us hammer away at the foundation of the system, while mass action, lets us apply more politics in the form of direct action.

People are not robots and it takes real, human relationships to bring revolution into others' lives. We must expand on just organizing and bring about the realization that we are the revolution and our struggle decides the direction of the future.

In Struggle,
John Potak
Youth In Action
Lehigh Valley Chapter

CARL HARP

Dearest Friends,

I was extremely pleased to receive in this pit the October/November 1979 issue of NAA, and surprised at the quality of your work — most excellent. Everyone I am in contact with outside in the Bay area here is real delighted with NAA and all appreciate the excellent coverage of the **BART** Strike, which is still going on.

As you all know by now I have been transferred to the California State Prison at San Quentin, California (P.O. Box C-7100 after I was

brutally beaten and raped with riot sticks by guards at the Washington State Penitentiary on July 8, 1979. I have been here since July 21st. The reason why they transferred me was I exposed the brutality etc. on me and five other prisoners. I was done this way because I had the audacity to protest the beatings of the later prisoners and demand that it cease — they were maced and beaten by fifteen guards in full riot gear while they were handcuffed to their cell bars. My life is in danger from the guards there, supposedly they have a contract on my life. I was hurt so bad I spent a week in an outside hospital until I passed a lie-detector test, and had my life threatened where others could hear it. At present I am well and doing o.k. I have no idea how long I will be here or in segregation while I am here. A new trial date is set for Dec. 3-7 1979, but the state may dismiss the charges on me and my two Brothers, Robert S. Green Jr. and Clyde C. Washburn who are still in Washington State (P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla Wn., 99362). They sure could use letters — heat is on them bad, and they could be next. The support so far has been International, and I want to let you all know how much that means to me and my two Brothers. Thank you all — I love you very much even when you can only send a post card to say you care, it means the world to us. My deepest thanks to ACF for the defense funds — you have always been good to me, you give me courage and strength in the face of suffering and death. I am pleased about your efforts to build a Prisoners Solidarity Committee. Such a committee is vital to Libertarian prisoners in North America.

The only good state is a state of mind that practices in word and deed its revolutionary thought.

Love and rage,
Carl Harp.

More Letters: See Pg. 14

The politics of topless

by: Frank Stevens

SAN FRANCISCO On a late Saturday afternoon they're getting ready to open along Broadway, around Powell, down on Turk Street. The floors are swept as clean as they ever are, the ice machines are gearing up, rows of glasses are ready to fill. Tape recorders are loaded with hours of disco music, the dancers are in the dressing room, the lights inside grow dimmer ever as the lights outside brighten. Another working day has begun in the sexual fantasy industry. After the last customer leaves in an alcoholic fog and the last cab leaves with a sore-legged dancer, some tens of thousands of dollars will have changed hands — mostly to the benefit of club owners. For them, at least, it was a pretty good night.

Every society based on compulsory labor — which is every society that has ever existed — must have a space for play, for the discharge of all the resentments built up in the course of compulsory labor. The more alienating and oppressive the forms of compulsory labor in a given society, the more attractive and absorbing the forms of its play must be.

As late as the early 1930's, it was thought by such revolutionaries as Reich that rigid sexual repression was an integral and basic part of advanced capitalist societies; indeed, that such societies used sexual repression in order to condition people into obeying all forms of authority.

It is now clear that the upheavals and dislocations during and following World War II had, as one of their effects, the more or less permanent impairment of sexual repression as a supporting member of existing society. Exactly how badly this support had been damaged became clear in the 1960's, when the children of those involved in World War II declared their sexual independence — and made it stick! This time around, there was no retreat.

Still, Reich and his contemporaries were not wholly mistaken. Progressively freer sexual relations really do undermine respect for and obedience to other forms of authority. The problem faced by ruling classes in advanced capitalist countries is essentially how to turn sexual freedom into a commodity, into something which is produced for profit, into something which is bought and sold on the market, into something which supports the present social order instead of subverting it. As is often the case, once a question is correctly asked, there turn out to be lots of useful answers.

One answer turned out to be the whole realm of "socially acceptable" pornography. Beginning with magazines like *Esquire* and *Playboy* in the 1950's, there are now dozens of magazines available in every grocery store and news stand that "sell" sexual freedom along with autos, tape decks, and all sorts of luxury goods. The idea is that sex is "part of the good life" to be purchased on the same basis as other "parts of the good life". An unattractive sexual partner is like an inferior wine. While these magazines were initially directed towards men — which is to be expected in a male-dominated society — there are now several counterparts directed towards women.

Another answer turned out to be the explosion of "quality" hardcore pornographic movies. Made in full color and sound, using attractive performers, and (in a few cases) even a written script, these films attract millions of male viewers every year. To my knowledge, no films have yet been made to particularly appeal to women, but I expect it is



The "sin-strip" in San Francisco. The sexual fantasy business is a growth industry in patriarchal capitalist society. In the article below Frank Stevens looks at this phenomenon from a sympathetic perspective.

only a matter of time. Certainly, there is already the beginning of a pornographic movie industry directed towards gay men.

Still another answer turned out to be the injection of increasing amounts of explicit sex into existing forms of entertainment, not only movies and television but even as apparently irrelevant matters as football cheerleading, etc. Sexual references make people "pay attention" as advertisers have known for some time. One can only assume that making people "pay attention" has become an increasingly urgent social priority.

In these and many other cases, we see the growth of an industry providing sexual fantasy for tens and perhaps hundreds of millions of people. In part, fantasy is a substitute for deprivation in reality — that is, most people most of the time have either boring sex lives or none at all. But fantasy is also fun in its own right; it is the most absorbing and interesting form of play there is — making it all the more needed by a society on the edge of revolution for the last four decades.

Sitting at the bar at Nico's — a topless club. The guy next to me, an engineer for Pacific Gas & Electric, is telling me about his patronage of a high-class operation — the kind where they only accept credit cards. "The only problem is that there was no feeling," he complains, "so I quit going."

We have to make a distinction between sex as a commodity and sexual fantasy as a commodity. Sex as a commodity, that is, prostitution, has been around since the beginnings of patriarchy and class society. With the possible exception of temple prostitution (sex as an act of worship), feelings of closeness were not to the point.

I would suggest that prostitution in advanced capitalist countries will probably decline with time. It is and can only be just another alienating — that is, boring — experience. Whereas more and more people feel that boredom is precisely the problem.

The man who enters a topless club is not going to be bored — and watching a number of attractive women dance in their underwear is the smallest of reasons. For an hour or an evening he is suddenly the attractive, charming witty guy he always wanted to be. The dancers came down from the stage between performances, drink with him, talk with him, laugh and joke with him. It is like a singles bar — without the

pressure to score. If he goes there often, he will become friends with some of the dancers. And there is always the possibility, however, slim in practice, that he will even find a new lover there. It is, in short, fantasy with "feeling". It is also very profitable to the club owner.

I asked Christie, a new topless dancer, how she liked her job. "I enjoy it so much I wonder if there's something wrong with me", she replied. "You get to party all night, talk to interesting men, and get paid for it," she continued. "I didn't expect it would be like this at all." And another new dancer Lynn, said "Being a topless dancer reminded me that I was a woman. I saw all these guys looking at me and it was like I was here just for the fun of it."

The more alienated a given society, the more our feelings of self-worth are derived from the opinions of others, the harder it becomes to place a high value on ourselves regardless of what others think. Our self-worth is determined by the marketplace, like everything else. Topless dancers are not necessarily the most beautiful of women, but they are women who want appreciation of their beauty.

Yet alienation rests on a firm economic base. Lynn quit her job as a draftsman because her employers insisted on a rigid and boring office routine. But Christie became a dancer because it provided the best money she could make to support her year-old son. Dancers earn between \$200 and \$300 a week, far more money than most women can hope to make. Dancing 8 hours a day is, of course, hard work. But so are a lot of other jobs that don't pay nearly as well!

When dancers meet people away from the clubs, they usually say they are "cocktail waitresses" or some such. It is still slightly "shameful" to be a topless dancer. It may take another decade or two before dancers fully understand that the kind of people who look down on topless dancers are the same people who look up to cops, clergymen, executives and politicians — that is assholes who look up to bigger assholes!

Tara said to me one evening, "Why do men prefer one dancer over another?" "It's all pretty subjective," I replied, "but I don't think it's just beauty or dancing ability. What I notice is whether or not the dancer sees the people out here watching and relates to them, plays games with them, smiles at them, makes jokes with them, and

so on. If a dancer is bored and seems like her head is a million miles away, then watching her is boring. When you seem like you are enjoying dancing for us, then it's enjoyable for us to watch."

Human beings are social animals and the thirst for contact with other humans never wholly dies until that person dies. No matter how distorted the channels provided for such contact by a given society, the attempt to humanize those channels and transform them into a less alienating form never ceases.

People still go to hear live music — even though perfect visual and audio reproduction now exists. And so it is with sexual fantasy; we "know" it only exists because it is socially and financially profitable, but we "forget" that in our wish to make it exist for its own validity, for pleasure and enjoyment between human beings. It's only the club owner that never forgets the real meaning.

Nico, the owner of a topless club, is the sort of bastard that even pimps look down on. Where other club owners sit back and count their money or content themselves with occasional lectures to the dancers to hustle more drinks from the customers, Nico specializes in publicly humiliating his employees. Nico bitterly complains that "tits & ass" can make "an easy living" while "he has to work hard for every dollar". Few dancers can stand to work for him more than a month or two. And, if all that wasn't bad enough, he puts pressure on the dancers to become involved with him personally. When Nico is not around his club, one of the commonest topics of conversation among dancers and customers alike is how soon someone is going to blow that asshole away.

Without going into a technical argument about the precise nature of the working class, it's easy to see that dancers resemble workers in other industries that are characterized by multitudes of small employers.

While unionization is almost nonexistent and employees are encouraged to be competitive towards each other, in fact there is quite a lot of small-scale solidarity, among topless dancers. They share costumes, dance routines, cover up for each other in the face of the boss, and even applaud each others' routines. They tip each other off to job openings, lend each other money, and occasionally, will spontaneously quit when one of their

numbers gets fired in a particularly outrageous fashion.

While wages are relatively high, other working conditions more closely resemble other industries dominated by small employers: no benefits, no medical plan, no paid sick leave, no paid vacation, an 8 hour shift can expand to 10 or 12 hours. And even 8 hours without a meal break is rough to take — the dancer's favorite customer is the guy who brings in a bag of peanuts or something else to snack on.

The biggest occupational hazard for dancers is alcoholism, followed closely by drug addiction (heroin). In San Francisco as in most cities, the explosion in the sexual fantasy industry was first exploited by elements of organized crime. Even when club owners are not themselves involved in the rackets or with the mob, they often know those people and some of them hang out in the topless clubs. For a tense and tired dancer, the offer to get high is a difficult one to refuse. And, of course, a dancer's employment depends directly on the number of drinks that customers buy her — drinks are normally non-alcoholic, but they don't have to be.

Nico fired Lynn one night because she was too sick to dance. The next night Lynn came in to pick up her last check and all the dancers and a number of customers hugged her goodbye and wished her luck (while Nico sat in the corner and glowered). Later I talked to Lynn's sister Lolita about how this bullshit spoiled everyone's pleasure. "It's true", she said, "but that's what always happens when you come in often enough and get to know us. You find out we're just people."

Like all other commodities, fantasy has its own built-in obsolescence. Lolita and Tara went off to India to follow some guru. Lynn and Carmine went off to school in Sacramento. Angie finished bartending school and is looking for work. Natalie is the new headliner on Sutter Street.

Then one night they introduce you to "the new girl", Kris or her roommate Christie or whoever, and the fantasy begins again.

Getting fed up with the bullshit at Nico's, I went over to the Hebe's Cup on Powell. The tape deck began Donna Summers' "Bad Girls" and suddenly all the dancers and waitresses rush on to the stage. "That's us" shouts Abby, the barmaid, and joins the dancers. For a little while, the fantasy is almost solid, almost real. This is not part of the routine. The men look around at each other and at the dancers with silly grins on our faces.

Patriarchal societies create their own feminist undergrounds. The idea of the intelligent, competent, and sexually aggressive woman always lurks behind the "ideal" of female submission and passivity. There is always a place for her in male-dominated societies, however "unrespectable" that place might be formally regarded. It is almost as if some men revolt half-consciously against the social role of tyrant over women. They seek out rebellious women — and, of course, they always find them because they are always present.

But it's a tense relationship under the best of circumstances. As women become more sophisticated and assert their autonomy with greater effectiveness, every man will be compelled to examine his own feelings again and again.

About one out of every two men who approach the doors of a topless

Cont.: See Topless Pg. 10

Notes on an action that failed



The Wineva-Queen building in happier times. Pushkin's Depot, a hip-capitalist "non-sectarian" left bookstore, continued to operate even after the building was totalled.

by: D.J.

Author's Note: Throughout the period described in this article the building changed hands a mindboggling number of times. In the interest of making a long story short all the people, institutions, and strange sounding associations are herein described as the landlord.

INTRODUCTION

For over two years tenants in a 20 unit building in Toronto's east end successfully organized against their landlord(s), fighting evictions, rent increases, and arbitrary harassment. Although ultimately a failure, as the landlord eventually succeeded in evicting the entire population of the building (supposedly so that it could be renovated), the action taught the tenants many valuable lessons. The following account will attempt to throw some light on these events.

The past few years in Toronto have seen very little new housing construction. Virtually no rental stock has been added at a time when demand for it has soared. What new construction there is has been high rent. Owners of older buildings such as the one at Queen and Wineva, described in the article, have been caught in a squeeze between rising costs on the one hand and rent control on the other. This situation has encouraged landlords to convert their buildings to luxury accommodation, their only legal route to higher rents, or divide their holdings into so-called "bachelorettes" (single or two room units with hot-plate or shared kitchen-bath), effectively doubling occupancy. This is illegal, but sanctioned by corrupt building authorities. If these trends continue, there will be a large number of under-housed people in areas with rent control. The kind of action that was used at Queen and Wineva could be used with effect when unrest and the Spirit of Revolt spreads its wings in the grey cores of our cities.

IT ALL BEGINS

By early '77 the building (1914) had not been maintained for several years. This situation was tolerated by the older, established tenants, including those who had lived there since the '40s and '50s. The rest of the tenants, mostly younger and more transient, accepted conditions, for the most part glad to have a place to live in one of the more inspiring areas of the city.

Throughout the summer of 1977 the landlord began jacking up the rents of units that had become vacant, illegal, but possible. Because of the high turnover of some units, rents rose as much as 50% in one year. The original impulse to organize was sparked by a woman who, after moving in, discovered that the previous rent charged was

tenants were uneasy with the idea, but were forced to see the basic logic of this move.

The first formal meeting was called. This was sparsely attended but the decision was taken to federate with the FMTA. Everyone got a blue card with his or her name on it. This seemed to make some people happy and gave them confidence in an organization which they knew existed in their building but with which they had had no previous dealings or affinity.

ings with the previous owner of our building, conveniently jacking up the prices for each other. This revelation not only shattered grounds for an increase but seriously undermined the foundation of Ontario rent review legislation, a point that was not lost on the arbitrator, although he wouldn't admit this when pressed.

The rest of our motley crew (ranging from old men to young mothers, children and freex of ev-

tegrity, complaints about leaky pipes and other problems which had faded into irrelevancy once the basic battle lines over rent were established.

This was to our advantage, as it dragged out the proceedings and impressed on the arbitrator the need for avoiding an appeal, which he did by establishing the relatively low increase of 8 1/2%.

The landlord then took the only option legally open to him. Less than a month later he began serving eviction notices for renovations. At this point things began to fall apart.

THE END

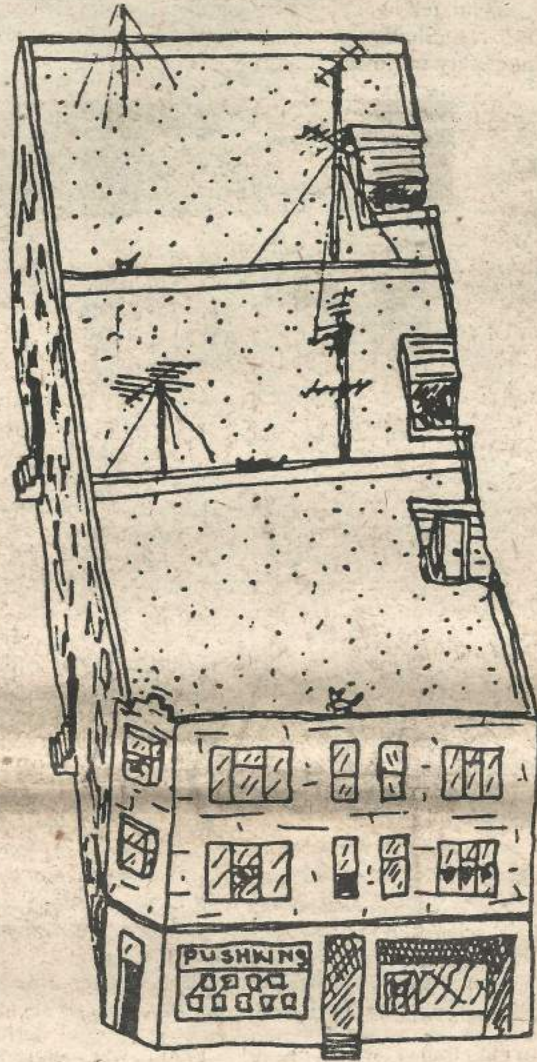
A lot of people, believing this to be the last straw and refusing to believe otherwise, began to move out. Meetings to plan future strategy were not well attended and a strange fatalism descended. Basically we had no legal way out. We either had to cross the line of legality, which a cohesive minority did by commencing a rent strike, or submit, which the majority did by moving out. The reasons for the exodus varied. Some relatively wealthy tenants simply bought houses and solved their housing problem forever. Others moved for personal reasons. As units were vacated they were not rented.

This left a rather exposed group of strikers. These people were basically poor and included the original core of activists. It's not hard to be a striker if you have no money. Some tenants stayed for over five months without paying any rent, and were joined by a squatter for a few months. This would have been a perfect situation for squatting — loads of empty apartments and a group of militants already in residence, but it didn't happen in force, probably because of a lack of communication with the rest of the community, or a shortage of desperate people (hard to believe). The strikers fought off landlords, sheriffs and the like with our original tactic of refusing to take them seriously.

EPILOGUE

Even before the last holdouts left, demolition work had begun. The entire building was gutted by early '79, then mysteriously abandoned. Whether the owners actually intended to renovate or not is hard to say. Perhaps they figured that the building would be easier to manage (as an investment?) without tenants. The Queen/Wineva apartments stand today as an empty shell. Perhaps a grim warning that a lot of people will have to be pretty desperate before the step beyond strikes, to occupations, will take place.

WINEVA & QUEEN



The building was sold several times in the following months to landlords who hoped to impose rent increases or renovate but who rapidly resold it (sometimes at great profit) when they felt the strength of the opposition.

In the fall of '78 a new landlord tried to claim a 30% rent increase through the legal loophole of going before the rent review board. In most cases these affairs are attended by a government arbitrator, the landlord and his lawyer. The tenants then passively accept the verdict. In our case, however, the weight of the previous year's harassment was fresh in everyone's mind. A preparatory meeting was held and was the best attended, involving virtually the entire building. The mood was very militant, affecting those who were by no means militant in other respects. We planned to pack the hearing and the turnout was very good for the hearing itself.

The landlord's team was psychologically bowled over by the comfortably full room. A rep. from FMTA was present to throw some legal arguments and expose some of the landlord's shady dealings of the past, the fruit of diligent research. The key weapon in this arsenal was the fact that the grounds for an increase in rent was the increase in mortgage costs. We showed that the landlord had in fact traded build-

ery description) were content to watch the show and cheer our side when we made a point and deride the opposing team whenever they attempted to make one of their own. When we got bored we spontaneously confused the proceedings with comments on the landlord's in-



What hath "development" wrought? What was once a thriving mini-community is today a gutted shell.

Looking back on Iran

by: Lazarus Jones

The street barricades have long since disappeared and the anti-Shah slogans that once emblazoned every inch of wall space in Tehran have been obliterated by teams of Islamic white-painters. It is best not to have reminders of how fragile are the underpinnings of autocracy when one is attempting to construct a new dictatorship.

The wave of popular revulsion that swept the Shah from his peacock throne and put an end to his comic opera pretensions of imperial grandeur carried in its wake the flotsam and jetsam of clerical reaction. The theocratic state envisioned by the Ayatollah Khomeini will clearly be even more reactionary and repressive than even the Shah's.

The Shah fell victim to the classic formula for social revolution — rapid economic and social development in the context of a rigid and repressive socio-political system. From the moment he ascended the throne for the second time in August of 1953, courtesy of a CIA orchestrated coup that bowled over the feeble bourgeois regime of Mossadeq, the Shah was determined to ruthlessly crush any and all opposition to the autocracy. In the years that followed thousands upon thousands of people were put through the hideous SAVAK meat-grinder. Imprisonment, exile, torture and death were the lot of any individual who dared oppose the Shah and secular dissent became almost unthinkable.

VEILED CONTEMPT

The only place where open opposition to the Shah could be vocalized was inside the mosque. The Shah's thinly veiled contempt for Islam and his program of massive industrialization, that inevitably opened Iran to "decadent" Western cultural influences, had earned him the implacable enmity of the mullahs and ayatollahs. Throughout Iran a vast network of over 200,000 mullahs operating from thousands of mosques tirelessly preached against the Shah. To the largely illiterate Iranian masses the mullahs came to symbolize opposition to the Shah, a fact that was to have deadly implications for the coming revolution.

In the economic sphere the Shah's monopoly of oil revenue led to what was essentially a bourgeois revolution without the participation of the bourgeoisie. With the massive increase in oil revenues following the OPEC price hikes in 1973 (Iranian oil revenues the following year were almost quadruple the 1973 level rising from \$5.6 billion to \$22 billion) the Shah began a one-man industrial revolution. The incipient Iranian bourgeoisie of the Bazaar were excluded from political power by the institution of the monarchy and could only look forward to a steady decline in their economic power as a result of the Shah's policies. Thus, because of his megalomania and greed, the Shah had effectively alienated the two stablest pillars of fascist, reactionary regimes — the peasantry and the middle classes. The Shah was totally isolated. In the final analysis only the Officer Corps and SAVAK could be counted on to support the autocracy.

POLITICAL ISOLATION

The Shah's political isolation was aggravated by the extreme centralization of Iran's urban population. Tehran, the largest city in the world without a sewer system, is seven times larger than the second most populous Iranian city. Its population of 4.5 million dwarfs the 671,825 of the second

largest city of Isfahan. In Tehran also, the contradictions of Iranian society were laid out for all to see. Massive projects in industry and imperial glory stood side by side with slums in a city that lacked even the most rudimentary social amenities. Beginning in 1978 Tehran was the scene of immense anti-Shah demonstrations. The Shah ordered his army to suppress the demonstrations and hundreds died as the army fired point blank into the crowds. The only result of this butchery was that the demonstrations became ever larger and more militant. The Shah and his advisers realized that a national army can not be counted on to slaughter their fellow citizens indefinitely. The Shah was rapidly losing the ability to govern Iran or

Revolution, at least as far as the Bolshevik left is concerned, is that if anyone is playing the role of Lenin in Iran that person is Khomeini. He has channeled a mass of revolutionary movement springing from the very material, and very secular, contradictions of Iranian society into the reified, dogmatic mould of Islamic fundamentalism. Khomeini is attempting to fit the Iranian Revolution to his own Procrustean bed, much the same as Lenin did in Russia. Tactically, as Lenin did, Khomeini has completely outmaneuvered his leftist opponents. Like Lenin he saw the necessity of seizing state power as a prelude to the imposition of a new dictatorship. Like Lenin he substitutes revolutionary rhetoric for revolutionary action. And like



Tehran shooting gallery. Islamic loonies get their kicks shooting at pictures of Iranian pop stars and, in the lower-left corner, the Shah himself.

even to maintain a semblance of control. The final blow came when the workers in the oilfields of Khuzestan declared a general strike. Without a steady flow of oil, and the revenues it produced, the Shah's economic house-of-cards collapsed. With the economy in a shambles and the army on the verge of mutiny the Shah scrambled aboard his private jet, clutching a boxful of Iranian dirt, and fled the country to pursue a new career as an international pariah.

The Shah's pathetic puppet, Bakhtiar, attempted to pick-up the pieces only to be swept contemptuously aside by the revolutionary upsurge. For a brief moment the Iranian masses inhaled the exhilarating air of freedom. Ignored, for the moment, was the dark shadow cast by Khomeini over the Iranian Revolution.

FREE REIN

For the first few months leftist organizations were given free rein. The two major leftist guerilla groups, the Mojahidin and the Fedayin, had acquitted themselves well in the final military confrontations with the Shah's army and it would have been unwise for Khomeini to move against them immediately. The left in Iran had in exaggerated view of its power and importance and the ayatollah was quite willing to bide his time. While the Mojahidin and the Fedayin gloried in their new found freedom Khomeini and the mullahs strengthened their grip on the state apparatus.

The great irony of the Iranian

Lenin Khomeini appreciates the convenience of labelling all opposition to his dictatorship "counter-revolutionary."

Resistance, at this point in time, to Khomeini's Islamic "revolution" is fragmented and sporadic. The left in Iran, though still capable of armed resistance to a direct attack, is largely helpless. They can only squirm as Khomeini gradually tightens the noose. The left's newspapers are closed, their militants are harassed and arrested. Slowly, but surely, the socio-psychological prerequisites for a bloodbath are put into place. And, in a move as predictable as it was chilling, the infamous SAVAK has been resurrected under the name of SAVAME.



The Ayatollah Khomeini hanks into the microphone.

STATE POWER?

No one can know with certainty what the future holds for Iran. In the short-term the Islamic regime of Khomeini will almost certainly be able to maintain its hegemony over the state apparatus, though it is still debatable whether they actually possess state power or not. The vast network of mosques and mullahs with their private armies of armed Islamic thugs, supplemented by the rehabilitated SAVAK/SAVAME, give Khomeini a potent power base. But, in the long-term, the outlook for Khomeini and his "Revolutionary Council" is bleak indeed.

The ayatollahs and mullahs have proved totally incapable of dealing with the vast social and economic problems that gave rise to the revolution in the first place. Khomeini's Iranian chauvinism, which has already led to bloody clashes with the Kurds, will prove to be a dangerous liability in a nation where the Iranians constitute a bare majority of the population. Khomeini's pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric can temporarily obscure the real problems facing Iran, but the weakness and incompetence of the Islamic regime will daily become more apparent.

The mullah's response will undoubtedly be to crush any manifestations of resistance to the Islamic tyranny. The left, initially,

will bear the brunt of this repression. The Mojahidin and Fedayin have been handed the devil's role in Khomeini's theocratic state and they will have little choice other than to play it. But dictatorships have an insatiable need for scapegoats to divert attention from their own shortcomings and the circle of victims will inexorably widen. Ironically, Khomeini, by instituting his Islamic regime may well have sounded the eventual deathknell for Islam. By seizing state power on the crest of a wave of popular revolution the mullahs have placed themselves in grave jeopardy. They have neither the will, nor the ability, to satisfy the peoples expectations. The ayatollahs only recourse against the growing disenchantment will be to tighten the screws of repression still more which will inevitably alienate greater and greater sections of the populace. By assuming state power the mullahs have focussed upon themselves all the forces fighting for freedom and a just economic order. The masses who turfed the Shah from his throne may not yet be ready to storm the gates of heaven, but it is incontestable that no real progress can be hoped for in Iran until the people finally, and irrevocably, free themselves from the thrall of superstition and the rule of malignant toads such as Khomeini and his ilk.

IRAN UPDATE: THE SKIDS ARE GREASED

BY: Lazarus Jones

As we went to press the hostage drama in Tehran was unresolved. The Ayatollah sat in Qum mumbling such inanities as: "If Jesus Christ were alive today he would impeach Carter." (*Globe and Mail*; November 12/79). And Mehdi Bazargan and his ministers, tired of playing straightmen to Khomeini's clown-show, had just resigned.

The main question arising out of this hideous mess is — just how long can Khomeini's crazed Islamic republic survive before it crumbles under the weight of its own absurdity and incompetence? Or, as *The Economist* mused: "How can a country the size, intelligence and importance of Iran survive government by a turmoil of theologians chasing one another into ever more rigid obscurantism?" (*The Economist*; November 10-16/79).

The enfeebled Iranian bourgeoisie can do little more than stand around the sidelines, wringing their hands, as Iran slides into chaos. The armed forces, even though rent by dissension and factionalism, seem to be the only institution that has maintained some semblance of stability. As such, they will play a crucial role in the transition to whatever form of government replaces Khomeini and the mullahs.

This is not to say that an armed forces *coup d'état* is likely or even possible at this time. It will take a few more fiascos of the American embassy type, and a wholesale disenchantment with the mullahs, to prepare the way for that possibility.

The seizure of the staff of the American embassy has completed Iran's isolation on the international stage. Even Iran's Islamic neighbours are becoming increasingly hostile, as Khomeini's antics bring Islam into disrepute. The attempt to "extradite" the Shah is bound to fail, with unknown consequences for the more than 60 hostages.

Whether the pathetic exiled Shah, either undergoing treatment for cancer or massive plastic surgery, depending on which rumour you believe, still has a role to play in Iran is uncertain.

Certainly anything is possible, up to and including a monarchical restoration, under the son of course, not the father. Meanwhile, as they say in Iran, Long Live Death!

The Soviet Left

by: Joey Stalin

Recent news from the USSR indicates a new force has emerged within the Soviet dissident movement which bears a striking similarity to the now defunct New Left of the West.

During the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a group of Leningrad youths publicly distributed leaflets attacking the ruling party's Stalinism and advocating a more humanistic form of socialism. Soon after some 30

people were subjected to interrogations. Most were students.

Firm evidence was accumulated against only one 17 year old student, Andrei Reznikov. Andrei was then tried and convicted for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. He was sentenced to 2 years of hard labour but was released after 2 months because of his youth only to be conscripted into the army. The others did not fully escape persecution either. Many were either blacklisted or expelled from school.

Cont.: See Left Pg. 12

Anarchist Feminist Notes

Move Underway to Eliminate Sex Wage Gap

Congress passed the Equal Pay Act to stop blatant forms of sex discrimination. No longer can a woman working on an assembly line receive lower wages than her male counterpart. The effect of the act was minimal.

Sixteen years after Congress ordered employers to give women workers equal pay for equal work, the male — female wage gap in the United States is as wide as ever. The average woman worker still earns about 60% of a typical male worker's wages.

One of the reasons for the wage gap is because the majority of women in the labour force work in all-female job ghettos and employers have so far successfully argued that women's work in these job ghettos is not "equal" to work in other fields. These arguments are supported by popular but untrue notions that women are secondary wage earners, that women work only for frivolous reasons, and that women are physically and intellectually incapable of doing a "man's job".

However, there is a growing movement among women's rights organizations and labour unions to eliminate the sex wage gap by promoting that idea known as "equal pay for work of equal value." The movement holds that women in all female job categories should be paid at least as much as workers in other fields of work.

Advocates and critics alike agree that the principle, if it catches on, might overhaul the way employers determine salaries and redirect billions of dollars into the pocketbooks of women. The advocates of the movement see it as a way of eliminating the economic inequality of women and men and eventually eliminating the social inequalities that exist by demonstrating that all labour is socially useful.

Employers already are lining up against it, branding it as a radical approach that ignores the free market laws of supply and demand. They contend it would be inflationary and would cause chaos in personnel offices around the country.

Domestic Workers: Then and Now

The plight of domestic workers has changed very little in the past eighty years. There are fewer domestic servants now but still the hours are long, the work is heavy and the pay is low. The work is so undesirable that employers often have to look abroad for women to fill domestic positions in Canada.

During the early 1900's, Canada's Immigration policies were largely shaped by the demand and supply of domestic servants. The women brought over to Canada were usually from Scotland, Ireland or the poorer sections of England. A servant was often indentured to her employer for a length of time. In times of high unemployment the law dealt strictly with women who did not keep their contract with their employers. Today most domestics are recruited from the Caribbean by the Immigration Department. They are lured into domestic service by promises of good jobs and bright futures which rarely come true.

If a servant quits her job she is termed an illegal immigrant and faces jail and deportation. Sexual harassment is widespread and verbal and physical abuse are not uncommon but these are deemed insufficient reasons why a domestic should change employers by the immigration officials.

Recruitment of servants in the old days was primarily a response to the employers' need for domestic help but was usually portrayed as a charitable activity. Because servants often came from the most underprivileged sections of society, entering domestic service often meant some improvement in their lives and employers were sure to point this out, thus rationalizing their own exploitation of domestics.

Today the recruitment of servants from exploited nations is still portrayed as a charitable activity. But the domestic servant's so called marginally better standard of living is more than counter balanced by the isolation from family and friends and the harassment from the Immigration department.

The typical servant earns less than \$100 per week for 60 to 80 hour work per week. The servant's employer is exempt from the minimum wage law and occupational safety and health regulations. Although domestic servants are required to pay taxes, medicare and unemployment insurance they are not allowed to collect any benefits. If a domestic loses her job due to illness or any other factor she is deported.

At the turn of the century a domestic worker earned about two dollars a week for 60 to 80 hours of work. After she had fulfilled her contractual obligations to her employer she was allowed to find other work and it times of labour shortages, she was encouraged to work in factories and offices.

There have been many attempts to unionize domestic servants. The early attempts were failures because of the scattered nature of the employment and the difficulty of attending meetings. Collective action was almost impossible because the workers were from the most vulnerable sections of society and subject to harsh reprisals from employers.

Today, laws exist which prevent non-Canadians from participating in any undesirable political activity and union activity would most certainly seem to the Immigration department to be an undesirable political activity. The declining number of domestic servants also add to the difficulties of forming a union. However, despite these problems many domestic workers (mostly daily cleaning women) have again started to fight for minimum wage, 40 hour work week, week ends off, detailed job description, paid vacations, the right to unemployment insurance and medicare, and the right to change jobs freely.

Dangers of Patriarchy

by: Frank Stevens

No doubt about it, surviving the last remaining decades of class society is tough. Stress and danger on the job, crime in the streets, chemical and nuclear poisoning, the hazards of defective consumer products, the threat of the war that will really end all wars.

We do whatever we can to minimize some of these dangers. We try to get an easier job. We move to an area distant from nuclear plants. We don't fly DC-10's. We try to get by.

The problem is that all of our efforts to maximize our personal safety can prove useless when we involved ourselves or let ourselves be involved with the institution that, above all, is supposed to "protect" us — the patriarchal family.

As anarchists, feminists, etc., we "know" all the political criticisms of the patriarchal family. It conditions people to accept authority. It makes people indifferent to the welfare of all those not part of the family. Its politics tend to reflect the most conservative of its members. It perpetuates the most reactionary sexual role models. We "know" all this to be true and, even if we didn't know it, the authorities of Government, Church, and Business are always reminding us. One can only wonder how all this "knowledge" can be overlooked even by the people who "know" it best.

What I am saying is that even anarchists and feminists seem to have the greatest difficulty in breaking away from the patriarchal family. We don't think much of white liberals who denounce racism in the abstract but send their children to all-white schools; what are people to think of us, condemning patriarchy in the abstract while busily setting up our own little replicas?

Some arguments are more effective than others; if abstract political criticisms don't change people's behavior in a progressive direction, then maybe a more basic concern for one's personal safety will provide the necessary incentive. Overt racism tends to decline sharply in the presence of aggressive black people.

In politics and on the job what I've heard in the last 20 years about life in the patriarchal family was certainly enough to scare me off. At best, being related to someone is a license to act like an asshole or parasite. The worst is very much worse indeed.

The problem seems to be that people still regard a "blood relationship" as something more than an accident of birth. One is supposed to tolerate behavior from one's parents, children, etc. that one would never tolerate from a non-relative. This is all in the name of "love", but idiocy would be a more apt designation. Those few patriarchal families that I've seen "close up" seem mostly to operate on the energies of spite and hatred, a kind of protracted guerrilla war waged mostly in words . . . mostly, but not entirely.

And that is the real danger — the fact that the patriarchal family is the most violent institution of all class society with only two exceptions: the police and the military! You are more likely to get physically attacked, injured, or killed by someone you "are related to" than in any other social context.

In retrospect, there should not be anything surprising about this. An institution which plays such a powerful role in forcing people to accept oppression and tyranny could only be based on the most extreme violence. For centuries the patriarchal family has been the real front-line of the class struggle; it

has been the weakening of the family in the 20th Century which has compelled the ruling class to rely more and more on police and military violence to retain their power.

As the myth and sanctity of the patriarchal family declines, the truth comes out. The truth is that the marriage license is a license for men to hit and rape women, a license for men to abuse children sexually, a license of both men and women to beat, starve, and murder children; in all, a license for the strong to prey on the weak in the most brutal fashion! As has been documented in the capitalist media to the hilt, this license has not gone unused!

The rationale for all this is not unfamiliar: "She's my wife and they're my kids and I can do anything I want with my own (Property)." The ancient notion of human beings as property though discredited almost everywhere, still hangs on in the patriarchal family. This ancient notion can, of course, justify any atrocity.

This is what so many still aspire to, even those who should know better. This is what is supposed to protect us when the world turns against us. And this is what people in terror call the police to protect them from!

And the cops are reluctant to show up; not surprising considering that "domestic disputes" account for 20% of all police fatalities. Even those proud to call themselves professional killers in service to the State are downright uneasy in the unmasked presence of the patriarchal family.

Some defenders of patriarchy admit that all these horrible things are true, but blame them on the

Kamalla Miller

State steps in

by: Brian Amesly

Extradition orders for the return of Kamalla Miller have been signed by Gov.'s Brown of California and Clinton of Arkansas. She is now virtually certain to stand trial in Orange County, California.

As reported in the last issue of the *North American Anarchist*, Kamalla is alleged to have "kidnapped" her own daughter, Ishka.

Ishka had been left temporarily with Kamalla's Parents while Kamalla and her then husband Arthur J. Miller sought work to pull themselves out of a situation of unemployment and poverty. When Arthur found work as an oil engineer, the couple went to retrieve Ishka, only to find Kamalla's parents suing for custody.

During the trial the presiding judge requested a report to determine Arthur's worthiness as a parent. The report adopted a very negative view of Arthur, based upon his history of radical political activity and relatively low income compared to his in-laws. The Millers lost the case and Kamalla reacted in desperation by taking Ishka. She then went into hiding until she was arrested about a year later.

Kamalla was thrown in the Carrol County Jail in Berryville, Arkansas on \$100,000 bail, awaiting extradition proceedings. During that time she was raped in her cell and denied medical attention for her epilepsy. Fortunately, her lawyers later managed to get her bail lowered to \$5,000 so she could be released.

While Kamalla was being subjected to this ordeal, defense efforts grew on her behalf, including a massive letter writing campaign by her supporters to Gov. Clinton — who signed the order for her extradition anyway. It had been hoped he could be pressured into refusing, which would have paved the way

modern nuclear family. They say things were different with the extended family", where many relatives lived under one roof. Putting aside the fact that extended families even when they existed were largely limited to the upper classes, there is no evidence to indicate that things were really any different then, simply better concealed. The literature of the 19th Century is full of horror stories about forced marriages, brutality to children, etc., not to mention that particular characteristic of emerging capitalism, child labor. All the modern nuclear family has done is to simplify matters, making it clearer what patriarchal relationships really mean.

All of us grew up under patriarchy; all of us carry what might be called patriarchal expectations. Anarchists and feminists still go on maintaining patriarchal relationships out of habit. Anarchists and feminists still have patriarchal assumptions in their relationships with other anarchists and feminists. Due to many other social causes, patriarchy continues to slowly weaken and, since we live in society, patriarchy slowly weakens among us as well. But we should really do better.

Anarchists talk of the principle of free association; the idea that human activity should take place on a voluntary basis in which people perceive a commonality of interest and purpose. Is it entirely too much to ask that this noble sentiment be applied in our personal lives?

Before answering, consider the alternatives. To continue to main-

tain the patriarchal "relationships of blood" could mean the loss of your own in fatal quantities.

for squashing the extradition order at its source in California.

Media Bias Overcome

In recent weeks the case has attracted a considerable amount of publicity in the mass media. The *L.A. Times* was one of the first major newspapers to report on it. Initially it essentially repeated the views of Kamalla's parents and their friends in the police department. Kamalla and Arthur were portrayed as abusive and even homicidal. However, when lawyers for the Millers reacted by threatening the *L.A. Times* with a libel suit, it did an about face and started presenting a considerably more accurate view of the situation.

Elsewhere, a more crucial victory has been scored by the defense. The *California Social Services Dept.* launched an investigation of Kamalla's parents to determine whether they were suitable guardians for Ishka. The report concluded they weren't, and opposed returning Ishka to them in California.

Nonetheless, Kamalla is in grave danger. Orange County, where the trial will be held, is noted for its strongly right-wing political climate. Furthermore, Kamalla is also at a disadvantage insofar as her wealthy parents have many more financial resources at their disposal and the precedent of the previous ruling is in their favour. Therefore, Kamalla urgently needs as much support as possible if she is to receive justice. Interested persons should contact *Bayou La Rose*, 2115 Esplanada Ave., New Orleans, La. 70119 (504-943-7041), *The Committee To Support Kamalla Miller*, 3304 Clinton Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408 (612-827-6332) or the I.W.W. General Defense Committee, Box 306, Station E, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Psychiatry and the State

by: Zero/Smash

Far from being a tool with which minds are liberated, psychiatry has traditionally been one of the most effective means of destroying the human spirit and impulse toward freedom. This article is based in part on an essay by Thomas Szasz published in *Inquiry* magazine.¹ That Szasz has realized this and been one of the few critical voices from the within the wasteland is commendable.

But to accept the portrayal of Szasz as a "libertarian" is equally misleading. This essay is an attempt not only to evaluate the role played by psychiatry in the Dan White trial but also to take Szasz' analysis a step further; from a superficial to genuinely libertarian perspective.

The history of psychiatry is one of theories changing in chameleon-like fashion depending on the purpose of its manipulators at the time.² The common tie binding these changes is the violent abuse of "patients" in the name of medical treatment. The medical justification of psychiatric techniques has been at best a metaphor and at worst a mystifying lie.

Disease or Disagreement?

Although it is possible to medically isolate diseased tissue, it is not realistic to assume this can be done with human experience. Abnormal functioning of an organ may very well indicate physical disease, but non-conformist or apparently "abnormal" behavior does not indicate "mental illness".

Disregarding reality, psychiatrists continue to impose their "treatments" on the "mentally ill" individuals they believe to be all around them. While creating these scapegoats, they depict the actual violence of those considered "normal" as not only excusable but as beneficial.

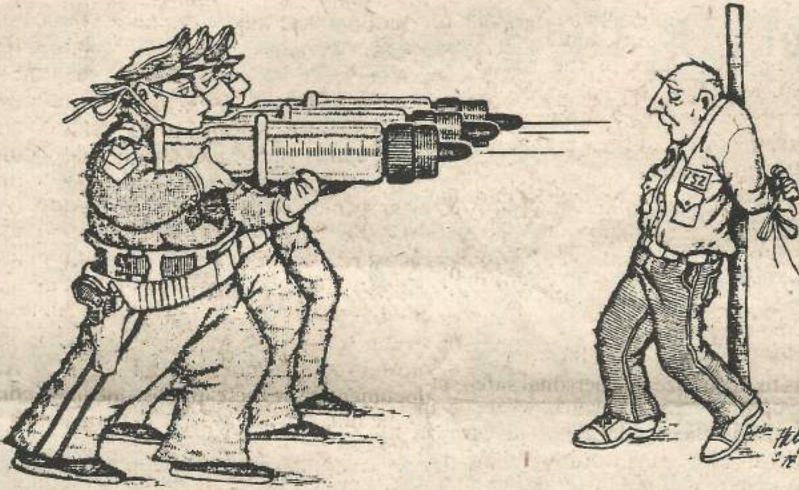
Psychiatry accepts the bizarre behavior of military-industrial-political leaders while at the same time stigmatizing those who oppose it.

You can be discharged as "mentally unfit" if you refuse or are unable to kill when ordered to by your commanding officer. You may be diagnosed as a "psychopathic deviate" for striking out at those subjecting you to inequality. But you'll never have to worry about your sanity being questioned if you have the power and capital to protect yourself. You may endanger and lay waste to the lives of others — be a jailer, soldier, executive, nuker. As long as you accept the "superiority" and "authority" of those who rule, or are a ruler yourself, you're safe — psychiatrically speaking.

What is 'Insane Violence'?

The feared violence of the "mad" person is a reflection of institutional violence. The tools of psychiatry have in the past included the dungeon, physical torture, starvation, prisons/asylums, blood-letting, and straight-jackets. Modern barbarity includes the state hospital, behavior modification, brain surgery, electric shock, and the chemical straight-jacket.

This "treatment" has become an accepted part of "vital social institutions", being "sanctioned by both law and tradition". These social institutions include the state, the family, and the medical profession. Together they work to destroy individual freedom. The "state authorizes involuntary incarceration of "dangerous" mental patients; the family approves and makes use of the arrangement; the medical profession, through psychiatry, administers the institution and supplies the necessary justification for



it."³ And the police are always on hand to apprehend and remove "dangerous" persons.

This has all lead to a "therapeutic state". The cornerstone of this state was laid by Brock Chisolm, a former director general of medical services of the Canadian army, head of the World Federation of Mental Health, and director of the World Health Organization. In 1946 he stated "the belated objectives of practically all effective psychotherapy are the reinterpretation and eventual eradication of the concepts of right and wrong. If the race is to be freed from its crippling burden of good and evil it must be psychiatrists who take original responsibility."⁴ Any such questions are felt to be, at least by Chisolm, beyond the grasp of the rest of us.

Consumers of Mental Health

The therapeutic state which Szasz describes is inseparably bound to economics. It is in the interest of the controllers of society that a growing number be invalidated and diagnosed as "mentally ill." This is due to the fact that "in industrial nations people are becoming increasingly expendable, unnecessary as producers."⁵ However, if you are not going to produce you must still be a consumer if you expect to continue as a member of society. These "unfit producers" thus become consumers of mental health care. In this way individuals are transformed into products which "professionals" perform work on and use to support their lifestyles.

The therapeutic state, which aims to repair defective minds, thus gives meaning to the lives of those administering "therapy" by robbing the "patients" of theirs. This meaning is based on the view psychiatrists hold of themselves as humanitarians who relieve suffering. The unfortunate reality is quite the opposite — they compound the individual's suffering while destroying his/her ability to cope.

The Case of Dan White

It is in this historical light that we arrive at the peculiar relationship of psychiatry and the court system, and how this relates to Dan White. White, a former police officer, was a supervisor (member of the governing board) of San Francisco. In November 1978 White, a political conservative, entered city hall with a gun and killed the liberal mayor of the city, George Moscone, and a gay activist also a member of the board of supervisors, Harvey Milk. For this White was convicted of manslaughter on May 21 and sentenced to seven years.

As anarchists we waste no tears over the death of another pair of politicians. But here the attack represents the violence of macho culture against emerging public consciousness of gay rights.

The minimal sentence enraged

San Francisco gays. Riots followed in which city hall and police cars were burned. The police retaliated by invading gay neighborhoods randomly attacking people (for details see NAA no. 1, Oct-Nov).

Psychiatrists at Court

Psychiatrists played a key role in White's trial, as they do in many others. In this case, psychiatrists "legitimized" White's feelings behind the murders, and convinced the judge and jury that he should get off lightly.

When a psychiatrist is asked to testify in court s/he can be relied upon in almost all cases to represent the interests of the state. Impartiality is a facade. When entering the courtroom s/he is perfectly aware of the values to be protected and class interests to represent. The psychiatrist knows the limits within which to function and what evaluations will be acceptable. These values are so ingrained that the psychiatrist will come to her/his conclusions in an automatic manner and may actually believe in what s/he is doing. S/he is a well paid "expert" and thus an employee of the state.

This not only has its direct economic rewards but also the opportunity for increased power and prestige. It should not be surprising that the psychiatrist will render a medical verdict which the state wants (it has been paid for in advance). Psychiatry has come to the point of legally redefining basic life concepts, twisting the logic of situations out of all proportion and context. Reasons and motives are twisted into manifestations of "mental illness" and "diminished capacity."



and diminished capacity". Psychiatrists have not found it difficult to portray the assassin as a "mentally ill" loner, revolutionaries as frustrated fanatics and delinquents and any general discontent as collective disfunction.

Szasz observed that for White this logic was applied in his favor as a collaboration by the defense, prosecution, and psychiatrists to formulate a case serving their own ends. In doing this they destroyed the reality of the situation. The de-

fense, with approval from the prosecution, handed the case over to psychiatry. The case made by psychiatry masked a political crime as an ordinary crime. Personal responsibility was then eliminated by presenting the whole thing as a result of a temporary psychological problem.

"Basically Good" Murderer

Dan White and others who conform to the dominant middle class values are seen by psychiatrists as "basically good" people, who support law and order and "justifiably" regard gays as deviant. In this view such a person cannot possibly be a common murderer and must be the victim of some form of temporary insanity. The absurdity of this argument in White's case should be obvious to anyone examining the evidence presented.

It was maintained that his homicidal behavior was somehow related to junk-food and television obsessions. A good family man church-goer image was constantly thrown at the jury. The purpose of this absurd presentation was to soften the political impact of his actions and present them in a totally different light. One that the jury (which included no gays) could identify with. With the tools it has normally used to exploit its victims, psychiatry absolved White of any moral responsibility and denied the reality of his actions.

Although helpful, the assessment by Szasz is incomplete and his solutions harmful. He seems to imply that psychiatric encroachment and the resulting unequal application of the law is the core of the problem. It is not. Psychiatry was merely a tool. The problem is a society that tolerates and encourages the persecution of gays. It feeds on hatred, labels people as abnormal, and is based on oppression and exploitation. White alone is not responsible for the murders. The entire society bears an equal responsibility with him.

White, the individual, murdered because he was a part of the mainstream American values. Neither the prosecution nor psychiatrists were inclined to severely punish him with prison or by declaring him per-

manently psychologically disabled. It never occurred to White that he was doing anything abhorrent or unacceptable (indeed, he went to church immediately afterward). This does not indicate a lack of touch with reality, paranoia, schizophrenic tendencies, homicidal psychosis, or diminished capacity.

White was a functioning part of his social environment. If psychiatry had not been used to free him, something else would have. This is not to in any way excuse psychiatry

Revenge or Revolution

Punishing White will not protect the gay community from future assaults. Punishment ignores the underlying motive question — how to prevent such acts in the future. With the "just punishment" of Dan White everyone would suffer.

Any effective solution must aim at the elimination of the social conditions that created Dan White's oppressive mentality. Although it would not be a total solution, the destruction of state psychiatry would be a positive step. But this can only be accomplished through the destruction of the state.

Psychiatric oppression, judicial injustice, and harassment and violence against gays are the main issues in this case. Critical voices raised on all sides have brought out many urgent needs for change. Equality of justice, gay liberation, kicking the psychiatrists out of our lives are important steps. The right of people to choose homosexuality free of violent threats, the right of individuals to their own ideas free of psychiatric coercion, the ending of one standard of behavior for the white, christian, the haves, and another for the young, non-whites, the gay, females, the have-nots — these are battles that must be fought and won. The anger-turning-to-action of the San Francisco rioters is the hopeful side of the White case, a case which illustrates many sides of a multi-faceted struggle.

But success in any of these struggles require an outlook broader than any one narrow issue, deeper than any one victory or goal. The future of humanity and liberty require that all forms of social oppression, political, sexual, and economic, be abolished. We foresee that through sharing and struggling people can develop the society where personal freedom can fully co-exist with social responsibility.

The basic core values and essence of human relationships must be changed. Without this, society will continue to foster and encourage the conditions which led to White's act. Violence will not be eliminated by imprisonment and punishment of the "criminal". The solution can only be of a revolutionary nature.

Demands for stricter enforcement of the laws are absurd because the laws are an integral part of the problem. Psychiatric manipulation of the laws has been permitted because it suits a purpose for those who abuse others. If it proves nothing else, the White verdict proves that.

Sarah Jane Moore, an attempted assassin of then-President Ford, received a punishment far in excess of Mr. White's and she committed no murder. And let us consider how cheap our lives are if we are but murdered by the right people.

The above statements were taken from *Madness Network News* vol.5 no.5. If interested contact: *Network Against Psychiatric Assault*, Box 684, San Francisco, Ca 94101.

Notes 1 & 4 came from an article by T. Szasz entitled — *How Dan White got away with murder*, "Inquiry", vol.2 no. 14.

Note 2 arrived via a book called *The Manufacture of Madness*, also by Szasz.

Note 3 came from an excerpt from an interview with Szasz entitled *The Therapeutic State*, which can be found in *Madness Network News Reader*.

Wobblies on film

by: Eric Gordon

Every American alive today owes two debts of gratitude: one to the hundreds of thousands of working men and women who fought with the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World, for elementary human rights, decent working conditions and the right to form unions in the early years of this century; and another to the makers of the new film *The Wobblies*, who draw upon a rich humus of archival resources and on the recollections of a score of survivors from that heroic movement, to blaze their story across the screen. Like *Harlan County* and *Word is Out*, the film is a victory for the right of the people to retrieve and retell their own history.

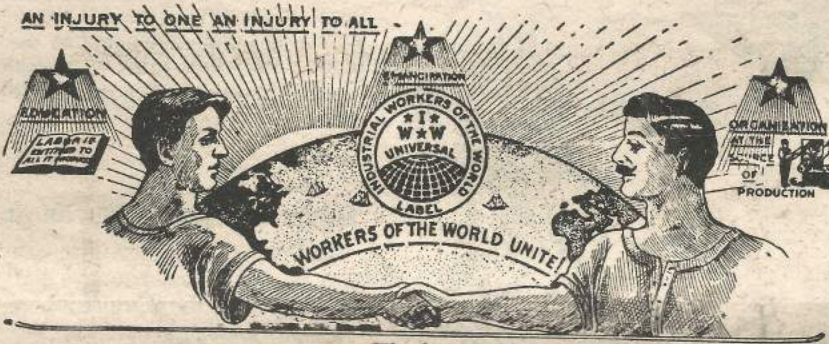
Directors Stewart Bird and Debra Shaffer tracked down their subjects through ads in various media around the country. They came up with loggers from the Pacific Northwest, Arizona copper miners, a black Philadelphia dockworker, Paterson, New Jersey silk weavers and textile laborers from Lawrence, Massachusetts, among others. The glint in the eye, the gusto of spontaneous song, and the passion of memory show a lifelong commitment to the career of a rebel that contrasts sharply with the anomie of too many in the labor movement today. The October 9th premiere, featured as part of the *New York Film Festival*, was attended by several of these unsung militants, one of whom movingly confessed that when he was videotaped a year ago, he frankly never expected to live to see the completed movie.

Intended as a general audience draw, *The Wobblies* wisely shies away from academic doctors pronouncing their doleful *post mortems* on the movement they never saw. This is not a warmed-over discussion, but a masterfully edited you-are-there documentary of feature length. The 95-year-old founder and long-time director of the *American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)*, Roger Baldwin, appears on screen for a few minutes to mention his brief membership in the IWW and is heard in some unobtrusive narrative connecting passages. To be sure, the shameful history of his part during the witchhunts in removing former Wobbly and later Communist Party member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from the Executive Board of the ACLU, goes unmentioned. Otherwise, the structure is balanced between the at-home or on-site interviews and the impressive variety of primary materials brought before the camera lens.

Among these materials the highest value must be given to the original film footage of factories and docks, logging camps, mining towns, transportation and city streets, as well as demonstrations replete with mounted police beating

on unprotected heads. Still photographs are employed skillfully, the camera panning across a group shot to stop at the young face of the speaker we are hearing, or traveling down a newspaper column with its multiple gory headlines. Contributing a refreshing bracer of humor, Ian Clark has animated several old editorial cartoons, both of the Wobs and of the establishment press. Also used is a 1920 Walt Disney animation, one of the Alice series, depicting IWW-organized chickens on an egg-laying strike. Another cartoon shows Uncle Sam watching over the pile of corn representing American plenty; when the IWW-Bolshevik rat tries to consume it all, Sam trounces it with a shovel and saves the goods — this

Industrial Workers Of The World



message courtesy of Ford, a better idea contemporary with the infamous and truly "un-American" Palmer Raids against labor and the left following the (First) War to Save Democracy.

Other graphic materials include the industrial cityscape paintings of Ralph Fasanella and the posters and handouts of the Wobblies themselves. Gathered from national, state and private archives throughout the country, a large portion of this visual documentation is presented here for the first time since it originally appeared. For all the talk about the controversial little red songbook that, through its dozens of editions, kept the Wobblies a singing movement, curiously neither it nor any of the regular newspapers they printed ever reach the screen. Congratulations, incidentally, should be expressed to the *National Endowment for the Humanities*, whose substantial grant enabled this film to be made.

The soundtrack of the film is another of its great achievements. Some of the familiar songs of Joe Hill, Haywire Mac ("Hallelujah, I'm a Bum"), T-Bone Slim ("The Popular Wobbly") are included, along with others of anonymous origin. The performances by Alice Gerard, Joe Glazer, Mike Seeger, Utah Phillips, Martin Burman and others seem to emerge directly from the experiences before our eyes.

They possess a heartfelt, completely unstudied quality, and are joined by an occasional lusty chorus. A tune will linger on as a voiceover continues the story, or will simply convey a soulful mood as a wordless obligato to the tragic tableau before us. I hope an album is made from the film.

Why the Wobblies? Their importance to American life cannot be overstressed. While Samuel Gompers and the *American Federation of Labor* promoted the interests of a restricted class of skilled craftsmen in close cooperation with the requirements of capitalism, including when the nation went to war, the IWW sought to organize all workers into One Big Union. Not recognizing the superior worth of one kind of work over another, the Wobbly movement projected an end to the very system of wage labor, and sought to include any worker in its ranks. The AFL's "untouchables — racial minorities, women, foreign-born, migratory workers, the unskilled — these toilers found a home in the IWW.

The immediate conditions at the turn of the century which drove these workers into agitated movement imposed such heavy demands for correction that the longer-range goal of setting up an entirely new system received less attention. Labor and the left still suffer from this problem: it is an old source of division along ideological grounds, for a significant current of anarchist revolutionaries has always considered union work under these conditions

largely a waste of time, a perennial holding pattern for the Revolution. Emma Goldman was one who withheld her full commitment to the Wobbly theory of the General Strike as the harbinger of the new age.

The filmmakers do not dwell on the organizational history of the ideological problems of the IWW, preferring instead to concentrate on restoring some of its positive rebel history to a movie-going public. Nor do they point to any specific movement in the 1920s or later which carried on the Wobbly program, though clearly the CIO can be seen as its successor. They do treat the demise of the IWW as a combined factor of vicious police repression and of internal dissension over the future direction of labor organizing, whether it should follow a vaguely syndicalist and non-parliamentary orientation or take a lesson from the Soviet example after 1917 by seeking political power, as did Flynn, Big Bill Haywood and Art Shields, who are featured in the film.

Though I appreciate the need to draw uninformed audiences towards the film — and what would turn them off more quickly than to descend into esoteric ideological minutiae? — nonetheless, the very concepts of anarchism, syndicalism and communism go unmentioned, so that the background of the later dissension remains unexplained. We are not told that a rash of laws against "criminal syndicalism" protected moneyed interests for generations, and could be trundled out at any opportune moment for

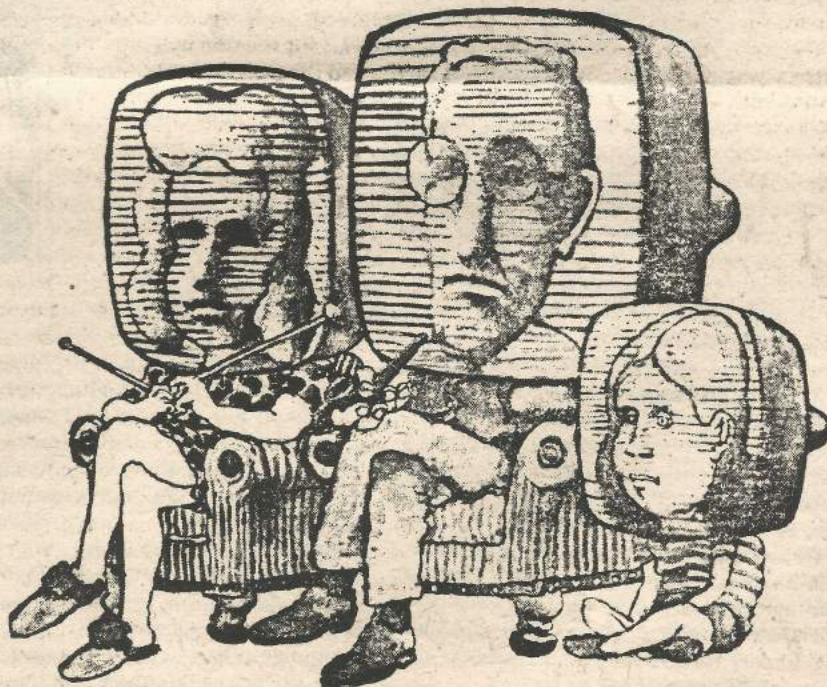
repressive purposes. The role of the State, as opposed to merely the role of industrial bases, is undeveloped.

Also left behind is the internationality of the working-class movement: every western nation, and a few in Asia and Africa as well, had its IWW-type movement, and the same types of governments repressed it just as much. For instance, not a word crops up in the film about the Mexican Revolution that broke out in 1910, winning radical sympathies around the world. At the press conference following the film's first showing, Bird and Shaffer explained that they could not take up whole stories and tell them, citing the frame-up and execution of Joe Hill, entirely left out of the film. This I can well understand, but the IWW might have been better placed in a world-historical framework. Who would deny, after all, that the direct-action movements of this period, much more than the moribund, pseudo-Marxist socialist parties of the *Second International*, constituted the major impetus towards revolution after World War I? Or that the very idea of "soviets" has more to do with industrial unionism and self-management than with top-down political parties?

Aside from the documentary footage and archival resources, the people interviewed on film give *The Wobblies* its most endearing quality. How our society throws old people away is almost the greatest crime, this film seems to be saying in 1979. Is it perhaps too much to hope that the inspiration of seeing it will encourage, not just more films about the retrievable past, but a new spirit of solidarity and continuity with our own past? The terrible stories of the Everett, Washington free speech fight in 1916, of the Bisbee, Arizona mineworkers' organizing drive in 1917, the textile strikes, these are still within human memory, and thanks to *The Wobblies* will remain so. These 90-year-old voices utter not a syllable about the struggles of today, but it is impossible to hear them without wanting to carry on the glorious tradition they bequeathed us.

The film has at this writing yet to find a major distributor, but as soon as it does and is showing in your neighborhood, it is a must-see.

TV



Trots

by: Mike Kubanin
Lenin & Trotsky, Kronstadt
 New York: Monad Press, 1979. 150

On March 1, 1921, a mass meeting of sailors, soldiers, and workers in the Kronstadt, a naval base on an island in the Gulf of Finland, adopted a set of resolutions demanding change in the Bolshevik regime. The following assembly of delegates representing workers of Kronstadt's population set up a *Provisional Revolutionary Committee* which assumed power in the fortress. The Kronstadt rebels were immediately branded "White Guards" and "bourgeois counterrevolutionaries" by the Bolshevik authorities. They were ordered to surrender unconditionally or be shot "like vermin." Emissaries from Kronstadt were arrested and families of the rebels seized as hostages. An offer by leading anarchists in Petrograd to mediate the dispute was rejected by the Bolsheviks.

What had the rebels done to deserve such a swift and unequivocal response? Their demands included free elections for soviets, freedom of speech and assembly for workers and peasants, the liberation of political prisoners. In fact these "revolutionaries" were asking for rights guaranteed them under the Soviet Constitution of 1918, which by 1921 had become an embarrassment to the Bolshevik leadership.

During the previous three years of civil war, the blockade and civil war had allowed the Bolsheviks to introduce a system of "War Communism", which amounted to control of the entire country by the army and police order to exercise this control a bureaucracy had sprung up; by 1921 there were more bureaucrats in Moscow than could be found in the entire Russian Empire in 1914. Lenin, for one, was unaware of this problem but his solution, the creation of yet another bureaucratic organ headed by Stalin, was like pouring gasoline on a raging fire.

WAR COMMUNISM

By 1921, with the Civil War ended and War Communism still in effect, the Communist Party had become detached from its base in the working class and had destroyed the goodwill it once enjoyed among the peasantry. This is evident in the epidemic of peasant revolts that occurred at that time as well as the labor unrest in Moscow and Petrograd. That the Kronstadt rebels were affected by these developments is indicated by their demands that the government end forced requisitioning of the peasants and do away with "guards in the factories."

A series of strikes in Petrograd in February, 1921, set the stage for the Kronstadt revolt. Besides the expected economic demands, several large factories forwarded a political program very similar to the Kronstadt resolutions. According to one veteran observer, the atmosphere in Petrograd recalled that of February 1917, just before the fall of the monarchy. But in the Bolshevik regime the Petrograd proletariat found a more determined and resourceful foe than crumbling tsarist troops were rushed to Petrograd and the most truculent workers locked out, thereby cutting off communications.

A delegation of Kronstadt rebels visited Petrograd in late February and was appalled at the state of subjecting workers in the city. The sailors were censored to learn the authorities had branded Kronstadt itself as a threat to the Bolshevik opposition. Returning to the base, the sailors formulated the resolutions later adopted by Kronstadt as a whole.

hit Kronstadt again



Clockwise from lower-left corner: The Red Army charges across the ice on the night of March 17; Lenin and the boys pose for a "victory" picture shortly after the slaughter; the city of Kronstadt; a Kronstadt refugee in Finland after the suppression of the soviet.

Although the Kronstadt uprising was only one of many such outbreaks against Bolshevik rule, the rebels enjoyed the advantages of being well-armed with a strategically-located fortress city at their disposal, as well as possessing press and radio facilities. (In a characteristic gesture, the rebels used this last resource to broadcast a message to the world on International Women's Day, when they were under heavy fire.) Consequently the Bolsheviks had to concentrate considerable forces against Kronstadt, which was accessible by ice across the frozen Gulf of Finland. The first attacks on the island ended in complete failure, with many of the attackers defecting to the rebels. Finally on March 17 a huge assault was launched using special brigades of Party members as well as mercenaries from the far corners of the country. Even so, the attacking troops were trailed by police machine gunners to prevent retreat. After desperate fighting the fortress was overcome with great loss of life on both sides. Many prisoners were taken, but none were even brought to public trial: they were either executed secretly or vanished into the Gulag.

RESIGNATIONS

During their brief fortnight of freedom the Kronstadters tried to put their own principles into practice. Differential food rations were abolished, a new educational program was started, a commission of trade union delegates was set up to introduce workers' self-management, and committees were elected in each public institution to act for the **Revolutionary Committee**. Although some local Communists were arrested, all of them, including the most unpopular officials, survived the revolt unscathed. Indeed hundreds of rank and file Communists in Kronstadt

left the Party during the siege, many of them writing bitter letters of resignation to the rebel newspaper.

Initially the insurgents hoped their program could be realized by reform within the Soviet system. For this reason they tried to spread their movement by example rather than force of arms. But as it became clear the Bolshevik leaders were determined to crush them, the Kronstadters invoked the anarchist slogan calling for a Third Revolution to sweep away the rampant bureaucracy, just as the earlier revolutions had swept away the monarchy and the bourgeoisie.

At the end of the Civil War various possibilities were open for the future development of Soviet Russia. The suppression of Kronstadt limited those possibilities drastically and ensured the triumph of the bureaucracy. Therefore a study of the Kronstadt revolt illuminates important questions about the relation between political parties and the masses they claim to represent, as well as the methods to be employed in the pursuit of revolutionary goals.

A new book on Kronstadt from Monad Press is devoted to a lesser project, the salvaging of Trotsky's revolutionary reputation. The outbreak of the revolt found Trotsky, the Commissar of War, campaigning in Siberia against rebelling peasants. He immediately rushed to Petrograd, with a brief stop-over in Moscow, and threw himself into organizing the suppressing forces, warning the insurgents that if their prompt surrender was not forthcoming, Kronstadt would be reduced without regard for civilian population (which included 7000 children). In his zeal to stamp out the revolt, Trotsky even sanctioned the use of poison gas.

Through one of the ironies of history, many of the horrors endured by the Kronstadt "mutineers" (as Trotsky persists in

calling them) were visited on Trotsky personally in later years. He found himself accused by his beloved Party of conspiring with White Guards and fascists, non-political members of his family were persecuted, and his followers executed without trial. By that time Trotsky had become a relentless critic of the Soviet bureaucracy, although, as his enemies delighted in pointing out, he had formerly denounced anti-bureaucratic factions in the Party for "taking the Kronstadt path."



The core of the Monad Press book consists of the collected articles of Lenin and Trotsky on Kronstadt. Most of these were written during or soon after the revolt and are concerned to depict the rebels as reactionaries and to misrepresent their program. Since this program is not reproduced in the book, the reader is not made aware, for example, that one of its resolutions called for equal food rations, whereas Trotsky claims "the uprising was dictated by a desire to get privileged food rations."

In the late thirties Trotsky was subjected to harsh criticisms of his actions at the time of the Kronstadt revolt. He was obliged to respond to these criticisms as

they emanated from the leftist circles he was trying to attract to his Fourth International. In particular, an erstwhile supporter, Anton Chiliga, charged him with ordering the execution of 10,000 sailors after the revolt. Although Chiliga's figure seems exaggerated, it was based on an unique source: he had encountered survivors of the revolt in the Gulag.

Trotsky's most substantial writings on Kronstadt date from this period. Stripped of his attempts to stigmatize the Kronstadt sailors (whom he had once praised as the "pride and glory of the revolution"), his arguments reduce to the thesis that the Party was right to suppress the revolt because the Party represented, in the long run, the true interests of the working class. That Stalin used the same justification for his enormities is of no relevance according to Trotsky, for Stalin represented the interests of a different class, i.e. the bureaucracy. The Kronstadt rebels, incidentally, had no illusions on this score, for Trotsky was repeatedly denounced in their press as the epitome of the new bureaucracy.

PATHETIC LIE

Strangely enough, Trotsky's attitude towards Kronstadt softened in his last writings on the subject, to the point where he terms the suppression a "tragic necessity" and alleges he stayed in Moscow throughout the revolt. This pathetic lie, contradicted by documents reproduced elsewhere in the book, perhaps indicates Trotsky had come to appreciate just what had been destroyed at Kronstadt.

If Trotsky shows some waverings on the subject of Kronstadt, his epigones remain convinced of their master's infallibility. **Kronstadt** includes a long article by John G. Wright (written at Trotsky's instigation) and an introductory essay by Pierre Frank, both occupied with attacking the anarchist writers who dared to defend the rebels. Frank is particularly critical of Ida Mett's **The Kronstadt Uprising** (first published in 1938) and Alexander Skirida's **Cronstadt 1921, Proletariat contre bolshévisme** (1971). Mett's work effectively refuted Trotsky's contention that the Kronstadt sailors had "degenerated" since the 1917 revolutions, but Frank is more concerned to prove there was indeed a White conspiracy behind the uprising. To this end he cites Paul Avrich's **Kronstadt 1921**, the most scholarly work on the subject. But Avrich, who has the unusual honour of being quoted respectfully by all sides in the debate, concluded after painstaking research that the revolt was in fact spontaneous and had no links with the Bolsheviks' external enemies.

The editors of **Kronstadt** have performed a service in reproducing some criticisms of Trotsky by Victor Serge and Dwight MacDonald from the pages of **The New Internationalist**, a Trotskyist journal of the thirties. (The editors neglect to include MacDonald's critique of Wright's article, both published in the same journal.) Serge and MacDonald, whose anarchist tendencies prevented them from finding a home in the Fourth International, accept Trotsky's basic premise that he represented the forces of progress. But they are appalled at his ruthlessness and inability to distinguish differences among his opponents.

For a real understanding of the Kronstadt revolt, one must read the daily Kronstadt **Izvestia**, the pages of which were still being typeset when the fortress fell (Voline's **The Unknown Revolution** is a good source). There one will find the voices of what Trotsky called the "grey mass", voices which expressed a deeper understanding of revolutionary change than Trotsky ever attained.

Crime and Punishment

by: G. Merovych

Our newspapers and TV's these days supply us with an overabundance of news concerning the most shocking, morbid, vile acts of murder and rape. The usual viewer's reaction is that the assailant is a "sicky", a "degenerate", and an "animal" who ought to be either strapped into a straightjacket, castrated or mentally annihilated or mutilated. By the time the newspaper gets done with this guy (or woman) you'd think that we'd caught a perverted Martian running amok among us decent human beings.

But the face of the so-called criminal is not an unfamiliar Martian-like face, devoid of what we call human decency. No, this "beast" is often a neighbor or face we've seen in our neighborhood, streets and corners — even our own brother or sister.

A HOUSE OF PAIN

But Attica blew the lid off the whole underlying cesspool of pain and humiliation. And not just Attica. Those who have been in prison and those "in the know" about prisons (friends, relatives of cons and ex-cons) understand that this PR was glitter to begin with.

Prisons have very few rehabilitative qualities. Cut off from the outside world physically, the men and women inside begin to create an "outlaw" subculture which feeds on the worst instinct of the human soul and involves ratting, raping, learning the bigger and better ways to make crime pay (a real apprenticeship in high crime — go in for purse-snatching, come out ready for dope-peddling, burglary-for-the-habit, and murder) and backstabbing literally and not just figuratively.

The people these "corrective institutions" enlist and attract are

usually those for whom *power and control* are ends in themselves, socially accepted megalomaniacs, petty Hitlers who are quite often the same frustrated, powerless, relatively poor working class or street people as those slated for Punitive Reconstitution.

The prison is an institution, wittingly or unwittingly, designed to undermine the individual's self-respect, autonomy and better, more cooperative social instincts. It is based on the systematic suppression of individual will and personality and the desire to make a prisoner a docile tool in the hands of those who govern him — in the prison itself, the guards and warden; out of prison, on the outside, the government, the businessman and the cop. Prison's main task is to punish, break and recondition those who blindly protest against poverty, exploitation and discrimination.

Are these people the criminals or does criminality lie elsewhere?

It might be more profitable for all of us to seek out the real cause of all this crime and the Real Criminal rather than select the fall guys out from among ourselves, the victims.

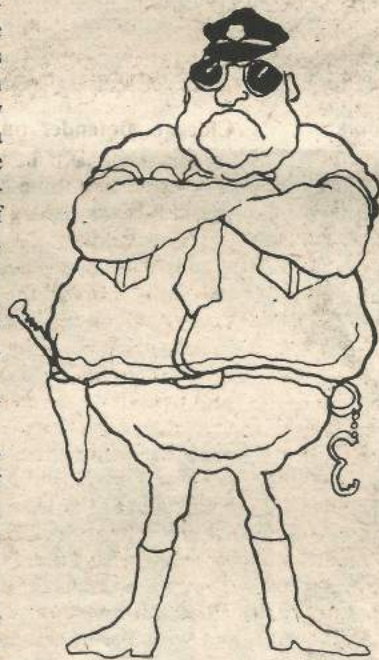
For libertarians, it is the particular social and economic system that prevails in our society that is truly the First Cause of Crime. It is highly centralized, authoritarian state-regulated capitalism in which the highest perceived moral good is unbridled pitting of each-against-all in pursuit of self-advancement and profit. It is a system whose greatest exhortation is Consume, Consume, Consume, At Any Price, By Any Means (P.S. Don't Get Caught, Though). It is a system whose main spiritual driving force lies in the maxim: "Do unto others, before they do unto you."

FAMILIAR FACES

No, this guy whose face is plastered all over page one of the *Daily*

News is usually a relative, friend or neighbor. Nor is he abstractly "someone's bad boy" or a "psychotic pervert."

Those who are labeled criminals and eventually make it into prison life are usually Black and Latin working or street people or poorer white working people. These are the



Borrowed Times/cpf

people in our system who become the ultimate victims of poverty, exploitation and, in the case of Blacks and Hispanics, the extra added victims of racial and national oppression.

The criminals are usually (9 out of 10 times) those members of the poor white and Third World working class who react irrationally and blindly to their own poverty and prejudice: murder, gang violence, mugging and the ultimate for the poor, manipulated, powerless male — rape.

And the way in which this system treats such members: prison.

Prison authorities, and the powers that be in general, have set a whole public relations machine into action in order to convince those of us not behind the bars that life in prison today is both hygienic and highly rehabilitative. We humans can now punish purposively! They make the joint out to be a real resort: TV, antiseptic floors and walls, psychiatrists for the head, work for the body and soul.

It is a system that rewards thieves (call them bosses) who rob people of the product and control of their labor as long as it is done legally and according to the rule book (a book, by the way, written by these thieves themselves or their more intellectually gifted sons and daughters). It is a system that punishes those who devise their own roughshod methods of achieving the much advertised prizes of money and power.

It is a system dedicated to the amassing of fantastic wealth and power into the hands of a corporate and governmental minority and elite. A system that creates an abundance of goods and services at the sole disposal of the social elite and *not* of the people who create and need these things. Wealth, socially created by millions, becomes the property of small groups who historically have run the show for their own pleasure and power.

WHOLE NEW SOCIETY

A prison is a prison. No matter what reforms are made in our penal system, prison will remain what it is: a house of pain and punishment, a school for further crime, and a futile device to handle outbursts of a population subject to lawless and greedy power and corporate ruling minorities. The solution to criminality lies elsewhere.

What is needed is the creation of a totally new society: a society whose institutions and values do not encourage backstabbing individualism, the mindless pursuit of wealth and the vampirism of the few on the many.

What is called for is a new society based on mutual aid: a community of brothers and sisters working and living together, creating, working and sharing for the general welfare and liberty for all; a society in which people both individually and collectively control what goes down where they work and live.

Such a new society would allow the finer, more social instincts of people to rise, thereby eliminating the causes of most so-called anti-social behavior.

Unfortunately, the real solution lies in the future and not in the present — small comfort for the criminal and victim alike. Convicts released into a criminal, irrational and diseased society breed the criminal and his habits.

If a new world is created by the working class which builds institutions and communities based on socially shared and controlled wealth, community and mutual aid, the best solution to our problem would be simply to abolish prisons and release their inmates; to extend a fraternal hand for these outlaws either to rejoin the communities from which they came or to form their own, based on the same principles as the larger society; to share the work, creation and fruits of the community as an equal, not as a penitent or a charity case.

For classic statements of the anarchist position on crime and punishment, see Peter Kropotkin, *In Russian and French Prisons*, especially the last two chapters, and Alexander Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

Topless: Cont. from Pg. 3

club sneak a quick peek and retreat. It occurs to me that conventional morality is not the motive of this abrupt departure, but rather fear — fear of meeting women unlike the "safe" (passive) women he's known all his life. The dancers themselves are not conscious feminists (few have ever had any contact with feminist politics); but they are autonomous individuals in their own right and are seldom reluctant to make that clear to any man who questions it.

The dancers at Hebe's tell about the time Carmine was dancing and, looking down, she saw one of the men sitting at the bar jacking off through his pocket. Since there is a small platform that connects the stage to the bar, it was easy for Carmine to dance out onto the bar, deftly kick the jerk's drink into his lap, and whirl back onto the stage without a missed step. And when a creep attempted to "compliment" Christie by telling her how much she made him want to masturbate, she told him she wasn't surprised since he was obviously a jack-off to begin with!

There is an interesting paradox here. Many of the men who go to topless clubs are obvious failures at the established "macho role". They go to these clubs where they take the initiative in social contacts; the dancers go up to the guys, introduce themselves, invite themselves to sit down and talk. Many men perceive this as a sign of their "male attractiveness" and become vulgar and abusive. They will assume the dancers are prostitutes and start offering them money to fuck them; or they will assume the dancers are all so horny that the mere discussion of the male organ will instantly flatter

and arouse the dancers.

It's not difficult to see what is taking place here: if a few women are to be allowed somewhat greater social freedom, then they have to be reminded constantly that they are still inferior to even the lowest of men. For too many men, treating a topless dancer like shit is a way to prove to themselves that they are not total failures at being "macho" after all. They pay \$4.00 a drink to save their macho image in their own minds; all they lose is their money and their humanity.

But for those men who go to the clubs precisely because the macho role is no longer of interest to them, there is a warm welcome from the dancers — a welcome that drinks and tips can't purchase.

"The only money I never wasted was the money I spent on women" — graffiti on the men's room wall at a topless club.

Up to now, the revolutionary movements, including the feminist movement, have simply dismissed the sexual fantasy industry as an exploiter of women's bodies and nothing more. Last year several feminist groups sponsored a "Women Take Back the Night!" demonstration and rally which was held along Broadway where many topless clubs are located. The clubs were condemned not only as exploitative but as part of the climate that generates rape and violence against women. The dancers reacted in bewilderment.

No feminist groups have yet (to my knowledge) made any effort to reach out to women in the sexual fantasy industry. When this does happen, I think there will be some hasty amendments to their political line.

For the feminists and, indeed, for all of us who consider ourselves revolutionaries, the sexual fantasy industry generates severe problems. We have never really considered much less resolved, the contradiction between people's erotic autonomy and the perception of others as erotic objects. A few platitudes and a fast shuffle doesn't make the problem go away; it just leaves the field of battle to the ruling class (e.g. *Playboy*: "great wealth is sexy.")

In one fashion or another, we arrive at "personalistic" solutions of these problems and some of them work for a while — for example, those of us fortunate enough to enjoy a rich erotic relationship with another person are probably not even aware that there are such problems. As soon as that particular relationship breaks down, the problems emerge again.

The men who go to topless clubs did not look like rapists on the prowl for victims; they seemed to me to be mostly lonely men looking for some kind of limited female companionship, a little fantasy to make their lives a little less unbearable (yet, see above: loneliness is not a license to behave like an asshole). The dancers who work there did not seem to me to be hopelessly victimized or oppressed, but, for the most part, relatively intelligent and autonomous women who've found the most financially rewarding job they'll ever have.

These too are personalistic solutions, with their own advantages and disadvantages. There is exploitation here, that's all too true, but where is exploitation not present? Are we not all exploited in a thousand ways from the day of our

birth? The smirk of moral superiority is particularly ugly on revolutionary faces.

I was surprised one evening when Faye made the point so clearly: "They buy up everything people need and should have freely and abundantly", she said, "and then they sell it back to us in bits and pieces."

Admit it then, admit as much of the truth as we can presently be sure of. If we don't yet know how to convince people not to want to exploit each other, not to relate to each other as erotic objects, not to see each other as things to be used — we do know how to teach people how to resist exploitation, how to enrage people's autonomy and its greater implementation, how to struggle for more pay and better conditions, etc. (Not that we're all that great even at that, but at least we know something!)

Admit that all people who work in the sexual fantasy industry and the people that consume its products are essentially no different from all of us who work in all of capitalism and consume all its products. "All of us or none!" may have some uncomfortable implications from time to time — but our revolution is impossible without that sentiment.

So I asked Faye if she thought that the dancers would ever dance free, just for the sheer pleasure of it. And she replied, "Maybe, someday."

Author's Postscript: Writing is essentially solitary work, but some things could never be written without help. My deepest thanks to Faye, Angie, Kris, Christie, Lynn, Tara, Natalie, Rose, Lolita, Judy,

Lana and all of you who took the time to tell me about your lives. I wish you all the best.

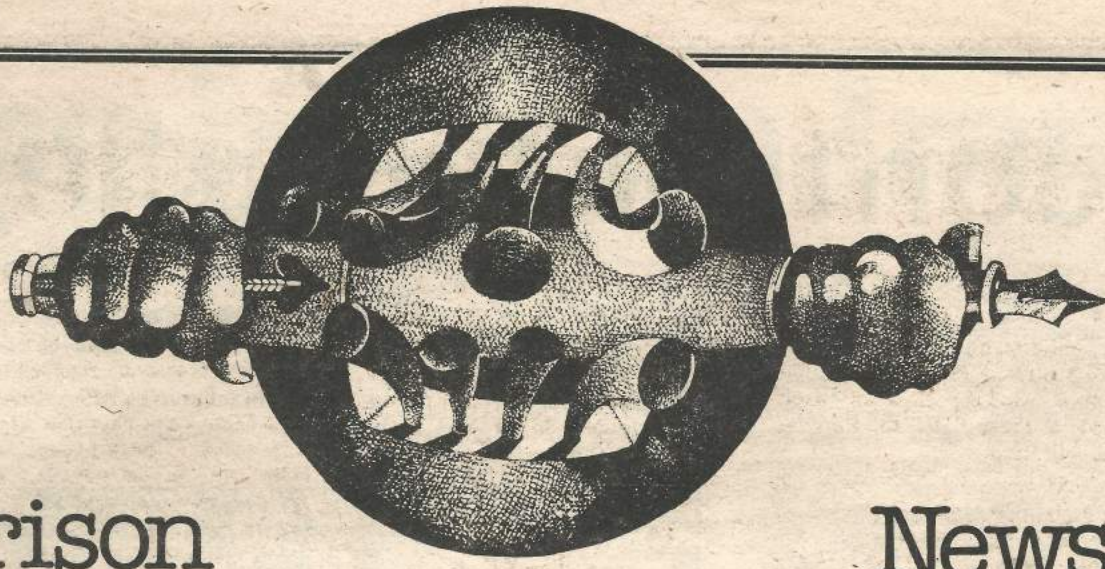
Quebec: Cont. from Pg. 1

usual" in the new Quebec state. All the PQ have left is the visceral appeal to Quebec nationalism and the admonition that English Canada will snicker at the pathetic pretensions of the Quebecois if they vote "No" in the referendum: "What would they say and what would they think if we were to retreat this time?" the whitepaper agonizes. "If after so many years of growing pressure the mountain should bring forth a mouse, none of Quebec's claims would be taken seriously for very long."

It is almost a certainty that the PQ will be victorious in the first referendum. Public opinion polls have shown clearly that an artfully worded question will easily command the support of a majority of Quebec voters. The federal government has tacitly admitted this by announcing that it will take no part in the referendum campaign. They prefer to wait and bring out the big guns in the sovereignty-association negotiations and the second referendum, which assuming the federal government sticks by its pledge not to negotiate, will probably involve a unilateral declaration of independence.

As anarchists we cannot, of course, support the PQ independence project. The victory of the PQ would merely result in the drawing of one more imaginary line on the surface of the globe, one more state, one more ruling class. The only solution worthy of consideration is workers' revolution to sweep aside the scum of bourgeois ideology and bour-

Cont.: See Quebec Pg. 11



Prison

News

The following letter was sent to *Life* magazine in response to their photo-essay on Walla Walla prison. *Life* portrayed existence at Walla Walla as all fun and games — even though there has been continuous prisoner protest and resistance to unbearable conditions and guard brutality there; even though guards, shortly after *Life*'s article appeared, went on a rampage in retaliation for this protest. Currently Walla Walla is still locked down; over 40 guards have been fired; ACLU is preparing lawsuits asking for immediate injunctive relief from overcrowding and guard's brutality, for damages for the beatings and loss of prisoners' property after the rampage.

The article *Prison Without Stripes* in your August issue was a blatant distortion of prison conditions at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla and, by implication, of conditions in prisons throughout the country.

Prison Without Stripes suggests that life at Walla Walla is free and easy — "A Prison That Prisoners Run," you term it — where "Every day and all day, most of the 1400 maximum-security inmates are out of their cells and roaming the premises. Nobody has to work. Prisoners can do almost anything they want with their free time . . . This is fantasy. What are the facts?"

Gay and young prisoners face brutality, rape, and harassment.

Your photo-essay carried two pictures of gay prisoners at Walla Walla. ". . . there is no stigma attached to flagrant homosexual come-ons," stated the article. One photo was of a prisoner who is a member of an organization of prisoners called *Men Against Sexism (MAS)*. You failed to mention that *MAS* was organized to protect prisoners at Walla Walla from brutality — rape, assault, harassment — that gays and young or passive prisoners constantly face.

Nor did you mention the case of Carl Harp, a Walla Walla prisoner, a founding member of *MAS* and dedicated fighter for the rights of gays and prisoners for years. On July 8, Harp was raped and beaten — not by prisoners but by guards — because of his political activities. Harp said: "I was shocked beyond words and then they beat me until I was in a daze and could feel no pain, calling me a political prisoner and a jailhouse lawyer." Left bleeding by guards



Carl Harp surrenders after the Walla Walla non-violent protest.

with one of their nightsticks up his rectum, Harp was hospitalized in critical condition because of this assault. (Harp has since been transferred to San Quentin, California. Reports finally issued prove he was raped: He has an inch long infected laceration inside his anus, according to attending surgeon Dr. Eng C. Shaw.) You "forgot" to indicate that assaults like this by guards are common.

Your article describes a motorcycle club whose members are allowed to ride their bikes inside the prison yard. What you didn't report is that these people act as goons for the prison guards and that their motorcycles are the payoff for the services rendered. You didn't mention that these are some of the people who act as "enforcers" for the prison administration, which uses as a means of coercion the threat of beating, rape or murder, by some of these bikers.

You didn't note the fact that in July of this year, at least 230 prisoners were forced to live in Walla Walla's outside prison yard for weeks, while another 1200 prisoners were kept locked down, often four to a bathroom-sized cell, while the temperatures reached 120 degrees (*Chicago Defender*, 7/24/79).

You also failed to mention the experience of a Catholic priest, Rev. Robert Beh, the chaplain at Walla Walla. In an article in the

Chicago Defender on 7/24/79, Beh describes an incident he witnessed in May of this year when three armed guards bullied naked inmates during the aftermath of the prison takeover. He relates that he saw guards "slamming them (the prisoners) into the wall, jabbing them with their sticks, pulling up on their handcuffs." Beh obtained affidavits from Walla Walla prisoners describing incidents in which guards beat prisoners, served them milk with urine, forced them to sit hatless for days in the sun until their eyes were swollen shut. Father Beh, who at first did not believe that systematic brutality existed at the prison, now says: "When I look back on it, it seems so incredible that I didn't believe." Convinced now, the *Seattle Times* reports on July 13: "The Reverend Robert Beh said he visited five of the six (assaulted) prisoners yesterday in the prison hospital. (Beh said) 'they had been badly worked over. One had a broken tooth, and they all had numerous welts and bruises on their bodies . . . But the beatings are nothing new here, they have been going on for years . . . They can't claim these guys fell into doors as they have claimed over the years.' Beh said violence against prisoners is to blame for the problems at the prison."

Dangerous drugs are used in behavior modification

In your article you stressed that drugs are available in the prison, and gave the impression that everyone spends his time getting high and having fun. What you didn't mention is that the most common use (abuse) of drugs is on prisoners by the administration (at Walla Walla and elsewhere). One of the drugs used is anectine, which stimulates death. The use of this drug by the CIA in Vietnam was outlawed as a war crime. Another commonly used drug is apomorphine — an antihypertensive drug, that induces vomiting. This is used for so-called aversion "therapy". There are also the "psychological straightjackets" of mellaril and thiorazine, which cause prisoners to become little more than zombies while on the drug (assuming they are lucky enough not to develop permanent nervous system problems).

You also failed to mention any of the "regular" forms of behavior modification used at Walla Walla (and elsewhere): electroshock, psychosurgery, such as lobotomies, aversive conditioning, sensory deprivation,

Drugs and behavior modification are administered by people such as William H. Hunter (who ran the mental health unit at Walla Walla from 1970 to at least 1977). As this "humanitarian" put it: "I have broken horses all my life, and if I can do that, I can break any man. I would make it mandatory that all people sentenced to prison go through my program . . . But, if after completing . . . my program, they committed another offense, they would be automatically executed (*Voice of Prison*, July, 1976)."

Your article failed to report any of this. It was nothing but a fantasy, intended for people who have never come into contact with a prison or anyone who has done time. In an accompanying article, *Is This Any Way to Run a Prison?*, you state: ". . . what dismays penal experts more is the violence that continues despite the reforms." The reason for the continued violence is precisely because the so-called reforms mean nothing — they are used only to hide what actually takes place behind the walls — especially the violence directed at the prisoners by the administrators. You have done your part in furthering this cover-up.

Prisons are not vacations or summer camps, *Life*'s photo-essay notwithstanding. Racism, brutality and murder by prison officials are common inside every prison in this country. It is the reason why prison violence continues. People will continue to be violent against their keepers when so much violence is put to them.

These facts speak for themselves. But in your capacity as "objective reporters", you chose not to print them or others like them. Rather, you gave *Life* readers a wholly distorted picture of prison life. Your article is in fact a thinly disguised call for a "crack down" in the prisons, for a "harder line," for more violence — more rapes and beatings, more stupefying drugs, lobotomies, electroshock therapy — against prisoners by the prison authorities. Instead of calling your magazine *Life*, why not *Distortion of Life* — It's a title somewhat closer to the truth.

Mary Rivers
reprinted from
Torch/La Antorcha

Quebec: Cont. from Pg. 10
geois "statecraft."

But, if the people of Quebec democratically choose to support the PQ project, there arises the danger of military intervention by the pan-Canadian state. We recognize that the Quebecois are a nation, with the inalienable right to order

their own affairs. And because they are a nation, we would steadfastly oppose any attempt by the pan-Canadian state to re-colonize Quebec, which is what military intervention would amount to.

We may deplore the form that the independence project has taken in Quebec, but we support totally the

right of self-determination for national groupings. Both the federal and PQ governments seek to subordinate the needs and aspirations of the Quebecois to the needs of international capital and their own interests as actual and potential ruling classes. The victory of either would spell defeat for the Quebecois.

Seabrook: Cont. from Pg. 1

(lengthy) joined circles of people singing "love, love, love, love...we are one...", picture-taking by the media, and attempts to talk the few visible state troopers and National Guard into going home. It didn't work.

Report then came to us — I was a "runner" — that the south was the scene of heavy fighting, fence cutting, mactings, and clubbing. Sensing no likelihood of action where I was, I headed towards the south. Apparently, at about this time, a splinter group was cutting fences and being repulsed where the railroad tracks entered the northern perimeter, more to the west. The main northern force, however, as I left and for as long as I could see them (which was quite a while), did not move forward.

The first southern assaults lasted about an hour. As we regrouped, complaints were aired; some southern people were surprised and bitter about the lack of simultaneous support (thus diversion) from the north. It was to become clear that, not coincidentally, the differences in

strategy and tactics — roughly translatable as "confrontational/property-as-fair game" vs. "pacifist/non-violence to property" — ran along this geographical line. Not coincidentally, I say, because the southern group (Boston area) were: (1) much more directly threatened by the plant; (2) had long histories of both working with each other and working against Seabrook (they knew the contempt the utilities have for the local feeling against the nuke and knew precisely how far being polite had gotten them); and (3) contained significant anarchist and libertarian-left element.

Also, we mulled over two pieces of intelligence. First, it seemed that the State was going to arrest as little as possible. At earlier Seabrook demos, especially 1977's, there was a strategy of deliberately getting arrested and "bleeding" the State with costs of custody. This had worked quite well, except that it had no direct effect on the plant itself.

This year, the cop's orders were to repulse, not arrest, which coinci-

ded with our own plans. It's nice to cost the State in Jail, but it's much sweeter to cost them and stay free. (For those who might advocate a recreation of 77, there were signs that the State was better able to deal with that, though unwilling — the bottleneck of processing was to be loosened via on-site mobile courts, visible from the fences).

Horses, Mace, and clubs were used. Later on, when the cops moved outside the fence to attack, their main concern seemed to be the confiscation of gas masks.

The other bit of news was also interesting, and ultimately more frustrating. Although National Guard units were on call about an hour's drive away, at the time of the initial attack there had been just 300 defenders — to keep out almost ten times their number! (Potential; about a third of the attack force were "support" persons). With this ratio, it was clear to some of us that, had several groups attacked in concert and with resolve, there almost certainly would have been a major breakthrough. Now, how-

ever, our advantages (few as they were) of surprise (location and precise tactics) and secrecy (numbers) were lessened. By the next day, the guard had been doubled.

On Sunday more assaults were made. The main thrust on the south, where most people had shifted, was to be supported by a diversionary attempted entry on the northern front. But, instead of creating a credible diversion, the northern group simply sat down! The police left a token force and concentrated on the only visible threat.

In a largely favourable but occasionally patronizing article in *WIN* magazine (October 25), Murray Rosenblith suggests that this failure of the northern group to effectively support the southern assault was a simple mix-up. I have no evidence to the contrary, but the Sunday assault was supposedly more tightly planned than Saturday's (which was basically get there and go in as soon as you can). Is it paranoia or perception that makes me wonder whether that northern group ever had a real
Con.: See Seabrook Pg. 12

UAW contract a sell-out

by: Brian Amesly

Militant autoworkers have many reasons to be bitter about the outcome of this year's contract negotiations with the big three automakers. The terms of the new contracts reveal little has been gained.

Increases in pensions represent the only new advance. For the first time pension increases will be spread out through the duration of a contract. Autoworkers who have already retired and future retirees will make these gains.

Nonetheless, the UAW went into negotiations proclaiming the achievement of a **Cost of Living Allowance (COLA)** was its top priority. This priority was not achieved which means retired autoworkers will continue to do without the same income protection received by those still working. Significantly, the UAW made no progress towards removing the pension fund from management control.

Elsewhere, the only other genuine monetary gains were in **Extended Disability Benefits**. These gains are the only ones which are certain to exceed the rate of inflation. However, very few autoworkers are affected by them.

Judging by press coverage, company statements and the UAW's propaganda, one might naively believe autoworkers have made an historic advance. Closer analysis reveals otherwise.

The "traditional" 3% annual wage increase formula has been renegotiated. In addition to the COLA, which slightly improves in the third year, some project wages may reach \$11.70 hourly by September 1982. But this is a mirage, for one thing 24¢ in COLA will be lost in the take-aways to help pay for our benefits. Unless inflation sharply declines, three years from now autoworkers will be lucky if their real income is the same.

Worse still, the work week has not been reduced at all and the vast majority of autoworkers will continue to work compulsory overtime. Again, shorter hours have been traded off for **Paid Personal Holidays (PPH's)**.

The UAW contends the inclusion of 26 PPH's over three years is a big advance towards the four day week; a goal it's been targeting now for decades. But they are mere tokens considering that autoworkers had seven PPH's in the last year of the previous agreements. Furthermore, three or four of the PPH's will be scheduled after the contract expires in September 1982 into the following December. In the event of a long strike they'll be lost. In all, given the precedent of seven PPH's in a year the actual gain could total one entire day for the whole contract!

If any autoworkers feel this is inadequate and opt for absenteeism this will become more problematic. The UAW is now committed to cooperating with management to curb absenteeism and lateness.

Less Job Security

With thousands of Ford and Chrysler workers laid off the danger to many others is real. This fact is born out not only by rising gas prices but also by a coming technological revolution. Top level GM management estimates 90% of its new equipment and technology will be computer controlled by 1988. Robots will be used on a scale which will eliminate thousands of jobs.

Yet the UAW has copped out here too not only by not reducing the work week and getting pensions with a COLA to encourage earlier retirement but also by agreeing to allow the mandatory retirement age to go up from 68 to 70. Consequently, older workers will work longer out of inflation fears and many low seniority workers will soon be out on the street.

New employees on probation will be more victimized because the UAW gave in to further take-aways. Whereas nine years ago new-hires earned 5¢ an hour less than regular employees the 45¢ an hour till now the differential will rise to 60¢ an hour. On top of this new-hires will now wait one year before they get full benefits.

Elsewhere, the demand to allow Canadian autoworkers the right to strike over health and safety issues

during contracts was dropped. U.S. autoworkers have had this right for years.

Quebec Strikes

Health insurance was a key issue in Quebec where the present gov-

contract due to the lack of support.

Autoworker Ratification Blues

Generally, the rank and file wasn't very combative. However,



ernment finances medicare through income taxes instead of payroll deductions. Since health insurance is entirely paid elsewhere Quebec autoworkers demanded compensation but they didn't get it. This will mean an average annual cost of about \$235 per worker.

Quebec autoworkers suffered this setback despite a militant three day walkout involving 3800 of the them at GM in Ste. Therese and a one day strike by 350 others at GM in Ste. Eustache over this and other issues. The strikers were also angered at the acceptance of the tentative agreement without the local executive in Ste. Therese being consulted.

The Ste. Therese strike received no UAW support since Canadian UAW President Bob White said it was "illegal" and withheld strike funds. Later the local executive successfully urged ratification of the

there were other strikes. The UAW faced an unexpected strike over its having scheduled ratification votes in the middle of a holiday weekend. Workers at the GM Van Plant in Toronto struck to force its postponement until the following Wednesday. GM workers in Oshawa, who had earlier walked out four hours before the contract deadline, also pressured the bureaucrats into a similar delay.

At two Ontario Ford plants, some 8000 workers struck before a tentative contract was reached only to further defy the bureaucrats by staying out until the day of the ratification vote. The workers were angry over local issues such as problems with grievance procedures and production standards. However, like elsewhere, the agreement was approved by a large margin.

Short strikes over local issues, including seniority application, also occurred at two Ontario Chrysler plants. Over 11,000 workers were out.

Fraser Joins Bosses

Earlier this year, UAW President Doug Fraser said, "I would not close the door to anything," regarding negotiations with Chrysler. Subsequent events have shown his sincerity as the UAW has handed over \$400 million in giveaways at the workers' expense. These include a two year wage freeze, a postponement of \$200 million in company payments to the pension fund and lower pension increases than those gained for retirees at GM and Ford.

But Fraser did well as he will be nominated for Chrysler's Board of Directors. This is his idea of "industrial democracy."

Militance Needed

For autoworkers employed by GM, Ford and Chrysler the next three years will be very difficult. Further erosion of our living standards, layoffs and the increased repression which follow weak contracts are already upon us. When the 1982 negotiations come up a more militant, fighting spirit will be necessary to avoid yet another defeat.

And we must learn from our mistakes. This time Canadian autoworkers had little choice but to rubber stamp U.S. agreements after they were signed. Local strikes were fought out in isolation. Issues related to the specific needs of women autoworkers were never raised. No attempt was ever made to enlist outside support.

Most importantly, the necessary fightback must begin now with militant resistance on the shop floors of every plant. The rank and file alone can and must wage this struggle. No one else will do it for us.

Seabrook: Cont. from Pg. 11

commitment to confrontation, if that's what was required to get in? Throughout the action, there seemed to be people whose priority was entry and occupation but only if no one — including the cops — were 'alienated' by anything that was done.

After Sunday, there were no serious attempts to occupy the facility. Small guerrilla bands circled the fence, cutting and running, harassing the police but posing no threat to the nuke.

A sidelight: The immediate staging area on the south was property owned by Tony Santasucci, a local man I was told was in his seventies. Sunday morning, troopers came outside the southern fence, forced people back, some of whom entered Tony's land. Although eventually the legalities of private property were respected, several tents were wrecked and, reportedly, Tony himself was singled out and Maced.

Still, there were bright spots. New Hampshire Attorney-General Rath was gassed when a CS canister was returned. One affinity group noting that one particular trooper was being especially nasty, isolated him long enough to use a stolen can of Mace on him!

Monday was given over to peaceful, legal picketing at the main gates, although numbers grew (groups separate from CDAS, the **Coalition for Direct Action at Sea-**

brook, the sponsors of the occupation) and we received solid support from the locals driving by. The exception to this support, expressed by a bumper-sticker reading **MORE NUKES, LESS KOOKS** and by a man whistling and smashing the side of his car with a club were the plant's construction workers, who, rumour had it, had been encouraged to fashion weapons.



"... love, love, love... we are one..." While the assault force to the south were being maced, clubbed and repulsed this was what was happening to the north.

After shutting down work for the better part of three days, and costing New Hampshire over \$200,000 in expenses, many went home. The authorities, thinking the coast was clear, brought the two dozen who had managed to get themselves ar-

rested to the courthouse, only to be greeted by 300 very noisy people. An attempt to smuggle the prisoners away was met by a determined blockade and several flat tires on the police buses.

The police then charged, acting as they usually do when few people and fewer cameras are around. Several people were hospitalized with broken bones and concussions.

The relocated prisoners were eventually released, upon identification; those who refused to identify themselves were held. As of this writing I personally have no word on how many, if any, are still held, or on what charges.

Left: Cont. from Pg. 5

Another of the students was Aleksandr Skobov who had started a commune on Leningrad's outskirts. Skobov, a self-styled "anarcho-Marxist", pacifist and the commune's only permanent resident financed it through his small income. The commune was open to anyone and soon became a place to crash for young travellers. Since political discussion was a favourite pastime the contact with people from other parts of the USSR soon revealed there were many similar groups elsewhere.

By June of 1978 as political contacts developed the members of the commune started a political journal called **Perspektivy**. It was intended as a step towards an All-Union Conference of the Left Opposition to be held the following September. In all, three issues were published before it was suppressed. State repression of the commune became very intense beginning in August when it was raided by the militia and trashed. Shortly thereafter, the political situation took yet another turn for the worse as differences with some orthodox Marxist oppositionists led a postponement of the planned conference until October.

What would have been an historic conference never took place. On October 10, the KGB detained Skobov for interrogation. Simultaneous searches of the homes of others involved and their friends al-

so took place. On the 14th Skobov was arrested as were some of the people coming to Leningrad for the conference. At the end of the month Arkady Tsurkov was arrested too. He had participated in the leafletting during the 25th CPSU's 25th Congress.



Tsurkov and Skobov were charged with forming an anti-Soviet organization, anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and slandering the Soviet state. The first charge was dropped because the KGB could not force anyone whom they interrogated to give evidence to justify the charge.

This was not the end of the movement by any means. On December 5, about 200 students staged an impressive demonstration in Leningrad demanding there be a public trial. The state's response was to block off the demonstration site and arrest approaching students. Altogether 17 people were swept up and held for 6 hours. These included Andrei Reznikov and his wife. Later, hundreds of students were questioned and their relatives were given intimidating warnings.

RCMP Interrogation Manual

From: Regina ACF

Editor's Note: In Part One of the RCMP Interrogation Manual, published in NAA no. 1, we printed the introduction to this odd little piece. In Part Two we explore some of the specific techniques that the RCMP are instructed to employ upon an unsuspecting populace.

INTERROGATION TECHNIQUES

(1) SUBSTITUTION

During the war time and in peace for that matter the propagandist influences his audience by substituting favourable or unfavourable words or names.

- (a) "RED for Russian or Communist.
- (b) "UNION BOSS" for the president of a union.
- (c) "THE HUN OR BOCHE OR SQUAREHEAD" for German.
- (d) "KIKES OR CHRIST-KILLERS" for Jews.

but on the other hand we have

- (a) "FREE ENTERPRISE" for Capitalism.

It sounds better. The ad-men substitute long and impressive sounding words to conceal the true identity of the simpler medicines or cosmetics. Otherwise, the product would not sell.

We as police officers and interrogators must use the same techniques or gimmick. We must substitute softer words in the place of those words which will instantly conjure up in the subject's mind the seriousness of his crime.

- (a) Substitute HURT for KILL.
- (b) Substitute INJURE for STAB.
- (c) Substitute HIT for ASSAULT or BATTER.
- (d) Substitute TOUCH or MOLEST for RAPE or INDECENT ASSAULT.

I'm sure, given time, many of you can think of many words and phrases you can substitute for the harsher terms that are commonly used in describing various crimes. By the use of these substituted words which are softer in meaning we are, in the suspect's mind, minimizing the seriousness of the offence.

(2) REPETITION

In advertising or the field of propaganda, repetition of the key word or phrase is most important. The use of slogans or key words in the advertising industry plays an important part in whether or not that particular product will sell to the public. Some examples of repetition and the substitution of words in the advertising field are as follows:

- (a) Compact — car dealers refer to a particular model as a compact not a small car.
 - (b) Players Please
 - (c) Make the world safe for Democracy. (These words have been used by many politicians in their campaign for election.)
 - (d) A chicken for every pot or, as our esteemed Prime Minister puts it — some pot for every chicken.
- Such phrases, frequently meaningless play a large part in advertising and politics and are most important in the art of interrogation.

(3) THE APPEAL TO AUTHORITY

How often have we heard the term "they say" which is usually followed by some fact or statement of alleged fact, for example "they say an apple a day keeps the doctor away". In the field of interrogation and using the technique of appeal to authority we must make our statement authentic and here is where the flexibility of the interrogator and his ability to draw words and phrases out of the air is so important. For example in the case of an indecent assault, our lines might go something like this: "Psychiatrists say, world famous Psychiatrists say that we are all homosexually inclined. But most of us control our sex drives. Sometimes for one reason or another something happens and we cannot control this drive. Ask you doctor son, read any medical article and you will find that this is true. This act of yours is actually very natural. All we have to do is go back to Greece and during the wars in Greece, each soldier had a friend that slept with him at night, and they did this every night. I certainly don't find anything so serious about it. I'm sure this happens everyday in the City of Ottawa or Toronto or Calgary or, wherever any people gather. It's happening all the time. It's just a matter of control. Really son, when you think of it, this has been going on in Europe for ages; however, in this country we



just haven't risen to this cultural level". The interrogator must never use any word that would indicate his true feelings about the crime under investigation. Avoid the use of terms such as "Fag" or "Faggot", "Bung Hole Engineer" or "Sword Swallower". The interrogator must also be very careful not to let his true feelings seep through into some facial expression which would indicate to the suspect his true feelings.

(4) EVERYBODY'S DOING IT

Again in the case of a pervert or indecent assault or any crime where sex is involved, our lineage may go something like this.

"Son, do you think you are the only one who ever touched (substitution) a girl? I'll assure you everyday thousands of us, as we walk down the street think what it would be like with a certain girl that we see. Don't think for one moment that you're the only one that has these thoughts. We just simply didn't have the guts to do anything about it. Everybody does it. Girls are the same way. You don't mean to tell me that they aren't thinking of sex when they see a good looking fellow on the street. It's just human nature, that's all. And anyway, this broad was probably asking for it."

(5) BLAME THE VICTIM OR EMPLOYER TECHNIQUE

We can readily see that the technique above entitled "everybody's doing it" can now lead into this technique whereby we blame the victim in the case of a child molestor or an indecent assault on a male or female or in the case of a theft from an employer. Our lines in this instance may go something like this.

"Damn it all, I can't blame you. I had a look at that kid. I'll tell you, nowadays you can't tell their age, the way they use lipstick and powder and these damn mini-skirts. They are just asking for it, and in your case with your old lady hot on your neck, you can't get anything at home. I don't blame you. Hell, when I spoke to this girl she even sort of looked like a prostitute to me. You just can't tell nowadays about these women. They give you the come on and then holler if they're caught. Hell, we're all human. We all get ideas. I don't care whether you're a policeman, a minister or who you are, she probably only squawked because she was afraid her mother might find out (or her old man in the case of a wife). She probably led you on and then when it got right down to the business she wanted to back off. Hell, even I had ideas when I was talking to her. She's just that type that would give anybody ideas."

In the case of theft from employer the interrogator can ask how much the subject is earning or what type of surroundings he works in and then blame the employer. "Hell, I don't blame you for stealing ten bucks. I would probably have taken more. Do you mean to tell me he only pays you sixty bucks a week? Who can live and support a wife and family on that kind of wage? He should be reported to the board of industrial relations, (or it serves him damn well right). Anybody who can't afford a cash register to keep his money in deserves to lose it. Hell, anybody coming by could have put his hand in that box and taken the money. I don't blame you at all. I'll guarantee you he loses lots of money everyday this way.

Probably he puts his hand in the till himself when nobody's looking. I'll telly you this mister, I'd steal too if my wife and my kiddies were hungry. It takes a lot of guts to do a thing like that."

I would like to digress a moment here and speak briefly about sizing up the suspect so that we may be better equipped to choose the proper interrogation technique. As I stated before, the efficient interrogator will attempt to find out everything that is possible about the crime committed but he must also find out everything that is possible about the suspect that he is about to interrogate. There is evidence that physique and temperment are closely related. Short stocky people tend to be liable to swings of mood and are usually extroverts. For example:

(a) Short and fat physique — these people are usually the happy type. Eat, drink and be merry. When interrogating this type, humour them.

(b) Tall and slender — These types of people are usually withdrawn and introverted. These are the thinkers, the scientists, poets, the writers. They may be withdrawn and the interrogator must attempt to bring them out by appealing to their intellect.

The Interrogator must train himself to take advantage of every facet of human nature.

(6) THE FILE GIMMICK

In this technique, we type the suspects name on a file or print it in large letters with a felt lettering pen in block letters so that the subject can see his name appearing on the outside of the file. The interrogator sits in one chair and with an indifferent attitude pretends that he is perusing the contents of this file. The odd time a nod of the head as though confirming what was found in the file and the odd look at the subject will sometimes mean the difference between a confession or the subject refusing to say anything. The main object of this approach is to cause the subject to think that you have built up a file on him that is conclusive and you have all the evidence.

(7) THE HEAVEN AND HELL TECHNIQUE

This technique is adapted from the brainwashing or religious technique. In this approach we let the subject have a look at hell but also offer him heaven in exchange or as an alternative. By looking at hell the interrogator means the loss of the job, perhaps the loss of his wife and her condemnation and what his children may think of him. We also suggest his place in society and what the rest of society and especially his neighbours may think. The loss of sex by going to prison, what his young wife may do while he is in prison. It may be suggested that she is young, beautiful and certainly would be the target for other members of society. Then the interrogator offers him a glimpse of heaven or revenge as it is known in the brainwashing technique. You subtly imply that there will be no publicity. That there is a possibility that we may be able to save his job and his position in the community and that none of his neighbours will know about this act. The important thing in this technique is that we keep repeating the glimpse of hell and then we have offered him an alternative. Certainly the man who is guilty of the crime will grab the alternative which of course is heaven. In the brainwashing technique, the subject is inter-

rogated at all hours, day or night, he has been kept in isolation and has had most of his clothing taken away from him. He is dressed in a sloppy pair of coveralls. He does not use his own shoes but instead is given a pair of shoes too large for him so that they slip about. There are no shoe laces in the shoes. He has no belt to hold up his pants. In the brainwashing technique this is an assault upon his dignity. By the very fact of his being stripped of his own clothing it is an assault upon his won identity. He now feels forsaken and forgotten due to the lack of familiar surroundings and the refusal of his custodian to allow him any contact at all with his loved ones or friends. He feels completely forsaken and is at the lowest depth of despair. It is at this state the interrogator offers him a glimpse of heaven or a reward in the way of a cigarette, coffee, or more comfortable quarters and an opportunity to speak to his loved ones or friends or at least another prisoner. The isolation is taken away. As one can readily see in this technique the subject has something to gain on the one hand and everything to lose on the other.

I am not suggesting that any police officer use the brainwashing technique as applied by the Chinese Communists or the Russians. I do say however, that the basic premise still exists that when a subject is given a choice between heaven or hell he will inevitably choose heaven.

(8) THE MUTT AND JEFF TECHNIQUE

This technique needs little explanation for it is as ageless as time. I am sure at one time or another every police officer and his partner have used this technique successfully on a suspect no matter what crime he is suspected of.

The bigger of the partners will assume the role of the hardnose detective. He is the one that becomes impatient with the suspect and his lies and starts to bang the table, talk very loud and if possible by pressure of his adam's apple against his collar to make his face become flushed and appear mad. His lines may go something like this:

"This S.O.B. is lying. He's lying all the time. I don't know why the hell you spend so much time with him. Why don't we just throw his ass in the bucket? I'm not going to sit here and listen to his god damn lies. We don't need his statement anyhow. I'm finished with him. You do what want but I'm getting out of here. I can't stand this S.O.B."

When this partner leaves, the soft approach is then used by the remaining partner. His approach may go something like this.

"I don't know why he does that. He's got us in more trouble by getting mad and swearing than you'll ever know. Some guys are like that. Personally I can't stand the big S.O.B. I wish to christ I had a different partner but for christ's sake, don't get him mad at you. He's a miserable S.O.B. And of course he's senior to me and can make it a little rough for me. Listen, come hear a minute. (The interrogator then moves his chair to the suspect and assumes a conspiratorial tone whereby he drops his voice to a low level). "Look, Mac, if you did it for Christ sake say so before he comes back in and I'll see what I can do. I'll put in the report. I don't want him putting in the report because he'll make it worse than it really is and remember, when he walks in that door, that's it, we're finished. It's the end because he won't let me come back and talk to you, he's just that type."

What has actually happened in this technique is that the hardnosed detective has upset and mentally unbalanced the suspect while the soft spoken detective takes over in the exact opposite tone. While the subject is in this state of imbalance, he is more prone to the soft technique, as practiced by the remaining detective or investigator.

Editor's Note: Throughout both parts of this article we have presented the manual as written, even to the extent of retaining spelling errors and clumsy syntax. The published portion represents only a small portion of the manual, there are 42 separate interrogational techniques outlined; there is a possibility that Cienfuegos Press may publish the entire text in the upcoming edition of the Anarchist Press Review and if this comes to pass we would recommend highly that our readers take the opportunity to read the entire manual.

Czech dissent: Silence then resurgence

by: Joey Stalin

The first part of this article (NAA 1) analysed the events of the Prague Spring, the Warsaw Pact invasion and the repression which followed. We saw how the opposition evolved from a quasi-liberal force into a revolutionary proletarian challenge to the bureaucratic dictatorship. When this incipient revolution was crushed, the people reacted by turning inward and silence temporarily prevailed.

Events in Poland in the Seventies have demonstrated how relative stability in East European countries is often very fragile and contains the seeds of its own destruction. Post-1968 Czechoslovakia has to a large extent mirrored this fact.

Relative prosperity did help to insure social peace early in this decade. But even so the bureaucracy's aim of gaining greater stability through a more consumer oriented economy backfired. The economic system proved incapable of satisfying people's desires. Rather than an economic boom there developed an economic crisis which racked an already inefficient system. The rising cost of oil and other goods from their Soviet 'comrades' hurt badly. The recession in the West further added to the problems. Economic indebtedness to the Soviets as well as to the West increased.

The political reaction effectively silenced older oppositionists but its heavy repression did not work so well upon the new generation of young dissidents. Youth and its culture proved a subversive force. The State responded with repression but this in turn fostered more subversion.

Thus rock groups became a focal point in the struggle. A very popular band called the **Plastic People of the Universe** was attacked. There were obvious reasons why. Their lyrics were very subversive and their public performances made them that much more of a threat. Lyrical attacks on parental behavior and upon striving for narrow materialistic goals at the expense of politics were an important part of the group's musical message. So too were lyrics taken from the works of censored poets.

Consequently, in March 1974, two hundred arrests were made at one of the groups concerts. Two years later further arrests occurred. Twenty-two of those arrested were put on trial including **Plastic People** members and musicians from a lesser known band **DG307**. The charges laid were hooliganism and organizing a musical event without an amateur's license. The sentences passed ranged up to 30 months in prison.

Renewed Opposition

This provoked renewed opposition to repression which further stimulated younger dissidents into action. Significantly, unity developed with people prominent in the earlier opposition. Thus Zdenek Mlynar, who had been a key figure in the reform wing of the bureaucracy, was among those who defended the victimized rock musicians.

With these events, 1976 marked a new stage in the struggle. The passage of the **International Conventions on Human and Civil Rights** into law the same year further sharpened the focus. Its text was purchased en masse in Czechoslovakia as it provided a tool for contrasting how their rights on paper greatly exceeded their actual rights in daily life.

Although the persecuted rock musicians viewed themselves as a social rather than as a political force their repression was a major factor leading to the emergence of **Charter 77**. Another was the signing of the **Helsinki Accords** which again on paper outlined the Czech state's claim to protect basic civil rights which were systematically violated.

So as 1977 began, roughly 250 people, mainly ex-bureaucrats, famous literary figures, academics and intellectuals signed their names to the **Charter 77** document. Its purpose was to unite the different forces within the opposition movement around goals which playwright and signatory Pavel Kohout has said were "for those who think realistically about the future." Even though the charter was a document of unity it is critically important

that it was never meant to replace the different currents in the struggle. This is especially so in view of its aim not to become a formal opposition. Rather, it desired to have a dialogue with the Czech state over human rights violations.

State's Response

The state quickly showed its only response would be one of repression. The authorities started 'questioning' people who signed **Charter 77**. There were arrests, threats of being expelled from the country, harassment, firings and even the removal of telephone service.

Simultaneous with the repression was a typically Stalinist smear campaign which portrayed the signatories as servants of imperialism. The accusations zeroed in on their class origins, since few were workers, and their obscurity. Using the class angle the state tried to get workers to join in the denunciations but they wouldn't cooperate.

The official media's numerous attacks again displayed the bureaucracy's talent for creating situations which backfire on it. Though not explaining the charter's goals the broadcasts were carried all over the country. In effect, the bureaucracy created mass awareness of **Charter 77**'s existence among a population which did not yet understand it.

Not so outside Czechoslovakia. Some of the most intriguing responses to it, and the resulting repression, came from West European Communist Parties. The Italian, Spanish, French, British, Danish and Belgian Communist Parties all protested against the Czech state's action. So too did many unions and left groupings. The official Czech media was silent about these developments.

Clearly, the desire of the Eurocommunist movement to appear democratic was proving an embarrassment. It illustrates a major new factor in international politics relating to East Europe. The Soviet block regimes, like the one Husak now heads in Czechoslovakia, now have to balance their determination to crush dissent with the prospect of further alienating the Eurocommunist movement from the USSR. The same process applies to a lesser degree, in relation to the international workers' movement outside of the control of pro-Soviet Communist parties.

The repression continued throughout 1977. Its worst victim was Alas Machacek who received a 3 1/2 year prison sentence for alleged distribution of literature the police never found. The judge remarked during the case that this occurred because "he had time to hide it." The only real evidence showing anti-state activities was his refusal to condemn the charter at an orchestrated trade union meeting.

Significantly, Machacek is a technician and so an industrial worker. Also during the 1968-1969 events he was noted for his support of the worker's councils. No doubt this made him especially dangerous.

However, despite the repression the dissidents' struggle advanced. By mid-1978 the number of people who had signed **Charter 77** had increased to nearly 1,000. Meetings were even held at the border with Polish dissidents who had organized defense work in Poland in response to the repression after the strikes and riots of June 1976. Joint statements and commitments of mutual support resulted. **Charter 77** activists also displayed internationalism through declarations against repression in the West.

Movement Evolves

As the movement evolved hundreds of documents were produced by its activists. These focused upon the state's repressive activities and on questions of strategy. They also made the different tendencies involved more apparent.

Even though there exists considerable diversity within the Czech dissident movement two main tendencies do exist. In an article entitled **The Roots of the Charter 77 Movement**, by Jan Kavan published in the Toronto based journal **Meta**, a discussion of the manifestos of the two tendencies **Ten Years Since the Prague Spring** and **100 Years of Czech**

Socialism explains the differences:

"**100 Years of Czech Socialism**. This manifesto contrasts sharply with a document entitled **Ten Years Since the Prague Spring** released by twenty-eight Prague Dubcekists, who take as their starting point the Prague Spring and compare the present situation with 1968. The signers of the latter document conclude that present political and economic problems are the same as the ones existing at the end of 1967, only more widespread and deeper. They indirectly offer cooperation with the government in solving these problems, because the 'situation is grave.'"



"The twenty-three signatories of the **100 Years of Czech Socialism** . . . on the contrary, take as their starting point the first program of a socialist and working-class movement in Bohemia, the founding program of the Czech Social-Democratic Party of 1878. They show clearly that many socialist principles have never been implemented over the hundred years, and some that the workers won have been again taken away from them by the bureaucracy after 1948 and after 1968. They conclude that they are determined to fight for the implementation of all socialist principles and that today this fight would have to be a struggle against the Communist bureaucracy, which "the workers today do not regard as a workers party but as a party of 'overlords'."

The fact that after the release of these manifestos only the authors of **100 Years of Czech Socialism** experienced the resulting repression again show that the bureaucracy realizes that a strategy aimed at the Czech working class poses the greatest danger to its rule. It is similarly

understandable to see why some dissidents suspect a willingness to compromise with the state by dissidents who would align themselves with the **Ten Years Since the Prague Spring** manifesto.

This puts the current repression into perspective. The leftists are persecuted the most, but the forced emigration of Zdenek Mlynar earlier this year has shown how the prominent bureaucrats of the Prague Spring period are also not free from persecution. So too has the disbaring of a lawyer who defended people who signed **Charter 77**.

Repression Today

The repression is still very heavy. The editor of the **Charter 77** information bulletin, Peter Uhl, a Trotskyist, was one of the ten arrested this past May 29. He has already been in prison for political activity so if convicted he will be forced to endure prison under the strictest category of confinement. He also faces a possible ten year prison term.

Overall, the situation for Czech dissidents is bad but not hopeless. Opposition forces in Eastern Europe are more broadly based and exist in more countries than ever before. Active solidarity by tendencies within the international working class movement, particularly in Western Europe and North America, is occurring on an unprecedented scale.

This is especially important for the further development of opposition forces placing themselves on the side of the East European working class. Extending support to them fosters the class struggle. This in turn supports the possibility of spreading it across national borders. In the process the liberal and nationalist opposition tendencies will be weakened.

With the possible exception of Bulgaria, where there is deep-rooted anarchist tradition, anarchism is almost non-existent in Eastern Europe. Given its history of defiant resistance to state tyranny it can easily flourish there. Relentless solidarity work will allow this to happen. Defense of the continuing Czech dissident struggle must be carried out.

In North America interested persons should contact: **Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners**, 191 Lippincott St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2P3 or **Information Bulletin on Democratic Movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**, P.O. Box 6574, Station C, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

In Europe there is **Labour Focus on Eastern Europe**, Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Rd., London N16 England.

For information specifically about the Bulgarian anarchists contact: T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, Eltham, London SE9 5RZ England or **The Committee Against Repression in Bulgaria**, 18, Rue Brunel, 75017 Paris, France.

Postscript: The first **Charter 77** trial is over and six of the ten **Chartists** have been tried and convicted as "subversives." Sentences totalled 19 1/2 years, including a five-year rap for Peter Uhl. The remaining accused are to be tried at a later date. Solidarity is urgently needed.

More Letters: Cont. from Pg. 2

GROTESQUE?

Dear Anarchists:

Your grotesque vision of a libertarian society founded upon computer technology ("Anarcho Technology") was almost enough to make me choke. I hope I'm never in the "widget collective" which your computer demands production from.

Every sentence in your article forgoes only capital with the bugs out of it ("We anarchists can run it more efficiently"). Does the author really talk blithely about "Commodities" without realizing that the production of such is the basis of capitalism?

The "problems" of production and distribution only become central as concerns under capitalism and their elevation to a political program manifests itself in five-year plans, all libertarian protestations aside. Our friends with programs and plans will come back one day in uniforms.

Turn the Factories into Dance Halls.

Tomega Therion Detroit

The author replies:

It appears as though you have overlooked the main point of the piece, which was to demystify the term "microcomputers" and emphasize their potential use as a tool which would be of use to a liberated society. Undoubtedly computers would be of use, removing the necessity for a lot of alienating paperwork, and eliminating waste in production.

On the subject of production, where would be without it? (Life without widgets?) The production of commodities is not the basis of capitalism. The basis of capitalism is the production and exchange of commodities for profit. As I mentioned in the article, as computer driven communications net would facilitate the distribution of the products of labour, from each according to their ability, to each according to their need, eliminating the retail chain.

I recommend that you play with a computer sometime, and try to imagine the possibilities. Also, read Sam Dolgoff's pamphlet **The Relevance of Anarchism to Modern Society**.



Libertarian Notes

HOMOPHOBIA AT THE BORDER LESBIANS BARRED FROM ENTRY

Anarchists aren't the only ones being excluded from the "Land of the Free and the 'Home of the Brave'" these days (see NAA no. 1). Many women on their way to the fourth annual Michigan Women's Music Festival were subjected to hostile interrogations, harassment and intimidation when arriving at the Canada-US border. The music festival has become a major women's event attracting up to 8,000 women this past August.

At the Port Huron, Michigan, border crossing at least 55 women were denied entry. Though not exclusively, many were denied entry into the States on suspicion of homosexuality and questioned accordingly. Some examples: "Why are you travelling with other women? . . . When was the last time you slept with a man? . . . You have denied that you are a lesbian but the other woman in your car has told us that all of you travelling together are lesbians. How do you feel about that? . . . What do you do in bed? . . . When was the last time you slept with a woman? . . . Who is the male and who is the female in your relationship?" 'Sexual Deviate' was actually stamped on some of the women's passports. There are also reports that some of the children were granted entry while their mothers were denied. Other acts of harassment included the confiscation of prescriptions and clothing items.

Interestingly, these crass actions on the part of the border guards fly directly in the face of the newest Immigration directive governing the entrance of suspected homosexuals into the US. Under the new directive lesbians and gays are allowed to enter on a "deferred" basis that holds them subject to a "homosexuality test" should the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ever manage to devise one. To date the state bureaucrats have been unsuccessful with their homophobic endeavour. Port Huron officials maintain they know nothing of the new INS directive allowing deferred entry of homosexual persons. Lloyd Bishop, a regional commissioner for border examinations had this to say: "If a person didn't understand what you meant when you asked them

about homosexuality then I might ask for more details of their life. I understand there are books published for the homosexual trade. What if someone had such materials? What if they were going to a meeting place where no one was going but homosexuals?"

The National Gay Task Force, National Organization of Women and Gay Rights National Lobby are all protesting to INS and the US Attorney General over the actions taken against the women. As in the case of political dissidents the state responds again with fear and reprisal.

HUA GUOFENG MEETS WORKERS' POWER

Chinese leader Hua Goufeng had an embarrassing encounter with British workers on his recent visit to Britain. The workers, members of the Public Employees' Union, waylaid Hua outside Highgate cemetery where he had just placed a wreath of red roses on Karl Marx's grave. The workers voiced their disapproval of Hua's recent support of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "We thought that since he was talking to Mrs. Thatcher and boosting her image it was about time he met a few genuine workers," said Michael Thomas one of the disgruntled workers. "Karl Marx would turn over in his grave if he saw how Chairman Hua is talking to a woman who is keeping workers' wages down," Thomas added. The Chinese, who have courted everyone from the ex-Shah of Iran to Richard Nixon, heaped praise on Mrs. Thatcher for her strong stand against the Soviet military build-up. Mr. Hua, who is much more at home in the halls of the mighty, beat a speedy retreat when confronted with workers' disgust over his crassly opportunistic policies.

CNT PLENUM DELAYED

The national plenum of the CNT, the mass anarcho-syndicalist union, has announced that the plenum originally scheduled for October in Barcelona will instead be held in Madrid in December. The national plenum, the first to be held since the Revolution, will attempt to synthesize the furious debate that has taken place within the CNT since its emergence from

the underground. An accredited observer from the ACF will attend the plenum and in future issues we will feature articles on the plenum and the CNT in general.

MINUS 5 NEEDS FUNDS

The latest edition of *Minus 5* (an international newsletter on Chinese events published in English by a group of Chinese revolutionaries operating from Hong Kong) is out. It contains important essays on the Deng Xiaoping line in relation to the class struggle, Peking Spring, the struggle between the pragmatists and the Maoists and an eye-witness account of a Shanghai mass rally early this year, totalling 50,000 words. Only a very small number, however, has been printed as they are financially very hard up. They would therefore much appreciate donations or subscriptions (US \$10 per year for four copies postage and bank charges inclusive). Please make cheques payable to 1984 Bookshop at address below, not to *Minus 5*. They are also preparing a book of Peking Spring underground material translated into English. Interested parties can drop them a line at: *Minus 5*, c/o 1984 Bookshop, 180 Lockhart Rd., 1/F, Wanchai, Hong Kong.

NEW ACF PAMPHLET

The ACF has produced a new edition of the classic work on anarchosyndicalists in the Russian Revolution by Gregori Maximoff. The pamphlet entitled *Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution* is available from Black Cat Press, POB 11261, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, T5J 2T6. The cost is 50¢ plus postage and handling, for a total of \$1.00.

The twenty-five page illustrated pamphlet also contains an afterword by Jeff Stein on the pamphlet's relevance to workers in the Eighties. Maximoff's pamphlet has been out of print for several years and this new edition is most timely.

AN AXE TO THE ROOT OF IGNORANCE

The latest news from India, the heartland of superstition, tells of the efforts of drought-weary farmers to bring rain. Naked women have replaced bullocks under the yoke to plow parched fields in the dead of night. The overly-religious folk of Uttar Pradesh consider this the last resort to placate Lord Indra, the Hindu god of rain. Meanwhile other devotees were pouring thousands of gallons of milk over a statue of Lord Shiva while outside the temple starving children writhed in the dust. But, perhaps the height of religious absurdity was reached in Raipur a village in Madhya Pradesh state where drought-stricken villagers ceremonially wed two toads. The amphibians were wed according to Hindu marriage rites and later released into a tank for their honeymoon.

CASTRO IN NEW YORK

The irony was almost palpable as Dr. Fidel Castro, the emperor of Cuba, visited New York to address the United Nations. The American secret service spent hundreds of thousands of dollars and mobilized hundreds of agents to prevent some fanatic doing what they had spent most of the Sixties trying to do — namely, to kill Castro. Castro was in New York to address the United Nations in his capacity as chairman of the non-aligned nations. His speech was relatively short and to the point considering the fact that on at least one occasion he gave a speech that lasted over 11 hours.

sin: Cont. from Pg. 16

they are upset that those entrusted with carrying out this persecution have proven unreliable.

Just how unreliable can be seen from the reactions of two of those named as Johns. The first is U.S. Attorney Theowald Anderson Jr.: "The claims made to Star reporters concerning me are true. The conclusion I have reached from all of this is that prostitution is not a victimless crime. It has hurt me spiritually and emotionally, and I agree with the feminist contention that it is exploitative of women." (emphasis added). It is unlikely that a belated conversion to a rather peculiar feminism will suffice to save Anderson's job; but what stands out is the incredible arrogance. This bastard made his living persecuting the women he slept with and then has the colossal gall to complain of his spiritual and emotional victimization. It's as if some Nazi war criminal tried to explain away his crimes by blaming the "international Jewish conspiracy."

But the second reaction is even more interesting, that of Judge Walter H. Mann: "Sometime, I felt — after I retired — I would write something about it, about the experience of having associations that to me have been very pleasant, almost meaningful experiences. They (prostitutes) are compassionate human beings. They're not out to harm anybody. They are as good as anybody you'd meet." (emphasis added)

In other words, Mann (who is 63) wants to go on making a bundle of bucks handing down verdicts against what he calls compassionate

human beings. Then, after he's retired, he'll sit down and write something nice about them — when he can no longer suffer any damage for speaking out in their defense. Gee, your honor, thanks a lot!

Living in capitalist society damages everyone. All of us have made degrading compromises to survive; all of us have suffered some loss in our humanity to preserve our exist-

Let us rely on our own means

by: Tom Marick

A good example of how the national question is related to worker's self-management is provided by the national situation of Quebec. There are at least three distinct responses to the national question there. The first is that of the

neo-capitalist petite bourgeoisie which demands a juridical cultural autonomy. Its political representatives are the Liberal Party and especially Pierre Trudeau and Claude Ryan. Its primary bases are the private sector French executives and professionals. The second is that of

the dynamic technocratic faction of the Quebecois petite bourgeoisie which demands a political independence. Its political representatives are the Parti Quebecois and especially Rene Lévesque and inter-governmental affairs minister

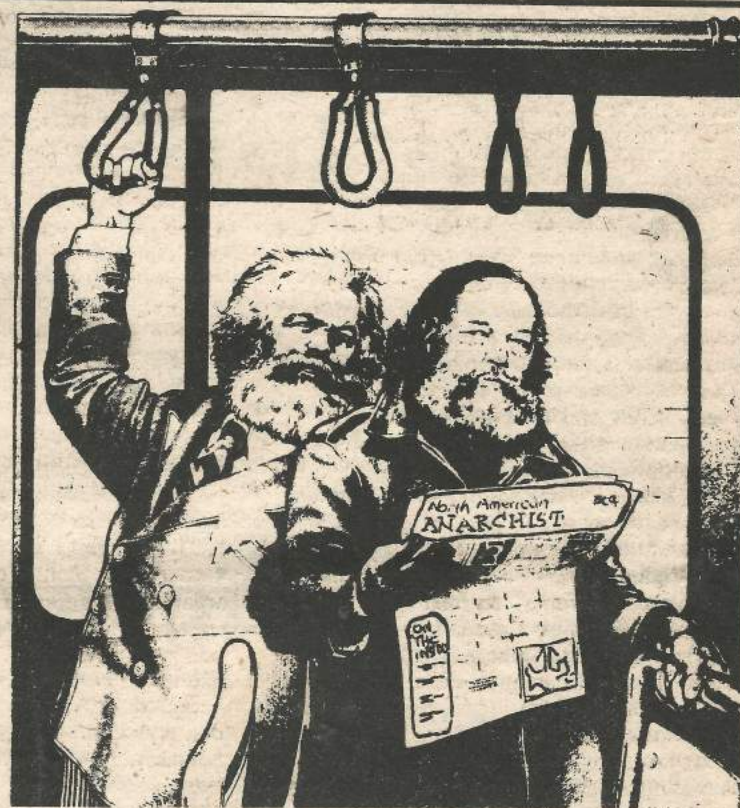
tenance. This is certainly true of hookers, to be sure, but it is even truer of those who make their living persecuting hookers. When the day dawns for those of authority in

state and church to answer for their crimes, they had better hope that prostitutes are still compassionate human beings — otherwise they'll be in real trouble!

Claude Morin. Its bases are public sector personnel centered around universities, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Hydro Quebec, and trade union executives. The third direction is that of the organized workers who demand an economic independence. It does not find representation, politically, at the level of the bourgeois parliament. Politically it represents itself

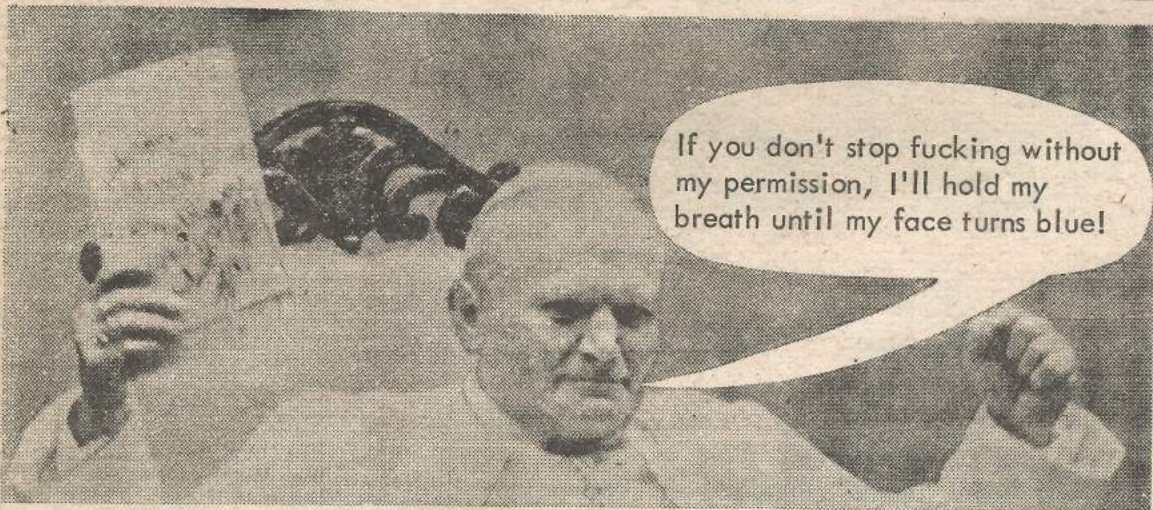
directly in such projects as *Operation Liberty*, the Common Fronts of the unions, the *Montreal Citizens' Movement* and revolutionary combinations of a general character. Its basis is the working class and its struggles for relief from national

oppression per se. It is consolidating as a class in the classic anarcho-syndicalist direction and in so doing learning to conduct the affairs of the potential community of immediate producers.



Don't be like Karl, reduced to reading over Mike's shoulder, make sure you get your copy of *The North American Anarchist*.

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The Pope's visit and the decline of religion

by: Frank Stevens

As this is written, the King Tut Exhibit has left for Toronto (its last North American city) and the Pope is on his way here. At least Tut was honestly dead!

By the time you read this, His Holiness will have already returned to the Vatican, cheered by the thought of his undoubtedly enthusiastic receptions. So little does he understand the character of a secular society, he will probably look forward to a great increase in "Christian Morality". He will be disappointed.

There are lots of obvious reasons for this. One goes back to the closing years of the 18th Century. It seems that folks discovered an amazing thing then: the town gambling den or brothel could avoid Divine displeasure through the installation of a lightning rod, even while the town church got hit during every storm. Sermons were preached about the sin of pride and it was even suggested that the great earthquake in Madrid was punishment for the North American use of lightning rods. About all this bluster accomplished was to give folks a notion of the poor aim of the Lord.

This humble event set the pattern for society in North America and has now spread across the planet. The average person today behaves in practical terms as if there are no gods. This is what the Pope is up against and what all religions are up against. I wouldn't bet on them with Confederate money!

Traditionally, religions have mainly relied on guilt and fear for their appeal, in some cases mixed with a sprinkling of compassion.

Guilt has been taken over by the psychiatry racket. Fear predominates only in cases of technological breakdown (an aircraft about to crash) and a return to the faith when someone has seconds to live is not very useful. And compassion, of course, is now a big business in its own right (known as welfare, national health, unemployment compensation, etc.).

About all this leaves is *habit*. People still go to church or temple or mosque because they've done so since they were children and their parents before them went. They still feel a kind of passive disapproval of "immorality". There are still tiny traces of guilt or fear present, just enough to enforce the ritualized behavior.

What makes habit an especially weak reed on which to build a church is the fact that people are terribly unhappy under capitalism. Since the prevailing myth has it that "if you're unhappy, it's your own fault", people become skeptical of their own habits.

Some will turn to religion, but the odds favor a turning away. What is seen as an empty ritual is abandoned; and whatever new ritual might be taken up, there is only a very small chance that it will be another religious one.

The Pope in common with all religious leaders is faced with a ter-

rible dilemma. No matter how much the old rituals are preserved or "updated", people have just lost interest. The faithful ask themselves: how can we get people's attention?

One way involves the attempt to mix religion and politics. For example, can you convince Irish that Catholicism is inseparable from Irish freedom? Can you convince the Québécois that Catholicism is an integral part of their national destiny? Can you convince the peasantry of Latin America that only the Church knows the road to freedom from feudal and imperialist oppression?

I once heard a preacher in the mountains of Kentucky promise his congregation that the greedy mine-owners were going to "burn in Hell".

The problem with this approach is that while people no longer expect results from religion, they demand results from politics. If you promise Ireland or Quebec freedom and then don't deliver, you will be lucky to escape with your physical integrity intact, leaving the charred ruins of your church behind. It's quite possible that the Pope is well aware of this possibility, which would account for his attempts to de-emphasize Catholic political activism.

This leaves only the grimmest alternative of all: to mobilize the faithful in a fanatic attack on all that offends the Church. The best example of this in the west is the anti-abortion "movement", a blatant front group for the Church's last stand in North America. While a vast majority of the people consider abortion to be a woman's personal choice, a relative handful of idiots have launched attacks on women's clinics, inspired reams of terroristic legislation, and generally been a large pain in the ass. But they haven't stopped abortion as one of the alternative methods of birth control and they are clearly losing the battle. Their attacks are repulsed and the clinics go on operating and expanding. Their

legislation is ruled unconstitutional or simply by-passed by doctors willing to ignore their laws. Manoeuvre, bribe, terrorize as they will, they are powerless to impose their will on tens of millions of women no longer willing to suffer an unwanted pregnancy.

How the Pope must envy his brother in Iran — where sinners can still be publicly executed for "crimes" like adultery or homosexuality. His Holiness will overcome his envy, no doubt when he sees the fate the Iranian peoples have in store for this new Shah. I've always agreed it's better to be scorned than shot!

The verdict of the last five centuries seems conclusive: religion as a force in human affairs is doomed. The death agony has been prolonged. Religion has revived temporarily in a few places for a short period of time. Religion has slowed down progress in a few areas and even still does what ever it can to stand in the way. But there is little it can do and that grows less with every passing day. The Pope can still be a celebrity, but most people would rather watch football.

The Pope rules the shell of an empire. Its military power has vanished. Its centuries of plunder and loot are dropping into a bottomless pit of mismanagement and corruption. Its weapons of moral authority are discredited and empty. All that remains is ritual, that is, a little showmanship, a little song-and-dance routine.

And so it is or will be with all religions. The recent fuss over "rediscovering spirituality" in certain political circles will be regarded by the future as one of those little incidents that remind us that human history is not a straight line. Cults we may always have with us, but cults they will always remain — historically insignificant. For better or for worse, and I think for the better, the human race has taken the sin of pride to its heart. We will have no other gods before Us. The Vatican will become not so much a museum as an amusement park.

Wages of Sin

(MINNEAPOLIS) — OK, everybody knows sex sells newspapers. When real news was slow, the boys down at the *Minneapolis Star* decided to do a story on "high-level figures" and prostitutes. Everyone knows the private fondness that politicians and executive-types feel towards hookers (possibly due to the fact that assholes and creeps don't stand much chance with women on a non-cash basis). It's only a matter of a little digging, and capitalist reporters are good at that, if nothing else.

To the surprise of every four-year-old child in Minnesota, they hit paydirt. To be precise about it, they found enough evidence to prove that six bigwigs are customers of prostitutes: a U.S. Attorney (his office prosecutes prostitution-

related "crimes"), two Minnesota State Senators, a Minnesota assistant City Attorney, a Minnesota District Judge (who supervises 22 judges), and, funniest of all, a paid lobbyist for Minnesota's Roman Catholic Bishops.

(We can see the lobbyist now on the carpet in front of his holy bosses: "What I do on my own time is my own business...!")

The *Star* is full of righteous indignation at this hypocrisy, to be sure. All these officials are in charge of prosecuting what they privately support. No wonder people don't respect the law, blah, blah, blah.

What they won't say, of course, is that no one should respect the law. The *Star* does not wish for an end to the persecution of hookers

Labour Pains

NOT A MEMORIAM

On August 5, 1979, Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing workers union (from 1946 to 1972) died in New York City. Big deal, many of our readers are probably saying. Yet it is a big deal since for most of Potofsky's life he considered himself a socialist. But, history fools no one and neighter could Potofsky.

Both Potofsky and "his" union were friends of capital and under his leadership capitalists and bourgeois politicians alike praised him for his "responsible" and "progressive" leadership. A close look at the details of his responsible and "progressive" leadership proves otherwise for the average clothing worker.

An article in *Colliers* magazine of March 2, 1946, only too well summed up the class collaborationist record of Potofsky and the Amalgamated: "In the clothing industry . . . regional associations of employers dealing with a strong union have made strikes rare. Even more rare are violations of agreements with employers, and once when workers in Rochester, New York, got out of control, the national Amalgamated Clothing Workers union helped the employers lock the rebels out until they promised to maintain discipline . . . Although the Amalgamated dominated the clothing industry, it has always left employers a free hand and has encouraged introduction of new machinery and methods . . . The Amalgamated's production and financial experts have helped reorganize weak firms, have helped tide over others by lending them union funds. The union once underwrote several hundred thousand dollars of securities for a Baltimore firm, cut wages and helped run the company until it was on its feet." (Emphasis added).

Earlier in his career, according to the 1919-1920 *American Labor Yearbook*, Potofsky believed that American society should be "based upon the ownership of the means of production" by American workers, and to attain that goal there would be a "constant and unceasing struggle . . . between these two classes (the working class and the capitalist class)." However, since those early years Potofsky retrogressed to the position that he held dear until the day he died, that of a staunch "supporter of the free enterprise system." (New York World Telegram) Need we say more?

JERSEYNOTES

For those of the Canadian and provincial American persuasion, New Jersey remains an enigmatic mass of citizenry (with a pocket of territory to match) lying smack kerplunk betwixt New York and Philadelphia. Spawning ground for mafiosi, corrupt politicians and industrial sewage, Jersey produces a class of taxpayer renowned for his/her intolerance of those in public service. It has been stated in the media that the worst thing one resident of Newark can say about another is that "he must be running for something." This is a populace with an attitude problem.

The Autumn season brings as much labour trouble to the Garden State as it does colours to the trees. By mid-September of 1979, teachers were on strike in the school districts of Paterson, Perth Amboy, Woodbridge, and Morris Townships. College professors hit the bricks at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Union College and Monmouth College. Teachers in Woodbridge, this reporter's home town, waged a particularly hard struggle for a 10% first-year salary increase. The 1,030 members of the Woodbridge Township Federation of Teachers (AFT-AFL-CIO) picketed the districts 29 schools and made life worrisome for the \$75 a day scabs "teaching" inside. While the "substitutes" at the three township high schools were showing their charges such cinematic masterpieces as *Night of the Living Dead* and *To Sir With Love*, their cars were undergoing extensive body remodification by pickets in the faculty parking lots.

Exasperated by low student attendance, the heckling through classroom windows, and damage to their cars, the scabs responded in kind by running down strikers (14 in all) who blocked their entrance to the streets. The wheels of justice promptly cranked out an injunction against picketing. Helmut Karl Littman, a process server trying hard to hand picketers copies of the court order, threw his offerings on the ground when the teachers refused to accept them. A sharp-eyed Woodbridge cop promptly arrested Mr. Littman for littering. Woodbridge being a stronghold of the state policemen's union, the PBA (as well as the location of its headquarters), court injunctions against union picketing take a little longer to enforce.

Of course one can't ignore a law completely, so the Woodbridge Police rounded up 21 strikers on charges of violating a court order. After pleading innocent to the judge, these teachers were released the same day on their own recognizance, without bail. From then until the end of the strike the WTFT and the police had a tacit understanding on peaceful picketing away from school property.

This nine-day strike finally ended on September 17, after teachers ratified a new 2-year contract with the Board of Education. Members got a 9% raise the first year with a wage-reopener clause for the second year. A notable concession obtained by the WTFT and its sister AFT union of clerical workers was a broad "no reprisals" clause guaranteeing amnesty for all participants in the strike, including students who might otherwise have faced disciplinary action for absence during the strike. This clause also authorized the Board to withdraw contempt of court charges against the 21 arrested picketers.

WORKERS' POWER

Just to give you an idea of what workers can do if they decide to use their collective power: The recent millers' strike in the Duluth, Minnesota — Superior, Wisconsin region had the grain companies and the government in fits. Coupled with the Rock Island Railroad strike, these workers were able to stop 10-20% of US grain exports. Governor Bernard Quie had twice appealed to Carter to invoke the anti-labour Taft-Hartley law. Although Carter refused, saying it was not serious enough, the companies thought otherwise. With full elevators and stranded storage tankers the companies have lost millions in profits. The point of the matter is that if workers on both sides of the border were to flex their muscle the way the Rock Island and the millers were doing, they could put the capitalists out of business — permanently.

cont.: See Sin Pg. 15