

North American ANARCHIST

50¢

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

War is the Health Of the State



Anarchists from across the United States helped make the March 22 Anti-Draft demo in Washington a success. Over 30,000 people marched against militarism

demanding that plans to re-instate the draft be scrapped. Keep those black flags flying!

Craig Glassner/Phantasm Photography

By Ben Mered and A. Kogan

Lately there has been a lot of ranting and raving about defending "American" interests in the Middle East and "standing up" to the Soviet Union. Carter, who is using all this to insure himself a second term in the White House, is now calling for draft registration and greatly increased military spending.

Although the so-called 'Carter doctrine' may appeal to the sense of honor and national pride still felt by a large section of the American people, it is worth examining just what it will cost and who exactly will be making the sacrifices the President is calling on us all to make.

War Economy

First of all, Carter's call for "3% real growth" in defense spending ignores the fact that the military budget is already grossly bloated. We have suffered through a decade of rising inflation due in large part to the Government's devaluation of the dollar in order to pay for the Vietnam War and other military waste.

Also, even if the present crisis doesn't lead to war, we will be left with an even greater stock of armaments and war material than before. Since these things cannot be consumed or used to produce other things, they can only serve as a

drain on the already depleted resources of the US. Even the term 'national defense' with regards to these things is a joke, since the military defense of the US is a full scale nuclear war would be impossible.

The entire mythology about how military spending is good for the economy should be scrapped. Even though some jobs may be created at first, the long-range effect is not only economic instability, but a trade-off where military muscle is swapped for rebuilding the cities, the railroads, dying industries such as steel, etc. The Carter Doctrine may succeed in keeping the US number one militarily, but it will reduce the country to the status of an underdeveloped nation economically.

A Massive Stockade

But it is not only economically that working people will pay for the return of the Cold War. Political repression and the slow but sure transformation of the US into a massive stockade will surely follow, making the McCarthy era of the 1950's look mild in comparison.

In his State of the Union message, (perhaps better referred to as a bugle call), Carter stated that "... we need to remove unwarranted restraints..." from the CIA and other intelligence agencies. By allowing

See War, Page 3.

ON THE INSIDE

Seabrook:
A Dissent Pg. 5

Solar
Power? Pg. 11

CNT
Congress Pg. 12

ACF
Conference
Pg. 13

Cienfuegos
Booklist
Pg. 14

No Choice But Abstention

By Lazarus Jones

After completely out-classing the Liberal opposition in the legislative debate on the wording of the referendum question it appears likely that the Parti Quebecois (PQ) will push for a late-May vote with May 20 being the most likely choice. The decision will be based on the returns from a massive fund raising and opinion sampling blitz conducted by 20,000 PQ party workers at the end of March.

The Liberals chose to stick to an attack on the wording of the referendum question terming it "ambiguous and deceitful." The PQ on the other hand took the opportunity, provided by live TV coverage of the debate, to paint a glowing picture of an independent Quebec. As a result the Liberals came across as carping pessimists and readily conceded that they had "lost" the debate.

The Liberals, however, were dead on in their criticisms. The PQ do the people of Quebec a great disservice by suggesting that independence can be achieved without any hardship whatsoever. True independence, as Pierre Vallieres declares in his book *The Impossible Quebec*, "will never be attained without action that is socialist, anti-imperialist, self-managing and ecological in nature."

Such action would encounter resistance from not only the

Canadian federal government but also the United States which already sees in Levesque's feeble posturings the seeds of a "northern Cuba" despite the PQ's pathetically eager attempts to reassure the U.S. government that an independent Quebec would be content to remain a vassal state within the American Empire. The PQ's plan for "independence" foresees no break with consumerism, capitalism or class society. And as

such it is a fraud that must be strenuously opposed. An independent Quebec can only be the result of a mass based socialist revolution made by individuals prepared for a radical break with existing modes of social organization.

Such a revolution will not be accomplished by stuffing pieces of paper into a ballot box. Such a revolution will not be the product of the elitist machinations of political parties or vanguard sects. Such a

revolution can only be the result of the autonomous action of the working class.

It is for these reasons that the Anarchist Communist Federation calls for abstention in the independence referendum. Neither the PQ's independence fraud nor the Liberals' re-

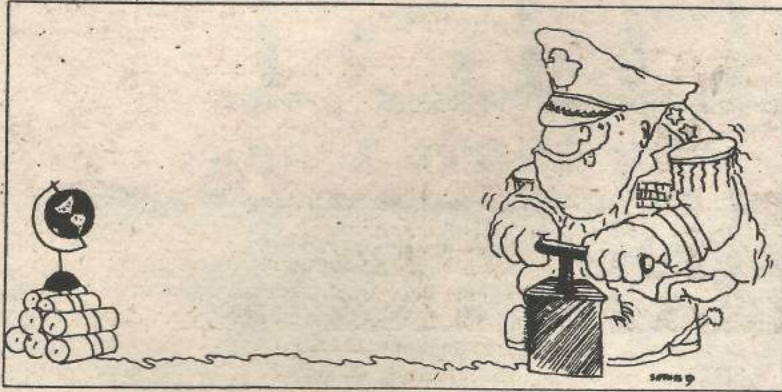
vised status quo truly represents the needs and aspirations of the Quebecois. The dream of independence can only become a reality if the people of Quebec are willing to cast

See Quebec, Page 15.



Quebec premier Rene Levesque beseeches the masses to support the petite-bourgeois independence project. The polls indicate that they will.

For Starters



Welcome to our "reactionary" issue. In NAA4's Letters column we have some of the feedback on Frank Stevens' *Politics of Topless* article as well as a reply from the author. Ivan Neigum in *The Land: Another View* offers another perspective on the urban/rural question and Frank Stevens takes issue with the advocates of the Seabrook occupation in *Seabrook: A Dissent*.

Also in this issue we are printing the 1980 Cienfuegos Press booklist. This anarchist publishing house has a subscription service (\$30 US per annum) which entitles the subscriber to all Cienfuegos Press publications for the current calendar year. This includes the quarterly *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* which is probably the single best anarchist publication available today and well worth the cost of a subscription itself. We would encourage all our readers to support the fine work of the Cienfuegos Press.

We've finally found office space for the paper that we can

afford. We'll also be operating a small bookstore on the side to be called the *Autonomy Bookroom*. So if you are ever in Toronto drop by 175 Lapping Ave. (two blocks north of the Lansdowne subway) for a chat. We'll be in and out of the place at all hours but the bookroom will be open from 5 to 9 Thursday and Friday and from 12 to 6 on Saturday.

This issue is the first to be mailed out to the U.S. section of the *Open Road* mailing list and also, most probably, the last. Our request for second class mailing privileges has been refused by the Canada Post Office. We are considering an appeal but if this fails we will be unable to mail to the whole OR list as at 15¢ per copy the costs become prohibitive. So if you received this issue as a complimentary copy we advise you to take out a subscription if you wish to ensure that you continue to receive NAA.

The refusal of second class mailing privileges has also dealt

a blow to our hopes of going to a monthly publishing schedule. It also means that our already heavy mailing costs will increase rather than decrease. In order to offset this burden we are establishing a *Sustaining Fund* and asking our readers to contribute what they can. Starting in NAA5 we will be listing donors and the amount of their pledges. Please inform us if you want your contribution listed under your name, initials or simply as an anonymous donation.

Letters to NAA and all other correspondence should be addressed to: *The North American Anarchist*, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

The opinions expressed in any one article do not necessarily express the views of the ACF or its affiliated groups. The only exceptions are articles which explicitly state that they represent the opinion of the ACF as a whole.

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NO BLOOD FOR OIL!

We of the Anarchist Communist Federation are vehemently and unalterably opposed to draft registration and conscription in whatever country they may occur.

THE DRAFT IS SLAVERY AND CANNOT BE TOLERATED

Once again young workers and students will be forced to risk their lives to maintain the profits of the powerful few. We condemn an economic system which forces youth into the military because no other jobs are available.

We will aid and abet anyone engaged in anti-draft struggles, or G.I. resistance within the military.

LETTERS

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

TOPLESS PRO

Comrades,

You have no doubt received much comment on *The Politics of Topless*. I have worked in the sex industry and have had a number of friends who have worked in it and I would like to make some comments.

First, the sex industry, like most industry, is owned and controlled by the capitalists. The workers in the industry sell their labor to the capitalists. They are wage slaves, and it is condescending and moralistic to condemn them because they choose one job over another, unless one also condemns every worker who works in an industry one deems "wrong".

Second, a person's body is their own, to do with what they please. If they want to dance naked on stage, that is their right. Some people enjoy it. If someone wants to have sex for money instead of romance, that's their decision. I give workers in the industry credit for being more in touch with their own sexuality, and less hung up with conventional "morality" in expressing it, than most people, anarchists included.

Third, there is heavy State harassment of workers in the industry. The workers — the prostitutes, projectionists, clerks etc. — not the pimps and owners, are the ones who get arrested. In fact, the bosses will set up troublesome

workers to get rid of them. There is a wide-spread anti-state sentiment among the workers, born of experience. Where else is arrest a daily occupational hazard?

Fourth, the sex industry fills a need. The repression of normal sexuality by the church, the State, and society generally, has produced people who cannot relate to their sexuality in open, loving, interpersonal ways. And most of us find ourselves without a sexual partner at times.

If a person cannot relate to their sexuality "normally" — i.e. sex with a partner for mutual satisfaction within a broader relationship — they need to find other ways. Some choose casual sex, for money or mutual satisfaction. Others choose to masturbate, perhaps aided by erotica. Some don't relate to it at all.

As always, where there is a need, the capitalists will "fill" it if they can make a buck doing so. This was the point of the so-called "Sexual Revolution" a device to increase awareness of the need so it could be exploited. They needed a "revolution" to do so because this was a legitimate need that had long been repressed by the Church and State, rather than a pseudo-need they created themselves.

In a free society, people will come together to meet their needs, be they sex or food, in mutually satisfactory ways. In the meantime, we are fed plastic sex and plastic food. We can't reject them without creating alternatives.

Lee Dupre
Los Angeles, California.

TOPLESS CON

Dear NAA,

I want to respond to Frank Stevens' 'sympathetic perspective' piece, his *Politics of Topless*. I'm angry after reading it. The article is a crystal-clear example of how some men in the 'anarchist movement' continue to unquestioningly embrace the cultural privilege that comes with a penis: by choosing not to understand patriarchy as part of the hierarchy they so passionately (yet most of the time, theoretically—) combat. Why? Because ignoring this privilege benefits those who have it, and leaves them free to dream of a 'revolution' after which the only change in sexual relations between men and women would be one of quantity!

Frank Stevens talks a lot about sexuality in alienated society and sex-as-commodity. We can all relate to these problems. But his use of the words 'sexual and social freedom' wake me up to the fact that he's not speaking the same language as me:

"...there are dozens of magazines available in every grocery store that 'sell' sexual freedom..."

"...if a few women are to be allowed somewhat greater social freedom" (he speaks of topless dancers—) "they have to be reminded constantly that they are inferior..." (italics mine)

Are womyn's splayed legs in magazines 'sexual freedom' to Frank Stevens? Does womyn's 'social freedom' consist of dancing around naked for a bunch of men who pay?

It doesn't benefit Frank Stevens to consider these questions at all before going on to make distinctions between sex-as-a-commodity (which he pledges will 'decline with time' because it is "boring"—) and sexual-fantasy-as-commodity, which

is not only 'not boring' but enjoyable and 'necessary', for its consumers, at least. For Frank Stevens, these consumers fall into two camps, the 'bad' guys (those that treat the dancers in blatantly obnoxious ways—) and the 'good' guys, ("those men who go to the clubs precisely because the macho role is no longer of interest to them.")

Why FS makes this distinction is his business, but how a man who has 'no interest' in the macho role can pay to look at a woman's breasts or genitals is beyond me. (Are we to have a revolutionary movement made up of womyn, and 'non-machos' who still enjoy a good peep show?)

FS wants those on the Left to wipe off our "smirk of moral superiority", if we happen to have one on, and to realize we are not so much different from "those who work in the sexual fantasy industry." The fact is, many womyn already realize that the 'fantasy' that nude dancers or pornography weave is not fantasy at all, but simply an enactment of our male-defined 'place' in society, without benefit of polite, progressive, or liberal wrappings. Yes, we are cunts. Yes, we are tits. Yes, we are here to entertain:

"—So women are maintained at a distant/inferior position — to be psychically milked, much the same way ants maintain colonies of aphids to provide a life-giving substance for their masters."

(Audre Lord, *THE EROTIC*
As *Power Chrysalis*, Fall 1979)

The topless bar is a microcosm of society, with the overlords, the paying exploiters (who FS would call 'victims') and the wage-slaves all present. When FS yowls, "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?" he misses the point that there is a very basic oppression going on, one that has more to do with colonization than work conditions.

When the dancers "reacted in bewilderment" to a Womyn, Take Back the Night! march, they reacted like the old slave in the Cuban film, *The Last Supper*; when he was 'given' his freedom, he too reacted in 'bewilderment' — he nearly gave his freedom back from the mere fright of its alien-ness and power. His freedom now threatened his entire self-image, not to mention his economic situation.

I can imagine the dancers peeking out the door on the night of the march and seeing womyn, alien sisters, dressed in functional and comfortable clothes of their own choosing, yelling to shut down the very establishments that fed the dancers; the establishments and the world inside them, that, like husbands, may break one's limbs or give black eyes but who usually come through in the end with money to live on. (And acceptance and approval, too, for being 'what a woman should be.')

There has never been 'sexual freedom' for womyn (don't kid yourself about the 60s, Frank —) except for those who refuse to swallow male definitions of sexual freedom. There will never be freedom at all until womyn start defining what freedom means for themselves. And, hear! Frank Stevens, I want revolution, too — but if there's going to be dancing, it's got to be for the pleasure of the dance, and open to everyone, 'cause if there's any leering 'revolutionaries' standing around, we're all lost. Guila C. Howard
Washington.

War Continued from Page 1.

the CIA to open up its bag of 'dirty tricks' again, the Government will bring back the worst elements of the Nixon regime.

Return of the Draft

Carter's call for the "revitalization" of the Selective Service System means the return of the draft in the near future. Reinstitution of registration is the first step to subjecting young men, and very possibly young women, to the sort of enslavement that many of us fought hard against not even a decade ago.

The return of the draft would also make it easier for the military big-wigs to involve the US in more of such brutal affairs as Vietnam, by assuring them an ample supply of soldiers, that is to say, cannon-fodder. The one thing it will not do, contrary to current propaganda, is alter the military balance of power between the US and the USSR.

Middle East Power-Play

One region where this balance of power has become more and more crucial to the two super-powers is the Middle East. This area has always been a focal point of international conflict, but as events in Iran and Afghanistan have demonstrated, it may become the staging ground for World War III.

After World War II, the strongest nations in the world, militarily, politically and economically were the US and USSR. These two giants divided the world into two spheres of influence, substituting 'God-father' style, protection-racket imperialism for the old-fashioned, European-style colonialism.

For the past 35 years, this continuing competition has been an important factor in the major conflicts in the region. For instance, the much publicized treaty between Israel and Egypt, mediated by the US, was not so much the result of US goodwill as self-interest. In return for the promise of peace and US aid, Egypt abandoned its former 'sugar daddy', the USSR, and both Egypt and Israel have offered the US military bases.

The same motives are behind the US criticisms of Israel's policies in the occupied territories and intervention in Lebanon. The US is trying to appeal to 'moderate' Arab states, hoping that their fears about Soviet bases in South Yemen and

the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan will outweigh their opposition to US-Israeli ties. The US thus hopes to encourage them to be more 'co-operative', thereby allowing it to "...Expand our own sphere of friendship..." as Carter put it so glowingly.

The Afghan "Revolution"

Back in 1939, when the USSR and Nazi Germany were negotiating the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Soviet Foreign minister Molotov declared that it was only possible "...provided that the area south of Batum and Baku, in the general direction of the Persian Gulf, is recognized as the focal point of the aspirations of the Soviet Union."

This area includes Afghanistan, which, as can be seen from the recent invasion, is still the focal point of Soviet aspirations. This explains why, when the Amin government seemed to be straying too far from the Soviet line, and was unable to crush the growing rebellion, the USSR intervened to overthrow him and replace him with someone more to their liking.

There are, however, many so-called Left groups that have endorsed the invasion, claiming that the Soviet Union was acting on behalf of the Afghan "revolution". Nothing could be more absurd. How can a military coup, which places power in a political party with no base of support but middle-class intellectuals and Army officers, be considered a revolution? Even if the new government has tried to push through some important reforms, as has been argued by the pro-Soviet apologists, how effective can they be if they are rammed down the throats of an unwilling populace by an unpopular, oppressive government. This is further aggravated by the fact that the government is propped up by the bayonets of a foreign power, in this case the USSR.

At this point we should make it clear that we have no illusions about the nature of the Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion. It is probably true that it is dominated to a large extent by the most reactionary elements of Afghan society, such as landlords, Islamic clergy, etc. But this in itself does not make the Soviet invasion any less imperialist or any more "progressive". The history of Soviet "interventions" on behalf of "revolutions"

has been one of crushing genuine worker's revolutions, such as East Germany in 1953 and Hungary in 1956, in order to preserve their puppet states in Eastern Europe, and maintain their own sphere of friendship.

The situation in Iran has also given the Soviets cause to intervene in Afghanistan. Besides the possibility of US intervention there, the USSR is worried about the upsurge of Islamic militancy and nationalism which could incite the oppressed, Islamic minorities inside its own borders. The Soviet Union has already twice occupied parts of Iran, once after the Bolshevik revolution and later in 1948.

The Empire of Oil

Control of the Straits of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf, the centre of Middle East oil traffic, is still a major US concern. As early as 1924, the German libertarian socialist Otto Ruhle stated that "...After the ending of WW I, the most pressing imperative for America, if it did not want to lose again the hegemony won over world economic domains, was to bring the oil production of the world into its own hands, in order to thus monopolize the guarantees of its ascendancy..."

Since then, the US government, in concert with the predominantly American-run multi-national corporations has used the most unscrupulous methods to maintain its domination of the Middle East oil trade. This is best illustrated by the CIA-led 1953 coup in Iran, which returned the Shah to power.

But OPEC and the Soviet Union are now demanding a cut of the take. So the US has, to quote Carter, "...increased and strengthened our naval presence in the Indian Ocean..." and made "...arrangements for key naval and air facilities...in the region of Northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf." One must realize this effort is *not* to prevent the deprivation of a vital energy source for the American people, since Carter's energy policies at home demonstrate a lack of concern for that. It is, rather, to defend the power and profit of the oil companies as well as US strategic position.

The China Syndrome

Another element in the present crisis is the involvement of the People's Republic of China, making the scenario for war more complete.

China has entered into joint defense talks with the US and has promised aid to Pakistan and the Afghan rebels fighting the Soviet Union. Already there are reports of Chinese advisors fighting beside the rebels.

Saturday War Fever

The question remains: why the sudden upsurge of war hysteria? Presently we are facing a global economic crisis that shows no signs of letting up. Unemployment, inflation, monetary collapse and declining productivity are all problems which undermine the authority of established rulers everywhere. The rulers, in turn, deal with their crises by directing popular anger and frustration against foreign "enemies" who threaten "national security" and "honor".

This is why the media has presented an image of a U.S. united and resolved to meet the Soviet threat. All of the other serious problems facing our country have vanished in a cloud of patriotism and "national will", as Carter put it.

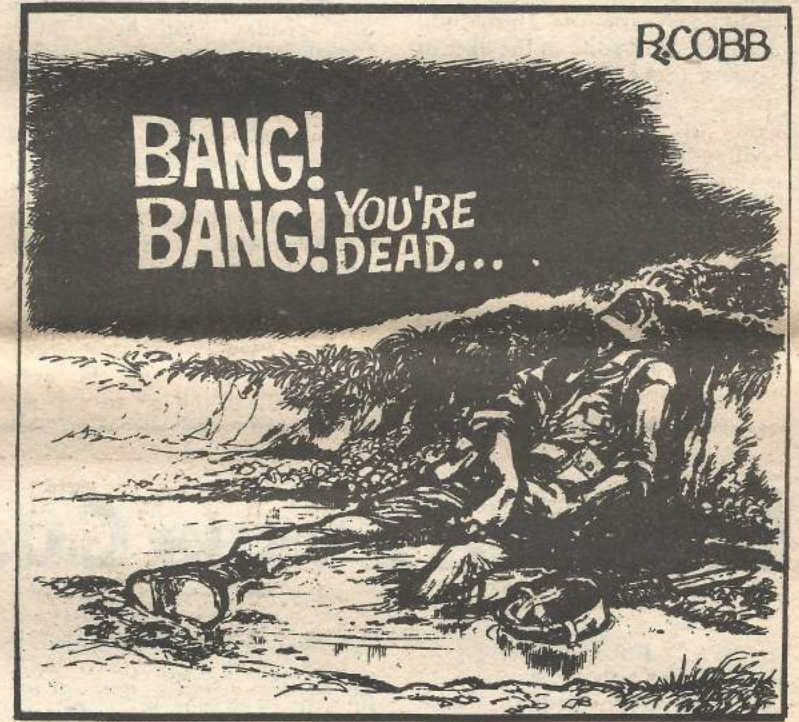
The present course of events can only lead to destruction. But we need not resign ourselves to the inevitability of this. It remains for the American people to wake up and realize the danger of this path, and challenge the actions of our so-called political "leaders".

It should be clear to us all, whether we're workers, students, homemakers, or unemployed, that the main cost of the next war, like all those before it, will be paid for with our own "blood, sweat and tears". All in the interests of those who rule us, be they called corporate executives, Party officials, or Holy Men.

The Real Enemy

As anarchists, we feel that the real enemy of the poor and working people of this country is not the Russian, Iranian, or any other people. It is rather capitalism, the system that puts profits before people, and the State, which serves only itself, be it 'democratic', 'Communist', 'Islamic', or whatever. As long as the world is divided up into competing, power-hungry states, each controlled by a small group defending its power and privilege with armed force, there will always be the threat of another world war.

Real peace will only come when people throughout the world take matters into their own hands and re-organize society without bosses, classes, or states. We need to create a world-wide system of decentralized economic planning and generalized self-management of workplaces, schools and communities, that is, anarchist communism.



More Letters

MORE TOPLESS

Dear NAA,
When I first read the article **Politics of Topless**, I thought it was a worthwhile article. Upon discussing it with friends and rereading it in a critical light I see I have serious difficulties with the view of the author.

It is easy to understand and sympathize with women who allow their sexuality to be exploited. All of us are aware of the economic and social forces which bind all of us in chains of oppression and exploitation. The article did much to illuminate some of the specific forms these chains take for topless waitresses, but that is about all the article did.

The feminist struggle as I understand it is the struggle to eliminate exploitation and oppression of women because of their sex. For Mr. Stevens, the author of the article, to give the idea that somehow women involved in the "sexual fantasy industry" is not only absurd, it is an affront to all those women (and men) who are consciously and explicitly attempting to destroy sexism in this society.

As a working person actively involved in the struggles of the working class I can understand and in certain respects sympathize with the women who are exploited in sex

industries. If you apply the same standards to these women in their relationship to the struggle for women's emancipation as we do to workers, and how they relate to the struggles for the emancipation of the working class, we can come to no other conclusion than that these women are scabs and scissorbills.

As individuals we can understand them. As a group though they act as a break to woman's solidarity. In the struggles against patriarchy women in the various sex industries function much like scabs do in breaking working class solidarity.

The feminist movement in its struggle for human liberation has waged a consistent and continuous battle on the psychological as well as the material levels. Radical feminist theory developed through long and arduous struggle has identified many of the psychological weapons of patriarchy. The material weapons are only too apparent.

One of the major weapons patriarchy uses (in league with its institutional supports, capitalism and the state) to keep women in their place is the **objectification** of women. Patriarchy demands that women be seen and used as sexual objects by men. Capitalism uses this as an opportunity to make profits, and thus acts to perpetuate the psychology of woman as sex object. The state acts to aid and support patriarchy by creating and defending the social conditions under which women are

exploited and oppressed.

If Mr. Stevens can see topless waitresses as rebellious and assertive, it is only because as individuals these women are still resisting the position society has created for them. It is only because as individuals they are still struggling to have meaningful and creative lives. Of course these women help and support one another against the extreme forms of exploitation by the bosses, and the consumers. Of course as anarchists we must do all we can to aid them in their struggles. But we do a disservice to them though if we hide the social effects of their actions from them.

Mr. Stevens attempts to show that these women act to break the psychological models men have of women as being "passive". It is not up to women to break mens warped psychology. That is a task that men must undertake for themselves. As anarchists we should be among the first to realize this. Mr. Stevens, may have had his perceptions of women changed by his experiences with topless waitresses, for the vast majority of men though I really doubt if this is the case.

What kind of fantasies men have when they sit around a topless bar is rather irrelevant. The facts are that in those areas of cities where the sex industries concentrate, women are not free to walk the streets without the very real fear of being harassed or attacked by men.

In the struggles to create a

working class solidarity we have no compulsions about calling a scab a scab. We attempt to show and educate a scab how through his/her actions they act to destroy working class solidarity. We should not hesitate to do the same with the women scissorbills in the sex industries.

No person given a free choice will choose a life of moral or physical degradation. As anarchists we are attempting to build a movement based on individual and social morality. The difficulties inherent in our struggle are awesome. We have no desire to force anyone to accept any particular brand of sexual morality. But we do have an obligation to destroy patriarchy and sexism. The sexual fantasy industry is just the latest weapon used to dehumanize women.

One of the feminist's goals is the creation of conditions where women can decide for themselves how they use their own sexuality. That means the destruction of all those social, political and legal relationships which force women to use their bodies for someone else's benefit.

The issues are not whether or not women or men choose to dance in the nude or go topless, or perform sex for voyeurs. The issue is under what conditions a person chooses to do this. In a society based on an ethic of male supremacy and domination, backed up with the economic power of capitalism and

the legal/political power of the state, women involved in sex industries are counter-revolutionaries.

They are scissorbills just as surely as woman who gives sexual favors to her boss, while all of her co-workers have to put up with the sexual advances of that same boss. We can understand the economic and perhaps even the personal motives that lead a woman to do this. Be that as it may, her actions support the boss in his belief that he can get sexual favors from his employees. The social effects of her actions are no different than the effect of a scab.

The women in the sexual fantasy industries will show they are truly strong and assertive people when they refuse to scab on their sisters. They will show they are a part of the feminist struggle when they say, "I refuse to help you men in creating an image of women as sexual object. I will no longer perform for you under the conditions that you men created. If I want to go topless it will be under conditions of my own choosing — not yours."

Mark Kaufmann
Champaign, Illinois.

More Letters

See Page 6.

The Land: Another View



By Ivan Neigum

It is quite common that, when people divide up on various sides of an argument, they cannot see that it may not be that "a" is right or that "b" is right, but rather that both "a" and "b" are wrong. Recent articles in the *North American Anarchist* on the subject of technology and "The Land" seem to illustrate just such a case. It is certainly easy for the "pro" individuals to respond to the likes of Therion (NAA 2 Dec./Jan.). The spectacle of a would-be bohemian living off the fat of the very civilization he condemns and issuing ignorant and pompous statements from the warmth of beautiful Detroit elicits nothing but contempt for the depths of hypocrisy that people can sink to. Anyone who *knows* something about agriculture or "hunting and gathering" knows bloody well that it would mean massive death to at-

tempt to return the present world's population to such a situation. Of course people like Therion are more can endure the "slings and arrows" of the type of work few people are used to anymore. The construction of a libertarian society, Bookchin and followers aside, is going to take a lot of plain hard work. Rather than disparaging the weak, we should learn from what happened and realize just how much "idealism" still has to be inculcated into people before we can even begin the task.

society isn't exactly famous for building the type of person who has a deep enough faith in what he or she is and is striving for so that it concerned with "humanity" than they are with humans.

Yet, when I read Stevens on "the land", I realize that many people who are trying to preserve some common sense among the ever shifting fads of the left are far too

busy reacting to ideological foolishness and far too negligent in doing serious analysis. Yes, the "back to the land" movement of the counter-culture has failed in the main. The majority of its "successes" have been when the people involved are either willing *and* capable of turning the romantic dream into a normal business or where the people are dominated by some vile "spiritual" tyrant. Too bad, but it was really to be expected.

First, the "ideals" of the back-to-the-landers were generally not what one would call deeply held courageous convictions. This

Second, given the general class background of the back-to-the-landers, it is also no surprise that they failed. What happened is that the segment of the population that was least capable of undertaking a given task was the very one to take it up. This isn't simply a factor of aversion to physical work. It is also that the people who "went back" were people who had been trained all their lives to have their entertainment spoonfed to them, who were totally without the personal development to create their own worlds in either family circles or in small communities. Throw these people out in the middle of nowhere and of course they're going to get bored.

The general background of these members of the "televisionariat" points out this very deficiency. Most passed through the drug culture and, if they did get out at all, only got out by switching brands to a religious opiate. Quite a bit different from the vast numbers of people who had the courage to quit

without phoney excuses. The passage to the superstitions made these people even less fit for the hard job of resettlement. It burdened them with all sorts of superstitious ideas of "naturalness" and made them easy prey for whatever fad happened to wander its way by. This idea of the "natural" made them reject the very technology that would have perhaps made the difference in terms of really being able to rebuild the countryside.

Now we come to the "however". The simple fact is that, without agriculture everything else grinds to a halt in the shortest time possible. While farming may not be the only essential industry it is definitely *one* of the essential industries. Let's face facts. The transition to a libertarian society isn't going to occur in one fell swoop. The history of 20th century revolutions should show us this if nothing else does. "Single act" revolutions seem to have an



invariable tendency to end in tyranny and a new ruling class. As anar-

chists, and supposed atheists, we should free ourselves from the God of "revolution" as much as we free ourselves from other superstitions. The transition to anarchy, if it occurs at all, will occupy a whole epoch, will last decades at the very least. This is the period in which people learn to organize themselves freely and gradually find ways of encroaching on the power of the ruling class. People simply don't know how to do this now; even we as anarchists are (or should be) fully aware of the defects in our *own* organizations. This is to be expected. We are a young movement, both in terms of the average age of the membership and in terms of the experience that our groups and people have evolved to deal with a situation that is *not* that which the classical anarchist movement dealt with (or failed to deal with).

The realization of the realistic time frame we are operating in is not an apology for pacifism. The transition will, undoubtedly, involve violence. The point is not to mistake this violence for the "revolution". Like the bourgeois revolution and the managerial revolution (in most of the world) the libertarian revolution is more a process of undermining than it is of confrontation.

Now, within this process of undermining, it would be sheer foolishness to ignore the industry that produces the food we eat. To neglect the power those who control the food supply have is sheer suicide. Hamburgers don't come ready made from a hamburger fabrication plant in Toronto, believe it or not. The gradual march to power or ordinary people will have to go along in balance — balance between city and country and between agriculture and other industries.

There are, and will be, people who want to escape the mess that present day cities are in and return to the countryside. Just because the first "mass" exodus proved a failure doesn't mean that this desire is going to go away, and the desire is *not* confined to the type of people involved in the "back to the land" movement. It would be extremely shortsighted not to see the libertarian potential in this for the future. Our ability to win in the countryside in the future will have a big bearing on our ability to win in the cities.

Yours truly grew up in a small town of less than 100 people, and I have no illusions about the romantic "naturalism" of outdoor toilets at 40 below. Yet, there *are* flush toilets and central heating out in the country now. The problem of the land is too crucial to ignore because of the immaturity of the first group to raise it in the post WW II era. Sure, the counterculture has failed because of their illusions. Let's see what we can learn from this failure. Let's tackle this important task *without* their illusions.

Kamalla Loses Custody Hearing

By Brian Amesly

Kamalla Miller's long struggle against the state is approaching its probably climax. Sources close to her inform the *North American Anarchist* that she will go to trial on charges of child theft and burglary in early April.

The accusation of child theft arises from Kamalla's having "stolen" her own daughter Ishka from her parents, the Moores. Kamalla took Ishka as an act of last resort following a very biased court ruling last year granting custody to the Moores. During those proceedings the presiding judge cited the anarchist beliefs of Kamalla and her husband Arthur as justification for his decision. The judge also decided to grant custody to the Moores on the basis of their considerably higher income openly asserting that their wealth made them better guardians. The burglary charge simply exists because Kamalla had removed a screen window while retrieving Ishka.

Afterwards Kamalla fled to Arkansas. However, some months later she was arrested. While held in the Carroll County, Arkansas Jail awaiting extradition proceedings Kamalla was raped by a guard.

The extradition orders for her return to Orange County, California quickly went ahead with the signed approval of California Governor Jerry Brown and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton. Kamalla was then transferred to the Orange County Jail. There she was subjected to various forms of

harrassment. These included a guard-inspired death threat, confinement to an isolation cell and the attempt to prevent her lawyer from gaining access to her.

Kamalla remained defiant throughout. She went limp, refusing to cooperate. She also staged a hunger strike. In the meantime her lawyer won a reduction in

bail from \$100,000 to \$10,000 enabling her supporters to gain her release.

Kamalla now had the opportunity to be present at a mid-January child custody hearing to again settle the question of who would be Ishka's guardian. It was a fine example of the kind of "justice" Kamalla has become accustomed to.

Again Kamalla and Arthur were grilled about their anarchist beliefs. Clearly the presiding Judge H.Q. Hall had a strong dislike of their anti-politics. He ruled against the Millers by granting custody of Ishka to the Moores. Unabashedly admitting his prejudiced views he stated that no anarchist mother could ever be a fit and loving parent.

Revelations made during the hearing make this decision criminal. The most shocking came from one Nancy Allbriton, an Arkansas social services department worker, who said Ishka saw her grandmother, Mrs. Moore, kill her younger brother Jason while in the Moores's "care". Then later the Moores received \$35,000 in insurance money as a result. Ms. Allbriton also said Ishka consistently refused to speak to the Moores on the phone while in the care of the Social Services Dept. and threatened she would run away if returned to them. Significantly, an investigation last year by the California Social Services Department had already concluded the Moores were unfit to be guardians.

The court-appointed lawyer for Ishka provided further evidence of how unjust the hearing was. He

argued that the Millers should not have even been allowed in the court room because they were anarchists. Instead, he felt they should be put on a whipping post and whipped!

Sense of Desperation

With this defeat paving the way to the upcoming trial the people active in the **Kamalla Support Network** all felt a sense of desperation as the trial draws near. Kamalla herself is pessimistic and seems resigned to going to prison.

The District Attorney for the case wants to see her get 10 years. He has the previous rulings, the Moores wealth and the strong political conservatism of Orange County California going for him. Kamalla and Ishka have to fight with a serious lack of money but a growing support network which now includes a long list of organization and individuals. Most are drawn from the anti-authoritarian left.

Now more than ever support must be mobilized on a massive scale for Kamalla Miller. Expressions of solidarity and requests for the latest information should be directed to: **The Kamalla Defense Committee**, 632 N. Britannia, Los Angeles, California 90033 (213-2649814), which is also the address for correspondence to Kamalla, **The Kamalla Support Committee**, 1324 Powderhorn Paris, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407 and **The Kamalla Support Network**, c/o Arthur J. Miller 3525 Gravier St., New Orleans, Louisiana 70119 (504-9437041).



Kamalla Miller

ACF CONTACTS

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EDMONTON, POB 11261, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, T5J 2T6.
MONTREAL, POB 1415, Succ. H, Montreal, Quebec, H3C 2W4.
VANCOUVER, c/o NAA, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

Seabrook: A Dissent

By Frank Stevens

The next attempt to occupy the nuclear plant site in Seabrook, New Hampshire, is scheduled to begin on May 24th. The Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (CDAS) intends to physically occupy the site until such time as the construction of the nuclear plant is permanently halted and the project is abandoned.

At this writing (late February) no one can say whether Seabrook II will be more successful than its predecessor. But the prospects do not look good, mostly for reasons having to do with the strategy of nuclear plant site occupations. To my knowledge, no one has questioned that the focus of anti-nuke struggle should be directed towards the plants themselves or, as in the case with Seabrook, towards sites where plants are being constructed. But Seabrook along with many other such events should be raising practical questions about the best way to struggle against nukes.

To begin the process, ask yourself what it would have taken to make Seabrook a success. The first and most obvious answer is many more participants.

Nuclear plants are normally built in isolated areas at considerable distances from populated regions. Any kind of direct action at a plant site involves physically moving the participants to the area where the plant is located, feeding and sheltering them in some minimal fashion while the action is taking place, and then returning them to their points of origin (usually a nearby city). Any breakdown in this process threatens the project itself with total collapse.

Tightly organized affinity groups expect to fend for themselves (provide their own transportation, food, shelter, etc.). But most people are not part of such groups, even most people who are active in anti-nuke struggles are not part of affinity groups. These people will not go to Seabrook at all or, if they do go, will need a lot of logistical support if they are to be more than a hindrance.

Related to these considerations is the fact that nuclear plant sites are very large areas. To effectively occupy such areas demands a large number of people; smaller groups

will simply be surrounded by police and removed from the site while the plant continues unhindered or, at best, temporarily inconvenienced.

Finally, there's the saying that "it's not real if it isn't on television." Employees of the capitalist media are just as lazy as all of us on our own jobs; if reporting our side of an occupation means a lengthy trip to an isolated area, cross-country hiking in a pouring rain, etc., then our side is not going to be heard. (Of course, some anti-nuke "leader" may be interviewed in a Boston studio, but that's hardly "our side.")

In other words, the Seabrook strategy means that we take the most militant (and often most libertarian) activists out of their own urban communities off to an isolated area in an attempt to occupy a plant site which is probably impossible and which is guaranteed to be poorly reported by the media.

I have no evidence one way or the other, but this is such a bad idea that I suspect its origins must go back to the pacifist/liberal types that started the anti-nuke movement. Their love of symbolic actions against symbolic targets would suggest picking the plants themselves as sites for their ineffectual rituals of protest. Also, the isolation of the plant areas would make it easier to screen out those who lacked "official" training in non-violence.

But whoever thought it up, the strategy is clearly and hopelessly inadequate. We should try to think of a better way.

Although nuclear plants are the main danger of nuclear power, the plants don't spring from the earth spontaneously. Governments working closely with utility companies decide to build these plants. If enough hell can be raised, governments and utility companies can be made to change their decisions.

Where do most people opposed to nuclear power live? In urban areas. Where are major utility headquarters and important government offices (like the Department of Energy, for example) located? In urban areas. Where are your potential/actual support networks for direct action located? In urban areas.

Where will any direct action receive maximum coverage by the media? In urban areas.

Where are potential allies located? Groups struggling against utility

spends their lunch hour on a picket line to the person arrested for smashing a computer terminal?

Every aspect of strategic thinking points to the cities as the focus for

the location of the computer room.

After as much information of this kind as possible is gathered and a plan of attack is decided on, a large demonstration around the building is called. The morning of the demonstration, affinity groups move in and occupy the public area and whatever targets are decided on. By the time the demonstration begins, the occupation is well under way. False alarms and police calls divert the authorities from the intended targets.

By lunchtime, the downtown area where Monolith is located is a mess of confusion. Demonstrators, fire trucks and police vans, tv trucks along with the usual congestion (blocked buses, etc.) are intermingled. The occupation forces announce they intend to stay until XYZ Nuclear Facility is shut down. They call on people to support them by refusing to pay their utility bills or coming down to picket the building or putting up money for the bail fund or whatever.

The outcome is, of course, uncertain with the best of strategies. If public feeling against nukes is running high at that point in time, Monolith could decide the game isn't worth the candle. More likely, it will take many confrontations, some of them violent, to make the government-utility complex give up on nuclear power.

The Seabrook Strategy is a confrontation, true enough. But it is a confrontation where we are weak and the enemy is strong. The enemy is stronger than we are in the cities as well, but not as much stronger. There are more of us and we are better equipped to stop nuclear power in the cities where we live.

There might almost be a social law to the effect that all movements against oppression begin by attacking symbols of that oppression. Certainly, it's possible to think of lots of examples. But then there comes a time for serious movements, to go beyond symbols and begin attacking the oppressor where it hurts. If the struggle against nuclear power is to become a serious social movement, that time must come soon.



Would these people be better off in the city? Stevens' argues that the mass occupation of a power company head office would not only be easier but also more effective. In any case we wish the May 24 Seabrook Occupation the best of luck. They'll probably need it.

rate hikes? Groups struggling for the rights of the elderly? Where are most feminist groups, many of which are strongly anti-nuclear, located?

Where are logistical problems involving large numbers of people at a minimum? If the authorities choose violent repression, where is their exposure at a maximum? Where can effective cooperation at every level of commitment be accommodated, from the person who

anti-nuclear struggle. A simplified scenario might look something like this:

A series of scouting expeditions into the headquarters of Monolith Power & Light would begin the project. Like all utilities, Monolith has a large public area on the ground floor where people open accounts, pay their bills in person, and so on. A directory indicates other potential targets located in the building, from the office of the president to

Kyritsis Still Under the Gun

By St. Stateless

Many readers of the NAA will recall that in NAA1 we had an article on the case of two Greek anarchists, Philippos and Sofia Kyritsis, who were sentenced to 9 and 5 years in prison respectively for alleged possession of a molotov cocktail. The following piece is based on an article in the Greek anti-authoritarian newsjournal IDEODROME. This report covers events up to mid December of 1979.

DECEMBER 13, 1979. Philippos Kyritsis is on the twentieth consecutive day of a hunger strike whose purpose is to enable him to exercise his right of meeting his wife Sofia who herself is held a prisoner.

The following message was sent outside the prison by Kyritsis.

TO EVERY ANARCHIST,
TO EVERY FREE PERSON —

Anyone who consciously tolerates the new regime which tortures and kills if it considers it worthwhile (remember the fate of Panagoulis, Tsironis, Spyropoulos, etc.) becomes equally guilty of the crime and becomes our jailer. The testimonial facts of their crimes are behind the prison walls. Our jailers say: 'The prisoners are the criminals, therefore we are innocent.'

But we the prisoners are not going to take the role of a scapegoat. We consider ourselves prisoners of a social war and we defend ourselves against human degradation and anti-human conditions which we encounter daily with the only way that we have got left.

Freedom is not given, it is won!
VIVA ANARCHY!
Ph. Kyritsis

Since March of 79 Kyritsis has gone on four major hunger strikes for the abovementioned reason. It should be noted that for a prisoner to meet his/her wife/husband once a month is a legal right in Greece.

The situation is critical for it involves the survival of these two anarchists and also of other political-social prisoners. Sofia Kyritsis is psychologically abused by the prison authorities since they administer various drugs to her such as Tavor, Stedon, Mocadon, Nonsinal against her will. She even was threatened with transferral to a mental hospital so she can see what 'real oppression in mental institutions is like' when she complained about her conditions in jail.

Knowing the irreversible damage that drugs such as the above cause to the human body and mind we

denounce the Greek government and its lackeys — the police authorities — as willful torturers and murderers of their political opponents.

What follows is a translation of a major part of a leaflet put out by the Revolutionary Prisoners' Support Group which is part of a broader group called Group To Push Forward For Occupations.

"The gradual extermination of the anarchist Ph. Kyritsis is now a fact beyond doubt. Ph. Kyritsis, a prisoner of social war, is on the 26th day of a hunger strike protesting the inhuman living conditions which were forced on him by a regime which harbors violence and lies against human beings. It's his 5th time in isolation and with health impaired.

"But Ph. and S. Kyritsis are not the only revolutionaries who rot in Greek prisons. Here are the names of a few: G. Skanthalis, K. Vasiliadis, K. Miras, Tapoutis, Milatos, Vlahakis, G. Asimenithis, Th. Katsanos.

"Skanthalis, a follower of Vasili Tsironis — Tsironis who was killed by the police in his apartment, is now at the Special Disciplinary Prison in Corfu where he is slowly tortured to death by our so-called



democratic authorities. To his repeated hunger strikes the state has responded with tube-feeding, transferring him to mental hospitals where he is treated with the strait-jacket, electro-shocks and cold showers. As for Asimenithis (17),

and Katsanos (20), both are serving two-year sentences. A fact, which is kept in the dark by the lackeys of the state and capitalism, is that both of these comrades were arrested at

See Greek Page 13.

Anarchist Feminist Notes

Economics and Reform

In the last few years the women's movement, in my area at least, has been concentrating more and more on women in the economy, women in the workforce and unions and women — issues that deal with the economic oppression of women. Judging from what sisters in various areas in North America are saying this trend to focus on women and the economy is quite widespread. The March 8th International Women's Day march I attended reflected this focus much more so this year than in previous years.

There is good reason why this is so. In Ontario alone, during the past 18 months, women have been involved in several bitter labour disputes — at Fleck, Trident, Bell, Radio Shack, Blue Cross, Inco Wives Assoc. to name a few. In most cases it was the women's first experience with unions and strikes. Because these women were fed up with poor working conditions, low pay and job insecurity they went on strike, garnered support and won their demands. Equal access to employment reforms were won by the Women Back Into Stelc campaign and other cases where women were hired in traditionally all-male fields.

As important as these reforms are, it is essential that the women's movement does not de-emphasize the other important issues that affect women besides economics. The struggle against patriarchy, against violence against women and the oppression of lesbians and minority group women and the fight for more and better day-care facilities, for free and safe birth control and for the control of our bodies must occur concurrently with women's economic struggles. Otherwise the economic issue struggles would result in reforms to the capitalistic system and women's liberation would still be impossible.



Abortion on Demand

One important way for women to gain their independence is to demand control over their own bodies. Many people falsely assume that abortion on demand is a right which already has been won. This is not true. Many women, particularly outside major urban centres have no access to abortion. Many women, some as young as 19, have been told they cannot have an abortion unless they agree to be sterilized. Other women are forced to undergo abortions without any anaesthetic in order to discourage women from seeking abortions at some hospitals.

It is important to note that the anti-choice people have not slackened off on their activities. Anti-choice groups have attempted to gain control of publicly supported hospitals in order to force through policies of no abortions under any circumstances. They are also very active lobbying politicians to introduce more stringent abortion laws.

The anti-choice people, who are mainly headed by male Roman Catholics by the way, have withdrawn financial support from such organizations as the United Way, UNICEF and Miles for Millions walk because Planned Parenthood was one of the organizations that would receive funding. If these people get their way we could also lose those organizations that promote vital birth control information and sex education classes in the schools.

That is why we have to stress that women are not wanton murderers . . . that the choice to have an abortion does not come easily . . . that it is a choice that only the woman can make . . . that we will not be forced to bear children we do not want . . . that we will not be punished for the lack of safe birth control devices . . . that we will not be punished for enjoying sex with men.

That is why women — individually and in groups — must make abortion the priority issue that it is. We have to ensure that those that stand against women's rights do not get their way.

CORRECT LINES

Due to an error in lay-out the last paragraph of the CNT article on page 1 was garbled. It should have read: "Most of the older militants maintain that the CNT must remain solely a labour union, while the younger militants, who are obviously more motivated by the newer influences upon the anarchist movement, wish to see the CNT broaden its orientation."

In the Stalinoid item in *Libertarian Notes* a gremlin caused us to name March 5, 1953, as the 27th anniversary of J.V. Stalin's death. It should, of course, have read March 5, 1980.

In Sue Kabaleusky's article *A Hard Rains Gonna Fall* the archaic term "Eskimo" is used instead of Inuit. We apologise for this error.

Letters More Letters More Letters

EVEN MORE TOPLESS

NAA

I attended your ACF meeting last spring with some friends, hoping that I would find a group of like minded comrades that I could join and work with. What I found was a group of old time central committee members who had just changed their party lines. There was no room at that meeting for a truly Feminist presence, one that meant warmth, sharing, playfulness and hard work all at the same time. I left dismayed but decided that you were doing no harm and that I would just forget about you all. Then recently I received a complimentary copy of NAA, delivered without a plain, brown unmarked cover. All other anarchist literature I receive comes covered but for some reason you folks decided to tell the postal authorities and the border authorities about my political inclinations **without my knowledge and consent**. Who gave you the right or permission to do that? I had thought I would just ignore that affront to my dignity, because again I felt that it was probably unintentional, as were the affronts to me while I was at your conference.

However, last week, a friend of mine sent me a copy of the NAA No. 2 (under brown cover, by the way). In that issue I read two of the most outrageous pieces of drivel written by an alleged anarcha-feminist and I feel that I can be silent no longer. I think that your anarchist feminist pages are useless and don't tell the story at all about what is going on in the anarchist-feminist community. Where are the women in your newspaper — have you scared them off, as you did me?

The articles by Frank Stevens were quite poor. The first one on the topless scene was an affront to the women that he wrote about. I feel like he exploited them by interviewing them (I would doubt that he would have told them just what kind of a journal the article would appear in). I felt that he was using their brains just the way most men in their lives use their bodies. I am also dismayed to see that he feels that feminists are not dealing with women like this. That is not true. Many feminists are involved in organizing in communities just like the one he describes. I know that in my work as a therapist I deal with women like this daily. I make feminists connections about their lives in a human and personal manner that has meaning to them — not by just spouting rhetoric. The author had a Lefter Than Thou tone that only alienates and does not educate. Who is he to be telling feminists what we should be dealing with? I left male dominated politics 12 years ago and I did not become an anarchist to have men tell me what to do. I left people like Frank Stevens behind long ago and I refuse to bother working with them now. I think that Mr. Stevens should be dealing with his own oppressive attitudes, which are self evident in his writing. I found his second article on patriarchy the worst! I felt that he wrote from no personal experience or first hand knowledge. He assumed that Anarchists and Feminists go on maintaining patriarchal relationships while many of us in relationships are struggling daily with just those issues and have actually made some progress. At least we are getting involved and are trying to make some concrete changes. He gave no examples of how we are maintaining patriarchy, a poor tactic for an author who is making such heavy accusations. It seems to me that his article is an attempt to justify his own inability to have meaningful relationships.

I think that some of what you write about is OK. You just need a stronger feminist presence and you all need to confront the innate sexism in your operation. Good luck.

Yours for a better world,
Elaine Leeder
Ithaca, New York.

FRANK STEVENS REPLIES

Even those who consider themselves revolutionaries, even those who "question everything" can nevertheless make the all too human error of considering certain matters "resolved" or "finished". In order to do anything at all, we all make the presumption that some things are final and certain. My piece attempted to show a large area of human behavior in advanced capitalist societies that revolutionaries in the past have either not considered at all or have simply passed off as trivial and without political significance.

If reportage and discussion of the sexual fantasy industry is to be "off limits" to the anarchist-communist press (except for pro-forma condemnation), what else is likewise prohibited? In the course of a Rock Against Racism concert in Toronto, a band's electricity was disconnected because some people disapproved of the band's lyrics. Since I don't know what the lyrics said, I might have agreed or disagreed. But as a revolutionary, I feel I have the responsibility to call the shots as I see them . . . even if this risks making people angry or upset.

Of course, reportage and analysis is not the same as praise or approval. My piece was sympathetic to the dancers and to the customers who treated the dancers in a human way; it was hostile to the club-owners and the customers who treated the dancers in a shitty way. I can imagine similar pieces written about other segments of class society; for example, there are people who join police forces out of a sincere desire to help people (though they don't stay on the force very long). There are even people who enlist in armies to (they think) serve the cause of freedom. People operate from complex motives; as long as the overt desire to oppress and exploit other people is absent, I'm inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt.

This does not mean that there isn't a lot of exploitation and oppression that takes place that people aren't conscious of. Men really do oppress women in ways in which men are totally unaware of, ways that are deeply ingrained in patriarchal culture. Adults oppress children in the same way. Will this oppression end by refusing to bring it up (except in the form of lip-service resolutions at ACF conferences)?

No, I believe we must look at social reality with our eyes open, willing to examine the "sordid" as well as the "inspiring" the Fact that we may (or may not) know a little more than most people does not confer moral superiority. Instead we should be conscious of how little we really do know and how much we need to learn in order to make a revolution.

As for me, I have no apologies. The sexual fantasy industry is definitely a growth industry in advanced capitalist countries. Most recently, clubs open to women only featuring male dancers have opened around the country (including here in San Francisco). The dancers I spoke with impressed as favorable as any group of people I've ever met. People who choose to look down on them as willing colonial slaves or insects only indicate how badly they need to rethink their own politics. In any event, there will be feminists who will reach out to the

women who work in the sexual fantasy industry, not in disapproval but in sisterhood. The effort will not be a wasted one

TECHNOCRATS?

Dear Technocrat:

Although this is probably hopeless, let me try one final time. Your answer to my letter in the last issue only emphasized my suspicions about your view of the world: your concerns are those of the capitalists — efficiency, waste elimination, production, and hence the social relations which stem from that view. I recommend that you drop your computer and play with **yourself** sometimes and try to imagine **human** possibilities for a revolution and leave the machine dreaming to the robots concerned with domination.

By the way, your lame defense of the use of the word "commodities" to justify their existence in your system after the revolution falls apart sharply if you even look at your own definition. It is only through the production of commodities that surplus value or profit can be extracted, so stop quibbling. You have both the technical vision and the language of capital.

I usually think it pretentious as hell to recommend reading to others but I picked up the Dolgoff tract you suggested and found it generally witless, as conservative as you, and authoritarian (Thanks, Sam, but I can define my own anarchism), but since I did you the courtesy of taking your suggestion for reading will you do the same for me? Please read Murray Bookchin's article, *Self-Management & The New Technology* in the Fall 1979 *Telos*; it speaks directly to our discussion and as you can imagine does not sustain your position.

Smash All Computers,

Tomega Therion.

D.J. Replies

In a sense you are right, some of my concerns are elimination of waste, efficiency (in terms of energy), and less alienating modes of production. Another of my concerns is that you seem to be ignoring the main thrust of my argument, that some (but not all, of course) forms of modern technology can be useful in a self-managed society. I picked on microcomputers as a particularly dramatic example of a technology which would be useful, if it was organized in a non-hierarchical way. In fact, Bookchin backs me up. The core of his piece is that technics must be analysed ethically to determine their usefulness in a free society. It is how production is organized that is important. For instance the production of vehicles must go on, although assembly lines must go. "The decentralized gardens, solar panels, windmills and recycling centers can be centralized, industrialized and structured along hierarchical lines." Commodities all, if they are exchanged for profit.

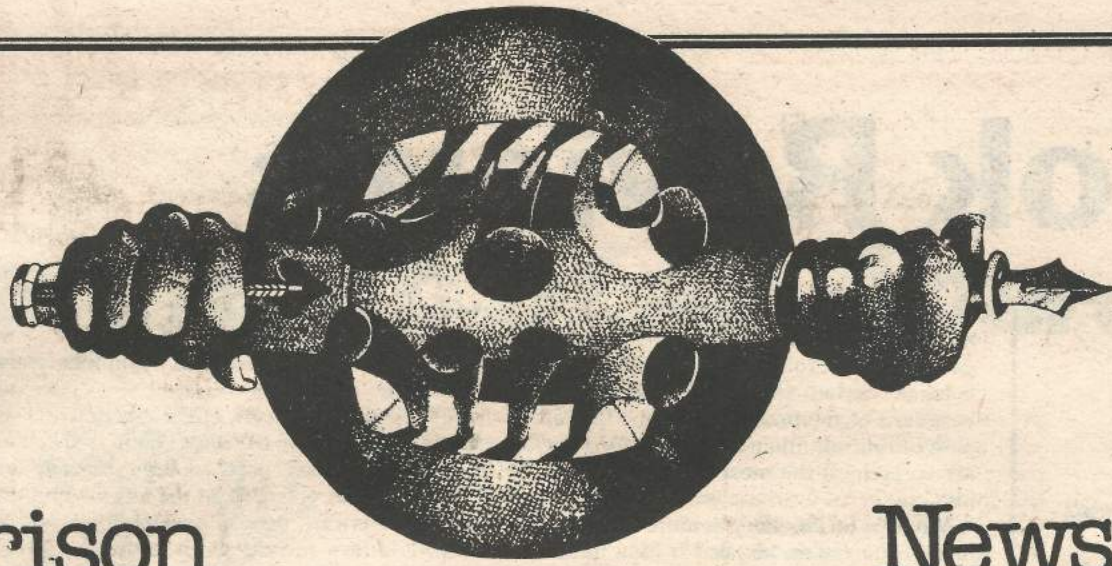
In other words, machines are not the crux of the problem. People are the crux of the problem. If you tear down the machines you may find the same assholes (or similar but different ones) calling the shots, if your prime concern is with the technology, and not with the organization of the technology.

LAND'S END

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations on the third issue of your paper. Glad to see that you're not afraid to state (and defend) your opinions. Particularly liked *Land's End* by Frank Stevens. Its long overdue that anarchists stopped spouting trash about the evils of technology and better yet learned something about scientific

See Letters Page 13.



Prison

News

Prison Newspaper Planned

Support required for Prisoners Solidarity Collective

(The following letter was sent to the Black Flag Collective a.k.a. Prisoners Support Collective. Many of the collectives' members are in the ACF; all are anarchists. Our major project currently is the establishment of a prisoner newspaper with copy written by prisoners, ex-prisoners, and supporters to assist in establishing contact and solidarity between inmates of north american penal institutions. We are having a rock concert April 24th in Toronto featuring 5 rock bands and political speakers hopefully to act as an educational evening and to raise funds for the newspaper that should be going to press sometime in June. Recently we were responsible for printing and distributing the Anarchist Black Dragon vol. 1, no. 6 for the ABD Collective in Washington State Penitentiary and will soon be doing the same for The Odyssey, a newspaper out of Millhaven Penitentiary, Kanadas' super ultra maximum security dungeon.

We are soliciting support and participation. If individuals and collectives would like to become involved; if you know of people we should be contacting, or if you would like support from us, write c/o the NAA)

Dear John,

I received your letter of March 17th today and it was indeed a pleasure to hear from you. The enclosure (Anarchist Black Dragon) was also well received and is presently making the rounds in this kamp of people of like mind. We have been closely following the situation at Walla Walla since the takeover but the Vol. 1, No. 6 is the

most complete coverage we have seen to date. I have read the poetry of Carl Harp, as well as read a number of the communiques from him as well as others on the situation there. I have met some of the Walla Walla brothers in the maximum security unit in Leavenworth in December of '79 and they filled me in even more. I receive the Northwest Passage which carried some material concerning W.W., I know Mark Cook of the GJB whose partner is Ed Mead who helped form Men Against Sexism there; I correspond with Rita Brown in Alderson; Kamboa in Leavenworth is my friend and comrade and I am firmly dedicated to the struggle for freedom raging all over the globe.

I arrived at Terra Haute on Jan. 29, 1980. I am in general population which affords a measure of freedom unlike anything I have experienced since my capture in 1976. I have been in the sensory deprivation chamber in the control unit at Marion, Illinois; I have experienced the so-called Medical Centre for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri, as well as the Maxi-Maxi of the U.S. Pen in Leavenworth. As you may know, I was propositioned to murder Leonard Peltier by the chief Correctional Supervisor R.M. Carey at the prison hospital on May 18, 1978. A government agent had seven detainees in Oklahoma dropped seven days later, to induce me to join the government conspiracy to murder Leonard. Four were for armed robbery; two for larceny of an auto; one for shooting a policeman. Each charge carried a possible life sentence. The state of Oklahoma had already completed the necessary papers to take me to Oklahoma for trial under the interstate agreement on detainees. The documentation presented at trial for

Leonard Peltier's escape on July 20, 1979, conclusively showed a conspiracy existed at the highest levels of government to assassinate Leonard. The case was bizarre to say the least. Since the exposure of the conspiracy, three Peltier witnesses have been beaten. David Owens, No. 20061-148, was beaten twice on Jan 14, 1980, in the hole at Leavenworth. He was seriously injured by two guards and five Correctional Supervisors. On March 4th, 1980, Christopher Hulett was beaten in front of 40 witnesses in front of the prison dining room in Terre Haute. Chris' beating was supervised by two correctional supervisors and 13 guards. On March 17, 1980, Donald Gene Richardson, No. 01523-164, was beaten by seven guards in the hole at Leavenworth. Again, the beating was supervised by correctional supervisors.

All three of these men submitted sworn affidavits in the Peltier case. It clearly shows an ongoing plan and scheme instituted by the United States to coerce these witnesses into silence. It did not work, however, because it only made the prisoners who were beaten stronger. The next step, of course, is to murder the witnesses which will undoubtedly take place in the near future. My days are numbered, and I probably won't live to testify at the retrial. I was warned that if I exposed the murder plot, I would be killed. In cases like this, only the people can protect the lives of the prisoners. The police perpetuate murders only under cover of darkness. They don't like to have to answer questions about why dead folks show up in their jails. So long as people are concerned about the lives and safety of these courageous brothers they may survive.

Kudos to the Black Flag Collec-

tive for your work in the interest of abolishing the prison system. I am an anarchist and totally committed to destroying all authority whether it be presidents, generals, popes, kings, and other assorted dictators. I know how to live my life in peace and harmony with our Mother, and I know that these insane creatures will destroy the world with their dying breath before they'll share it with the Children of the Poor. The idea of a prison paper on North-American prisons is a good one and you can count on me for contributing articles towards the publication of this paper.

There is a movement to start an above ground newspaper which will work with liberals; congresspersons, senators, "educators", attorneys, etc. This is against what I believe in but I am willing to contribute to it because that is the only thing going which has the potential for keeping my comrades alive in jails and prisons all over this land. I am going to send you a piece we call Message To The Honourable Court, and one called Message To The People to give you a feel for my writing. I am not able to express my true ideas entirely in my writings due to the terms of confinement, however, if these pieces can be used in any way as a contribution to your efforts, please feel free to use them in whatever way you see fit.

If you wish to see more explicitly my ideas, I am simultaneously writing three books: one on above ground organizing, one on underground organizing, and one on logistics and tactics. I am an anarchist in only three areas: (1) I am anti-authoritarian, (2) I believe in total freedom, and (3) I believe in the propaganda of the deed. I am unorthodox in that I believe in organization around a central goal. I don't

believe in hierarchical structures, but I have learned from experience that without organization goals cannot be achieved with efficiency.

The anarchist label has been put on me by others. I do not label myself. You can call me Tennis Shoe or Sturdley Quanism if it sounds any better. I do what I can under difficult circumstances and use the tools I have to work with in the most efficient manner I believe possible. I am a radical feminist, anti-classist, anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and I am anti-competitiveness. I believe in we, us, and ours rather than I, me, and mine. There are many in the prisons of America who believe as I do, and to those who have shed the values of the dominant culture, we are considered "crazy". I think of Ronnie Laings definition of "normality" from the *Politics of Experience* where he wonders how a bomber pilot who bombs jungle huts in Vietnam sedately by computer is the criteria for normality. If this is normal I am indeed crazy and proud of it.

Anytime you can print my name and address do so. Anytime you can send paperback books, pamphlets on the works of other madpersons do so. Keep in touch.

In the spirit of Crazy Horse and Comrade George,

Standing Deer,

A. K. A. Robert Wilson
01499-164
U.S. Penitentiary
P.O. Box 33
Terre Haute, Indiana 47808
U.S.A.

O.K. NAA readers, our Brother Robert Wilson and his comrades desperately need support. Write to State and Federal officials, the warden, and write letters of support to Robert Wilson.

Leonard Peltier Update

By Cathy Barnett

The following is a revamp and up-date on the situation surrounding one of our brothers: Leonard Peltier.

Leonard is currently serving two life sentences in Marion Federal Prison in Illinois.

Leonard Peltier has been in struggle since his teens when he was first involved in the Native American resistance to the U.S. government's efforts to destroy Native Peoples' land base, religion, culture, life itself i.e. their sovereignty and self-determination.

Leonard's supporters throughout North America and abroad believe that the federal persecution of Leonard is not because he is a criminal, but because he is a fighter for Indian sovereignty and freedom, a symbol of resistance to racism and exploitation.

Leonard and three other American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) activists were charged with the murder of two off-duty policemen. The alleged incident occurred

five years ago, after the Trial of Treaties protest ended in Washington, D.C. It is interesting to note that a land claims dispute that had been going on for the past 40 or 50 years between the U.S. government and the Sioux Nation was settled in the amount of \$100 million as compensation for the uranium rich Black Hills confiscated from the native people over a century ago. The settlement was made only three weeks prior to a mass demonstration against uranium mining in the Black Hills.

The two policemen involved were on the reservation without jurisdiction. The FBI issued warrants for four Native American AIM activists on the reservation and charged with aiding and abetting in the deaths of the two agents. Charges were later dropped against Jimmy Eagle, Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted of all charges on grounds of self-defense. Peltier appealed his conviction to the 8th Circuit Court Of Appeals in St. Louis, Missouri. A three-judge panel heard the appeal. One of these was judge William Webster who is

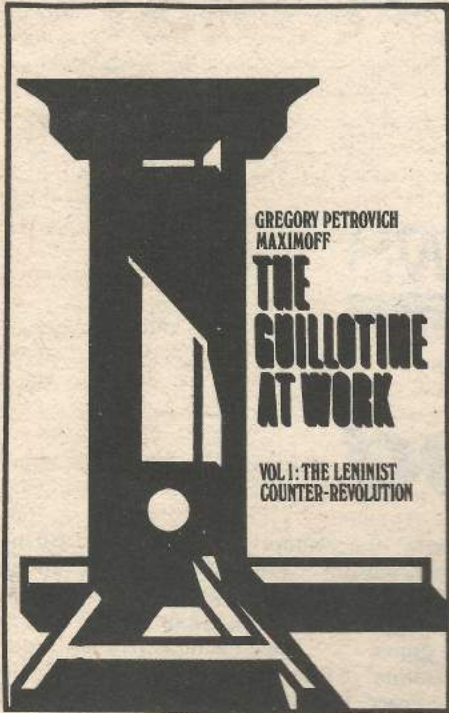


Leonard Peltier in Marion Federal Prison.

now head of the FBI. After his nomination and before rendering a decision, Webster was replaced and the new panel of twirps denied the appeal. Another of the judges criticized the FBI for its misconduct in Peltier's case by saying, in part, "the FBI lied from the beginning to end". Leonard then requested the U.S. supreme court to review his case on March 5, 1979, the request for writ of certiorari was denied. At that time, he was transferred from Marion Federal Prison in Illinois to Lompoc Federal Prison in California.

On July 20, 1979 Leonard escaped from Lompoc. He was forced to this act by the discovery of a government plot to "neutralize" (murder) him. Also charged was Bobby Garcia. Roque Duenas was charged with assisting from the outside. Their trial of conspiracy and escape began in Los Angeles on the 14th of November, 1979. Leonard and Bobby were found "guilty" of escape; Leonard "guilty" of felony in possession of a firearm and on See Peltier Page 15.

Book Reviews



The Guillotine At Work,

Gregory Maximoff, Cienfuegos Press, 1979, 337 pp., £6.50 h/b

A few years back I got very tired of listening to a Trotskyist friend extoll the virtues of Lenin while condemning the "excesses" of Stalin. I decided to write a paper showing, from a left perspective, that Stalinism was no aberration. Rather it was/is a logical extension of Leninism which was in turn a depressingly logical extension of Marxism.

The paper never got finished; but in the course of my research I kept running into references to Maximoff's *The Guillotine at Work*. The book was published in 1940, long out of print, and I couldn't find a copy anywhere. Now the first of two volumes, the heart of the work, has been reprinted by Cienfuegos Press. My paper will gather dust on a shelf for a long time to come. The subject has already been covered.

As the back cover of the book informs the reader, the purpose of the work is "to dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror." Maximoff, primarily using Soviet sources, shows how Lenin used lies, betrayals and whatever else he found useful to attain power. Once on top, he used terror to consolidate his gains. Blood flowed freely long before Stalin had replaced him. Lenin kept his hands fairly clean. He didn't personally pull any triggers; but he established the policies, starting with the unofficial authorization of the death penalty, which led to the executions of between 200,000 and 1,500,000 people during his reign. (Both figures are conservative as they only number the murders which can be documented from various sources.)

Some of the victims were reactionaries. Others were revolutionaries, peasants, workers and innocent bystanders. Lenin's Cheka didn't discriminate if they felt a person somehow stood in the way of their leader's policies.

Most of the murders occurred during the period Maximoff describes as the "Wet Terror". They continued into the period of "Dry Terror" when imprisonment under medieval conditions, exile to barely inhabitable regions, and policies leading to mass starvation added millions of lives to the list of Lenin's victims. Poor old innocent Lenin whose revolution was besmirched by the nasty old man of steel! Stalin learned his lessons well from his mentor.

The book is 30 years old. Most of the information in it will not be new to those who have read much history of Bolshevism and the Russian revolution. But the information is compiled here in a manner which should go a long way toward debunking the myth of Lenin as revolutionary. Instead we are presented with a clear picture of Lenin as terrorist,

as dictator (the dictatorship of the proletariat being the dictatorship of the vanguard of the proletariat, i.e., the party, being the dictatorship of the leader of the vanguard of the proletariat — the logical path of centralism) and finally as forerunner to perhaps the most brutal despot in history.

What Stalin became was more in the nature of the system he headed than in the nature of man. As Maximoff states near the end of the book, "Had Trotsky been in power, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Stalin, and others would have become victims of terror... Whatever the distribution of roles among the acting characters of the Russian drama, the essential characters of the parts would remain: there would be the executioner and the victim."

It's a devastating book, one which should give serious pause to anyone looking to Marxism as an answer to the world's problems. It's also one which should cause those Marxists who have any regard for truth to squirm. A debt of gratitude is owed to Cienfuegos for making this most valuable historical document available once again.

Minimoff

The Innocence of Sacco & Vanzetti,

Charles Rotunno,
Pamphlet Publications, 1978,
55pp., \$2.75

On August 23, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were judicially murdered by the State of Massachusetts. Despite patent proof of their innocence of the charges of armed robbery murder, the state demanded, and received, its pound of flesh from the anarchist movement.

The great weight of evidence illustrating the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti is usually enough to convince any unbiased investigator that the two men were the victims of anti-anarchist hysteria rather than the perpetrators of the crimes they were charged with. In recent years, however, a theory has been advanced that states that while Vanzetti was "probably innocent", Sacco was "definitely guilty."

This "theory" can only be made to work by deliberately distorting the evidence. In his pamphlet *The Innocence of Sacco & Vanzetti*, Charles Rotunno effectively demolishes this argument by showing it to be completely inconsistent with the known facts.

The pamphlet is a good general summary of the Sacco and Vanzetti case presenting the basic facts and graphically depicting the lengths to which the State will go to destroy individuals it regards as "dangerous". In light of the renewed anti-anarchist campaign this pamphlet is recommended reading.

The Innocence of Sacco & Vanzetti is available from: Pamphlet Publications, Div. RMA, P.O. Box 41372A, Cincinnati, Ohio 45241, USA.

Lazarus Jones

The Anarchist Beast,
The Anti-Anarchist Crusade
in Periodical Literature,
(1884-1906), Nhat Hong,
Soil of Liberty, 1980,
68 pp., \$1.50

Anarchists have often been guilty of an almost morbid fascination with the vicious caricature of anarchism peddled by the bourgeois press. After all, the cartoon stereotype of the mad anarchist in a black cloak with a bowling ball bomb in one hand and a dagger in the other is more often seen in the anarchist press these days than the capitalist dailies.

Like other oppressed minorities, anarchists have resorted to black humour to blunt the blatantly senseless attacks of their oppressors. Nhat Hong, however, in *The Anarchist Beast*, a new pamphlet from Soil of Liberty, takes a different tack. Hong details the campaign of unprecedented calumny that tarred anarchism as a movement of madmen, cut-throats

and criminals in the late 19th century, which directly led to the enactment of a series of laws designed to totally suppress anarchism.

In *The Anarchist Beast*, Hong "seeks to examine the pattern of attack employed by the mainstream press against anarchism, how that press fueled the attitudes of the American people against anarchism, and how the campaign led to the enactment of repressive laws against the anarchists." Hong drew his reference material from the magazines and periodicals of the day rather than newspapers, because he felt that such materials "would tend to more thoughtfully analyze controversial subjects and be less prone to vagaries of the moment."

THE ANARCHIST BEAST

The Anti-Anarchist Crusade in Periodical Literature
(1884-1906)



NHAT HONG

The resulting pamphlet is a thoroughly researched, well written publication that deserves to become a standard item in any display of anarchist literature. *The Anarchist Beast* is the perfect answer to anyone who seeks to dismiss anarchism as a chaotic mish-mash of idealism and depravity, and it serves this purpose better than any theoretical text could ever hope to do. By using raw material from the popular press, the source of most prejudices about anarchism, Hong highlights the shoddy hypocrisy and obvious self-interest of "mainstream" journalism in its vilification of anarchism. By confronting the "beast" in its lair, Hong strikes at the very roots of the popular misconception of anarchism.

Anarchism, of course, was not the only ideology singled out for attack by the capitalist press but as the most consistent and uncompromising opponent of class society and the State, Anarchism was subject to especially harsh attention. *The Anarchist Beast* does the movement a great service by laying this process out in minute detail and presenting it in an easily comprehensible form.

The Anarchist Beast is available from: Soil of Liberty, P.O. Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407, USA. The cost is \$1.50 plus postage. Bulk rates available.

Lazarus Jones

Sexual Scarcity: The Marital Mistake and the Communal Alternative, Michael J. Betzold,
Available through Carrier Pigeon

More and more people I know are getting married. When they are asked why they are getting married they give vague or generalized reasons like: for the presents, they love each other, parental pressure or spouses health insurance. After reading this book I am a lot more aware of the real reasons why people get married. Mike Betzold goes into a detailed look at why people marry and what function marriage serves in society.

Mike demonstrates the link between marriage, economic oppression and social control. Marriage is an ideal conservative

force because it requires you to turn inward and spend most of your time on family maintenance. Nuclear families promote wasteful consumption and compete against one another as to who has the newest commodities. Couples generally see all others as outsiders who may pose threats to their marital stability. This jealousy and possessiveness prevents people from getting together with each other to collectively deal with their problems and control their lives.

Mike points out that everyone has been socialized and continues to be socialized to seek a couple relationship. The myth of the ideal couple and the happy marriage keeps everyone marrying even when really happy marriages are rare indeed. Wives and husbands play roles which make their lives frustrating and unrewarding. The expectation that one other person can satisfy our emotional and sexual needs is a sad joke.

What about trying to reform marriage such as an open marriage, the husband doing his share or never making it official with the state? Even those people who call themselves revolutionaries underestimate the strength of their own socialization and the power of the institution of marriage to shape attitudes and behavior. So reforms only make marriage superficially less repressive and enhance its hold.

Mike's alternative to marriage is communal living. The communes of the late 60's were a start but often involved people who were minimally responsible and justified this in the name of cooperativeness which lead to their downfall. It is one thing to talk about a collectively run society in the future and another to live it today. Mike challenges us to live out our expectations today.

Charlie of Nameless.

Free the Hostages!

in Iran

the leftists in Chile
the crowded in Walla Walla prison
the workers, Blacks & punks in B
Liberate phony Democracy Wall
the victims of apartheid in South
Stop the forced sterilization of po

Rescue the Hostages!

of authority, power-trip, behavior
in senior citizen ghettos
of fat boy capitalist thieves
Release the anarchists in Spanish
democrats in Cuban prisons
radicals & lawyers in Social-Dem
police state, West German cages.

Untie the Hostages!

the Palestinians in Israel
the Jews, Ukrainians, Latvians, t
in "U.S.S.R."
the dopers in Turkish jails
the "disappearing" in fascist Arg
the drafted in army(s)
Stop the forced drugging of ment

Unshackle the Hostages!

of violent, sexist, macho advertis
of future poison 3 Mile Island(s)
from radio-T.V. half-truths
from C.I.A.-K.G.B. terrorists
from work ethic fanatics
from Anita Bryant, fundamental

Accidental Death of an Anarchist



Flavio Constantini's graphic depiction of the "accidental" death of Italian anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli.

By Lazarus Jones

On December 15, 1969, Giuseppe Pinelli, an anarchist railwayman, fell from the fourth floor of police headquarters in Milan during the course of an investigation into a bank bombing. The police, at that time, said it was a suicide but a judicial investigation later termed it an "accidental" death. The "investigation" made one thing very clear — Pinelli had had no connection with the bombing.

From such grim material the radical Italian playwright Dario Fo weaved an intriguing black comedy entitled *Accidental Death Of An Anarchist* which was recently staged in Toronto by the Open Circle Theatre Company. The idea of using comedy to present very serious political issues is certainly not new, its roots reach back to Aristophanes the 5th century B.C. Greek playwright, but Fo does it so well that even the actors and actresses of Open Circle — who go more for the jocular than the jugular — could not completely destroy the play's message. Try though they did.

The play's basic plot revolves around the old 'mistaken identity' routine. A madman brought in for questioning by the police manages to convince the police chief that he is a magistrate sent from Rome to re-open the enquiry into the anarchist's death. Through a series of deceptions he manipulates the police chief and his lieutenant into re-enacting the events leading up to Pinelli's fall from the window exposing the lies and contradictions in their story. In telling the tale Fo makes extensive use of the transcripts from the enquiry, which proved conclusively that the bombing had been the work of a fascist group masquerading as an anarchist group.

Along the way there are some truly funny moments such as when the madman cajoles the two policemen into singing *The Anarchist Hymn*. Beginning hesitantly they are soon lustily harmonizing "The whole world is our homeland, Our freedom is our law!" The play's over-all effect, however, is almost completely destroyed by the

actors insistence on using the "A watta matta fo' you" style of Italian accent. Since the play was written in Italian it hardly seems likely that the playwright incorporated pidgin Italian into his scenario.

It is obvious that Fo did not write *Accidental Death Of An Anarchist* solely as an entertainment piece. Through his play the audience is given a large dose of anarchist philosophy in a manner calculated not to alienate or bore them. The intent of the play is to stimulate doubt and to encourage a questioning of the basic conventions of authoritarian society. It is in this context that the final cop-out by the director is particularly saddening.

At the end of the play the stage lights are suddenly dimmed and a spotlight picks out the madman/hero. He turns to the audience and declares: "At this point in the Italian production the actors engaged the audience in political discussion — but, we're not going to do that to you!" What follows is a lame attempt at "humour" completely out of character with the play. The madman offers three different endings for the play "the Liberal ending, the Conservative ending and the NDP ending." The last two minutes of the play are then re-played complete with a literally slam-bang ending.

Sympathetic treatments of anarchists are exceedingly rare in popular culture and it is even rarer that such works are performed for general audiences. So the intellectual cowardice of Open Circle's actors and director left a particularly bad taste in my mouth. Especially as the director had enough political pretension to include this statement in the program: "The special problem of political theatre in countries where you cannot mention the word communist (or Marx or Gramsci, Mao, Lenin, et. al.) without causing dispeptic irrationality means additional care, (must be taken). However, the end of the 20th century is upon us and willy nilly we must join the rest of the world in a dialectical historical and materialist debate." That debate *should* also include your audience Mr. Director.

HOSTAGES

Pardon the Hostages!

the bored schoolchildren
the unemployed in Watts, L.A.
the young junky in Bed.-Stuy., Brooklyn,
the Sioux at Pine Ridge, South Dakota
Stop the deportation of Mexican & Haitian workers.

Liberate the Hostages!

in Timor, Euzkadi, Ireland, Zimbabwe,
Kurdistan, Quebec, Puerto Rico
the majority Indians in Bolivia
the famished in Cambodia
the Rastas in St. Vincent.

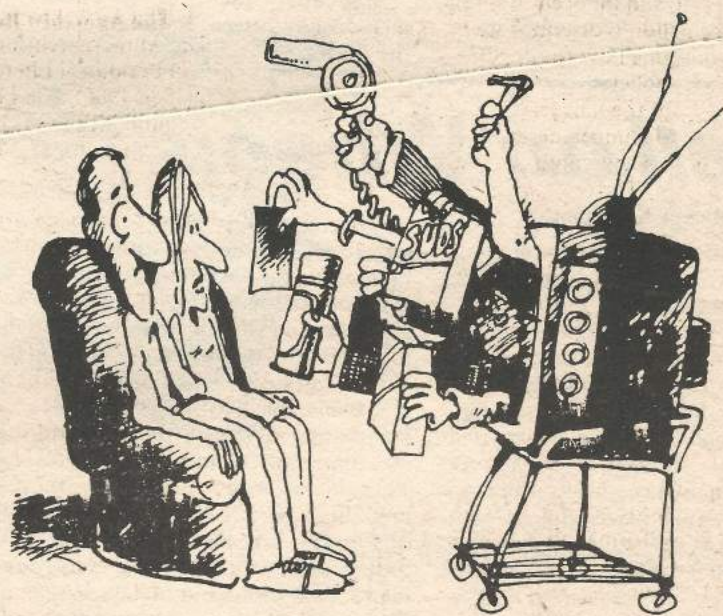
Emancipate the Hostages!

of Big Oil
of kings & shahs
commissars
cops
gurus
Moonies
K.K.K.-Nazi creeps
bigot, patriot, war-hawks
of ayatollahs
popes
politicians
bureaucrats
missiles
borders &
a million deceptions.

FREE THE HOSTAGES!

John McIntosh

TV



Mass Discontent in Poland

By Joey Stalin

Poland continues to be the weak link in the chain of Soviet dominated states throughout most of Eastern Europe. Overcome by a deepening economic crisis reflected in an officially acknowledged 2% decline in the national income during 1979 its bureaucratic ruling class recently turned upon some of its own in a cosmetic attempt to cope with the situation.

At the Eight Congress of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) a major purge took place which included the unprecedented forced resignation of a Premier, Piotr Jaroszewicz. Also ousted were three other members of the party's powerful Politbureau, one of whom was the secretary for economic affairs. The main beneficiary of the blood-letting was the Party General Secretary Edward Gierk, a key power broker in the purge, who was re-elected to the PUWP's top post.

The economic crisis which sparked the purge is compounded by an acute political crisis with a number of dimensions to it. Foremost among these is the ruling bureaucracy's continued lack of any substantial credibility with the general population. The working class, whom the PUPW falsely claims to represent, is particularly dissatisfied. Persistent manifestations of popular discontent as well as the continued growth and development of the various opposition forces all reflect these facts.

Those rumblings of discontent which come from the workers clearly touch a raw nerve within the bureaucratic ruling class as it continues to be haunted by the memory of the mass working class struggles of the winter of 1970-71 and June 1976. Due to this the ninth anniversary of the start of the 1970-1971 revolt passed amid an uneasy tension and rumours of more trouble. Fearing the consequences of any provocation the authorities allowed a 5,000 strong demonstration by dockworkers in Danzig to take place. Similarly, only two months before a small two day strike by some workers in Gdansk scared the bureaucratic ruling class so much that the PUWP's central committee quickly sent a representative to negotiate an end to the strike. Gdansk has a notoriety for worker militance and was a focal point of the 1970-71 revolt.

The organized opposition forces are viewed with the same kind of seriousness. They too are manifestations of discontent on a large scale and indications of the lack of credibility the government has with the population. Consequently, just prior to the PUWP Congress during which the purge occurred eleven well known dissidents were locked up to insure their silence.

Of the oppositional organizations the most promising continue to be those of a working class character. Notable among these is the group which publishes the fortnightly newspaper *Robotnik* (The Worker) which has a circulation of 10,000 and an actual readership that is considerably greater. The fact of its having been in publication since late 1977 is but one indication of how the repercussions of June 1976 continue to be felt today.

The people who publish *Robotnik* are advocates of a de-centralized, non-secretive approach to providing defense for the workers. In order to conduct their agitation with a semblance of legal protection they also believe in working within the official unions. To justify this they make a parallel between this

(KOR) which began as an organized effort to aid those workers who were victimized by the repression after the June 1976 revolt. Significantly, both are defensive in character. This reflects the general trend of activity within the Polish workers' movement towards engaging in active resistance directly in response to state attacks.

Despite this limitation both still constitute the major organizational focal points of working class struggle at present. As a result both face a lot of repression.

One very recent incident involved the arrest of 13 people in late February in order to prevent their attending KOR meetings. Most were not held long. And at the moment, Edmund Zdrozinski, a long-standing worker oppositionist

establishment of what is called a Peasant Centre for Knowledge based in Warsaw. However, except for the Centre's proclaimed objective of achieving peasant self-government not controlled by the state the precise political orientation of these organizations remains unclear.

Likewise, a network of Student Solidarity Committees is known to exist with the explicit objective of setting up a student organization in which no one ideology is imposed upon its members. It too is meant to be autonomous from the state. According to KOR sources the students involved in this movement received public backing from a number of artists and intellectuals at the University of Krakow just this March.

sentiment and the possibility of channeling it into bourgeois nationalism was evident in November when 10,000 people took part in a demonstration marking the sixty-first anniversary of the restoration of an independent Polish state. Interestingly, one of the organizations which endorsed it was the KOR.

Little better is the clandestine National Committee of Polish Socialists, the contemporary heir of the pre-1948 Polish Socialist Party. Consistent with its left social-democratic politics is its identification with the reformist Socialist International.

In relation to the class struggle in Poland it is similarly class collaborationist. It both claims to have the support of reform leaning members of the ruling bureaucracy and attempts to line itself up with the very workers' organizations which pose the most radical threat to the rule of the same bureaucracy.

Given the varied nature of its opposition the bureaucratic ruling class undoubtedly recognized there exist weaknesses which are in turn its strengths. These combine with the support of its pseudo-opponent, the reactionary Roman Catholic Church, the might of the USSR's military machine and the Polish state's own repressive arsenal as guarantors of their continued control over the country. Nonetheless, the facts of mass discontent especially within a working class developing forms of self-organization and a worsening economic crisis still pose a challenge to its rule.

Furthermore, this challenge occurs in the context of an unfavourable international situation. With many economic links to the West Poland will inevitably experience continued harmful repercussions resulting from the chronic inflation and high unemployment in the capitalist countries. Also, the Soviets are pre-occupied with their military occupation of Afghanistan and as long as they remain there they will be more reluctant to invade Poland in the event of an insurrection. No doubt Poland's bureaucratic ruling class' awareness of this goes hand in hand with memories of how the Soviets allowed Gomulka to be toppled in favour of Gierk during the 1970-71 revolt rather than send in the tanks.

A similar fate could await Gierk and other top bureaucrats. The answer as to whether this will occur or not might not be long in coming.

An invaluable publication for keeping abreast of the news from Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe is *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England. Subscriptions are \$10. U.S. surface mail or \$15. U.S. airmail.



approach and the use made of the Workers' Commissions in Spain just prior to Franco's death.

Even so, the staff of *Robotnik* was in large part responsible for the recent proclamation of a Charter of Workers' Rights formulated by a number of militant workers from various parts of Poland. The Charter is clearly oriented towards the creation of a trade union movement autonomous from state control. It is of particular importance at this time because it can provide an invaluable means of co-ordinating resistance to attempts by the state to make the workers shoulder the burden of solving the economic crisis. Its authors of course obviously recognized this.

Logically, there is a close relationship between *Robotnik* and the Social Self-Defense Committee

who recently became one of *Robotnik*'s editors, is on trial along with five other dissidents for fabricated robbery charges.

Largely due to the repression previous efforts such as those to build autonomous trade unions have met with very limited success to date though localized forms of workers' self-organization have been able to survive in some places. One is Gdansk where there is a local Free Trade Union which publishes a paper called *Robotnik Wybrzeza* (The Coastal Worker).

Other developments indicate the focus of organized opposition are not confined solely to the working class. Peasant Self-Defense Committees are known to exist in numerous places. These have been complemented by the publication of unofficial peasant journals and the

Not all of the oppositional organizations are progressive, let alone proletarian. Last year an unofficial political party was born, the nationalist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). While it does seek the destruction of the ruling one party state, an end to Soviet domination of Poland and contains within it a strong left tendency it is still bourgeois. The KPN is intent on capturing state power within the context of a multi-party system. This is indicative of its multi-class character as is its subordination of internal political differences to its ultimate objective of an independent Polish state.

The particular importance of the KPN is that it represents an attempt to divert the mass hostility to the Soviets in a reactionary direction. The existence of this anti-Soviet

Hell on Wheels

By Sue Kabalevsky

Dangerous goods are being transported by road and rail through North American and European cities everyday. These products include fertilizers, toxic gases, acids, corrosive, explosive and radioactive materials. Vast amounts of the dangerous goods are being transported throughout all parts of the country because many production processes could not take place without such supplies. At present, according to a United Nations list, there are over 3,000 types of dangerous goods being transported throughout the world, and with the rapid advancement of technology, more would surely be added to the list.

Dangerous accidents involving anhydrous ammonia, explosives, radioactive materials and acid have occurred several times in the past few years and the potential for such incidents is on the rise.

For instance, lethal chemicals and flammable petroleum products are transported daily by rail through the centre of Winnipeg, Canada. These dangerous products are brought in by CN Rail within view of Portage Ave. and Main St., the busiest area in the city. The chlorine-propane disaster in Mississauga, Ontario, in which over one hundred thousand residents in the area were evacuated, is a recent example of the danger most of us unknowingly

face. Most such accidents remain unreported by business.

As of yet, not satisfactory program to decrease the possibility of accidents has been formulated and in most potential accident zones there are no comprehensive programs to deal with accidents and spills if they do occur. If a truck started to burn in a town or city, a natural response would be to douse it with water. But if this truck happens to carry calcium carbide, an inferno would result. Calcium carbide reacts with water to give off acetylene. Often emergency service personnel, assembled at short notice, would be unaware of the best way to handle such situations.

It is of course possible to greatly reduce the probability of accidents occurring during the transportation of dangerous materials. Proper maintenance and regular inspections of tracks, tanks, trucks and equipment will help keep the accident rate at a minimum. Properly trained personnel can often prevent damage to human health and to the environment by immediate action if an accident does occur.

Unfortunately, the manufacturers of the dangerous products and the transport companies are reluctant to undertake preventative measures to any meaningful extent if it means cutting into their profits. Judging from previous experience it is unlikely that government agencies would act to ensure the safe transportation of these products.

Because residents and workers are the people most affected by accidents and spills, they are the ones who can most effectively decide what can be done about this serious problem.

As residents, we have the right to know what seemingly innocuous dangers are thundering through our communities every day and what precautions (if any) are being undertaken to protect our lives, health and environment. Through the formation of neighbourhood councils to deal with community matters, we can decide, demand and specify the criteria that will have to be met before these tanks and trucks will be allowed in our communities.

See Hell Page 15.

Coal Wildcat Crushed

By Sam Thompson

Another spark of the smouldering militance of Appalachian coal miners burst briefly into view at the end of February. In north-central West Virginia, at Consolidation Coal's No. 20 mine in Four States, there was a walkout on February 18. It started over a temporary job assignment that had been disputed. Since the 1974 and 1978 United Mine Workers contracts job assignments have been a sore point because the language allows the company a broad interpretation of this alleged company right. And wildcat strikes aimed at directly solving grievances to avoid fatcat arbitrators and union bureaucrats are a common tactic. The job control that autoworkers can defend through sitdowns or slowdowns, miners have preserved through walkouts and roving pickets.

A wildcat strike at a single mine such as No. 20 is not unusual. However, as workplace militants have discovered, the price the company can exact as a result of direct action is high. The arbitrator's term for firing is 'capital punishment.' The miners at No. 20 returned to work, under injunction, on February 19 to discover that their local president and two members of the safety committee had been suspended subject to discharge. Capital punishment means economic death to a worker. Local Union 4060 decided to fight Consol.

On Monday, February 25, there

were 6000 miners on strike at 9 Consolidation mines, 3 Eastern Associated Coal mines, and mines owned by Republic Steel, Southern Ohio Coal, and Bethlehem Steel. Consol went back to federal court asking for a contempt citation on the basis of an injunction against the first walkout. Instead, they were told to speed up the arbitration of the firings. Both Consol and District 31 UMW officials termed the strike illegal.

On Tuesday, there was a support rally held for the three discharged men. The judge ordered everyone back to work by Wednesday. Few obeyed.

On Leap Day, the judge extended the injunction to -20 days and for the third time announced a back-to-work order. This time he ordered fines as well — \$3000 a shift against Local 4060, \$200 a shift against the fired president, \$50 a shift against the two safety committeemen, and \$25 per shift against each of four other local officers. Faced with this blackmail, the officers were ordered to end the strike. The judge added, "do we want to leave something for our children or will we end up like Afghanistan, having been taken over by somebody else, with no courts to appear in to obtain justice?" Justice for whom?

The arbitration was settled by March 3. The president was fired, and the committeemen suspended for 30 days. The arbitration supposedly broke a company policy not to

arbitrate during a strike. This made little difference in terms of the decision. The local president was charged with starting a strike and fired. The committeemen were found to have been irresponsible for not ordering the wildcat ended and suspended. Perhaps they too would have been fired without the walkout. By Monday, March 3, the strike had ended.

On March 6, Consol announced the firing of 12 more miners from No. 20 who had been identified as pickets. This was in line with prior arbitrations, and it is unlikely that the 12 workers will be able to get their jobs back through the grievance procedure. This action by Consol points out the poverty of business unionism. When efforts to maintain solidarity are killed, it serves to divide and weaken the rank and file, the real strength of working class action. It is a tragedy of history — Taft-Hartley and other labor laws have limited legal means of direct action. Unions have become auxiliaries of company personnel offices with a mission to discipline their members. The UMW has had a poor record in this area of "responsible" unionism, much to the credit of the rank and file. This challenge did not draw a response from miners, a troubling sign that perhaps business unionism and the wretched joke of "partners in production" has triumphed. Four years ago, almost 120,000 miners across the nation defied a federal judge and won the immediate issue,

although they did not succeed in stopping court interference in their fights. Partners in production is a dream invented in the 1950s when the growth of American economy seemed stable and assured, when eminent sociologists declared that economic classes had disappeared. The 1970's ended those dreams for steelworkers, autoworkers, construction workers and others where they had existed. In the coalfields



faced with a depressed coal market the illusions were always tattered and faded. This strike and its outcome may indicate that what could not be won with the outstretched carrot may be enforced with the stick.

At the end of the 110 day 1977-78 coal strike, it was predicted that company-worker relations would improve, eliminating the wave of wildcats that has surged through the coalfields since the 1960s. In fact, there have been one-tenth as many strikes, but not because the contract is such a good deal.

Many people had mountains of debts to deal with from the contract strike. Others turned their efforts towards getting rid of then-President Arnold Miller. Others faced layoffs as the demand for coal slumped during the energy crisis. Still, strikes happened around support for organizing drives in West Virginia, and around the hiring of non-union workers at mines with laid-off brothers and sisters. This most recent wildcat was the biggest, but the longest post-contract strike occurred in east Kentucky. There, eight men scheduled to receive capital punishment were, instead, suspended for 10 days. Solidarity yielded better results that time.

Fighting the boss becomes a way of life after a while. The bosses in the coalfields are among the major energy corporations of the world selling oil, gas, coal, uranium, and probably apples to street vendors during the depression. Death in the mines can come quickly, six have died in West Virginia in two months. Black lung caused by coal dust is a slow killer that claims people in their forties and fifties as withered shells hacking and choking their lives away. Miners do not give their silent assent to this, but the fight must grow and change. Worker-controlled safety programs and worker-run mines can be much safer and productive as well. On the road to self-management, there are many tools besides strikes such as working to the rules that nobody usually bothers with or slowdowns or sitdowns. The answer chosen in the coalfields will be an important one, since fighting the boss is one habit we should all nurture.

Solar Powered Insanity

By Sam Thompson

The hottest boondoggle in U.S. energy technology is not the fast breeder reactor, fusion power, or even synthetic fuels. It's solar power. Before you throw a fit, let me explain.

The sun's power is probably part of the decentralized energy mix that will remove industrial and developing countries from their oil/nuclear energy addiction. However, the US government has seen fit to put its megabucks into a project called Satellite Power System (SPS) that magnifies all the problems of an oversized electric power grid. Satellite Power System is a large collector, about 55 square miles, hung in a stationary orbit 40,000 kilometers high. As you might have guessed, the station will collect solar energy 24 hours a day. It will then beam it down via microwaves to rectifying antennae or rectennas that will take up to 64,000 acres each. These collectors will weigh about 90 million kilograms. The US government hopes to build around 60 of these outer space behemoths. If you liked nuclear power and Skylab, you'll love SPS.

The Department of Energy has done a series of studies on potential impacts of SPS from social, political, health, and financial aspects. The results are astounding.

• Among the international problems is the limited number of geostationary orbits available. The International Telecommunications Convention of 1973 describes these orbits as one of the "limited natural resources." Some equatorial countries have already laid claim to the portion of space above their territory. A further problem is the allocation of specific microwave frequencies and of different exposure levels set by different countries. (For instance, the US standard for exposure to microwave radiation is 1000 times higher than the Soviet Unions standard.) There

gram but others loom larger.

• It is a potential weapon to the Defense Dept. who want to use it Buck Rogers style to incinerate missiles, satellites, or enemy personnel. Further, even lacking an offensive military purpose, it becomes a highly vulnerable target. Thus its soundness for use as a power source rates not much higher than that of dependence on foreign oil or uranium.

• Then there are the unknown environmental factors. What does microwave exposure do to living things? Scientists disagree on the extent of the danger. Transmitting the beam to earth may be a danger in itself. The beam may be refracted by clouds and wind up somewhere else, perhaps quick frying albuquerque or Phoenix. Continuous rocket launches of people and material (perhaps several a day for years) will cause sonic booms, add much water to our atmosphere at about 40 km. high to unknown consequences, and raise the risk of disasters from transporting volatile rocket fuel. Birds flying through the microwave beam may drop like stones onto the rectenna.

• The workers will be faced with a variety of dangers. On earth it will be more of the same — construction, mining, and manufacturing hazards. For those up in space actually assembling SPS, a new frontier of industrial hazards presents itself. Weightlessness can cause calcium loss from the bones, red cell mass reductions, dizziness, and space motion sickness. General life support problems will be another hurdle to be jumped in construction in space. It will require hospitals or medical facilities to be available. Also, recreation is going to be needed to lessen psychological stress. Finally, radiation will limit the amount of time the space workers can remain on the job.

This is just the tip of the iceberg as far as problems go with the Satellite Power System. The main energy problems are avoided by this pie in the sky approach to solar power. Yet nearly \$76 Billion will be spent in the next 17 years on SPS. The reason for this is clear: centralized rectennae mean that we remain hooked to the utility companies' grid, paying ever increasing

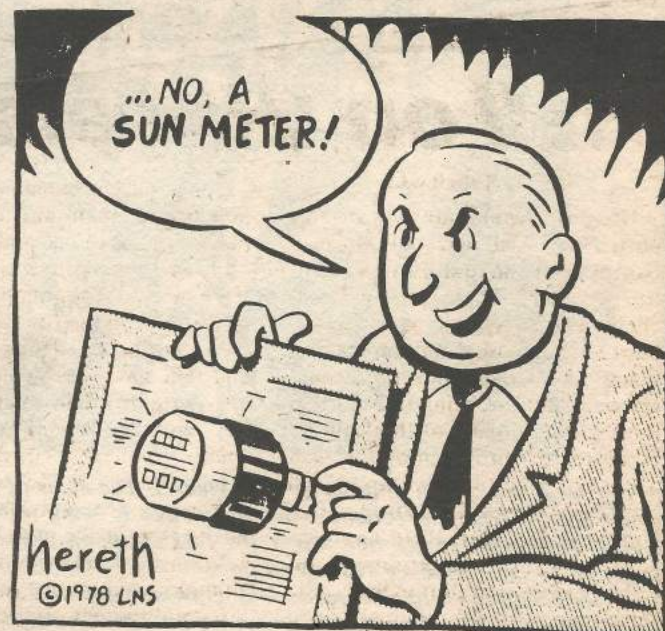
amounts for energy for our vital day-to-day needs. It means that we continue to grow, developing ever new ways of wasting premium energy. The real promise of solar power, wood, cleanly-burnt and safely-produced coal, and biomass conversion is that energy is used in the most efficient manner by those who need it. Massive electric grids require 20% overproduction in case of failures. Much of the cost of these systems is the distribution of the power to distant areas and the loss of energy on the way. The other sources will not have large losses or distribution costs because they will be based on local needs. Decentralized energy under the control of those who use it represents a threat to the government and businesses who thrive on the current energy crisis. They have nothing better to do than dream up nonsensical collectors in the sky or new and better products like electric toothbrushes.

The point of having a Satellite Power System is that it preserves a system of business and government every bit as far from average people

the collectors. Passive solar construction means big problems for the electric utilities just as methanol and ethanol mean trouble for big oil. If we have learned anything from long gas lines, heartstopping utility bills, and endless public service announcements extolling Gulf Oil and the rest, it is that we are in their grip. As long as a few people control what we can buy and how we lead our lives in terms of heating, transportation, and other necessities, we are not free. It matters very little that those people are chairmen of the board or chairmen of the party. We are the ones who put up with the problems, who are told what energy will cost. And SPS is another way of keeping us on the oil/utility company plantation.

For more information about satellite power systems, write:

Citizens' Energy Project
1110 Sixth Street Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20001



The 5th CNT Congress

By Damien Rogers

The 5th Congress of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo of Spain got underway on December 8, 1979 in Madrid. The location was a municipal exhibition hall which the Madrid region CNT whipped into shape in a period of two weeks of cleaning and painting.

Juan Gomez Casas, a former general-secretary of the CNT, announced at an opening press conference that the CNT had 300,000 members of which 85,000 were militants. A total of 737 delegates from 450 unions met for the first time in full congress since the re-birth of the CNT inside Spain a few years ago. On the first day of the congress the syndicate Gastronomica de Madrid served 1,700 meals to the delegates and observers. The organization of the congress with its medical, information, press and food services was very well planned and worked out by the volunteers.

In an atmosphere of tension and uncertainty the CNT delegates faced a massive and complex eighteen point agenda that was scheduled to last eight days. Observers predicted that the CNT would tear itself apart during this congress because of internal disagreements. Other observers had predicted that the CNT would go reformist.

For the first three and a half days the congress moved at a snail's pace amid extraordinary verbal violence and procedural wrangling. Workers had not had the opportunity to work together in the setting of a large-scale libertarian congress before during this generation and consequently the practice of conducting such a meeting was unknown. They had not fought many workplace battles together since the CNT re-emerged, and had not co-ordinated their struggles together. In a word a whole vital common experience was missing.

Nevertheless by Tuesday December 11th most of the acrimony had subsided. Some 35-50 delegates had left the congress in disgust. But from that date on, the congress got down to dealing with the massive agenda in a systematic way. This agenda included items like: the procedures of the congress; principles,



tactics and goals of anarchosindicalism; the organizational basis of the CNT; a study of the actual national and international situation; labour and trade union strategy; press, propaganda and education; repression, the CNT and prisoners (the congress received messages of solidarity from the prisoners in the Segovia prison); the relationship of the CNT to other organizations; the position of the CNT before other issues — education, ecology, municipalities and neighbourhoods, health, etc.; an evaluation of the 1936-1939 period; and the election of a general-secretary.

Besides the tensions which arose as a result of the lack of a common experience as noted above, the congress atmosphere was also charged with the conflicting perspectives of some of the pressure groups inside and outside the CNT. These groups included various groups "in exile", the FAI and the FIGA from inside Spain as well as nationalist and Marxist influenced groups. The average age of a CNT worker is 25, and this presents tremendous problems. This young membership was attracted to the CNT because of a

rejection of the socialist and communist unions, for intellectual reasons, and because they were attracted by the CNT's militancy.

The question of what the basic philosophy of the CNT should be was dealt with as follows. A five person commission was elected which studied and synthesized all the mandates received from the various member syndicates. The commission thereafter submitted its report/document before the congress which adopted it after 12 hours of exhaustive debate. The 14 page document essentially took the 1936 Saragossa CNT congress declaration as its point of departure and then went on to elaborate what anarchosindicalism was for today and libertarian communism for tomorrow. The CNT congress by adopting this document clearly opted for the revolutionary tradition of anarchosindicalism.

A second controversial agenda was to be the CNT's relationship to the larger libertarian movement in Spain. Here the CNT congress decided it would remain a trade union movement first and foremost. Some unions wanted it to become a gen-

eralized libertarian movement incorporating the labour movement. While this position was rejected, the CNT pledged to help build up a parallel libertarian movement alongside itself, which it would help bring together and which would include the neighbourhood movement, ecology, women's, gay and other movements.

While the majority of the congress rejected the concept of collective-bargaining in favour of the anarchosindicalist concept of direct action some tolerance was shown to certain unions in certain federations (especially in the Madrid federation) who accepts shades of collective bargaining. Time and experience will sort this question out, was the feeling of some delegates.

The congress showed its weakness in dealing with several questions including international matters (while the AIT has now moved to Spain it is quite out of touch with labour insurgency in many countries), the attitude towards women is very immature and their role at the congress was marginal, a full ecology consciousness has yet to be developed, and the relationship be-

tween struggles in the workplace and with struggles in various places in society in general has still to be developed. During the congress mass demonstrations were taking place in Madrid and other cities in

Spain by students, provoked by the police murder of three students. There is much conflict going on within the education system in Spain. The police are still quite a force apart from the influence of the politicians. The CNT was not able to offer substantial support to the student movement during these events.

Most delegates I spoke to were satisfied with the 5th congress while admitting that a lot of ground has been lost by the CNT over the last year or so. Many people have turned their backs on the CNT. All sorts of radicals flocked to the CNT when it re-emerged who it turns out either knew nothing of anarchosindicalism, were not interested in it, or who wanted to develop a form of anarchism that bypassed the labour movement.

The coming year will have to be one of consolidation. The new national committee will be in Madrid, with Pepe Bondia (from Metal Madrid) as general secretary. The 6th congress will probably be held in a year or so and should indicate how solid anarchosindicalism is in Spain. One factor became plainly clear and that is that anarchism without an organized base in the labour movement cannot have a serious ongoing presence in society at large.

Whatever the limitations of anarchosindicalism, the unfolding of the CNT congress was an extraordinary experience.

Concurrent with the congress, the CNT organized a 'semana cultural'. This cultural week held from 8-15 December at the Teatro Martin drew some 16,000 persons who attended film sessions, musical events, live theater, debates, lectures on ecology, Bakunin, social alternatives, Kropotkin, the State and repression, as well as other subjects.

Interview with an FAI Militant



The interview which follows is with a militant from the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) who has belonged to the FAI since 1936. It took place with the help of a translator shortly before the convening of the Fifth Congress of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT)

in Madrid. The name of the person interviewed is being withheld since the FAI is still an illegal organization.

Q. How would you describe the present situation regarding the development of the FAI?

A. The FAI almost disappeared

and at the moment is not very strong. At the moment what it is doing is trying to use its potential through the unions. The FAI would make no sense if the unions did not exist. It is within the unions where anarcho-sindicalists are formed. In this case the FAI is an extra power for the unions.

Q. What are the FAI's objectives in terms of helping to give direction to the CNT?

A. The FAI is willing that the CNT should follow the path of anarchosindicalism to reach libertarian communism in the last instance.

Q. Would you say the FAI's influence in the CNT is increasing?

A. It is increasing little by little, but it is increasing and one of the reasons is that among the CNT militants the ones involved in the FAI are almost the only ones who really behave as anarcho-sindicalists and who really are in the places where help and action are required.

Q. Are your gains in strength occurring particularly among young anarchists?

A. The increase in strength is mainly by gaining popularity among young militants.

Q. — Are there many active FAI members alive who were veterans of

the 1936 social revolution?

A. Very few. Most have died or were shot.

Q. Does the FAI have a clear position on the participation of CNT-FAI members in the bourgeois Republican Government during the Civil War?

A. Many take a critical view of this but others contend in that particular situation it was correct because to have refused would have left us with no control over the situation.

Q. Critics argue the CNT-FAI members should have known better; that the Communists are always bent on our destruction. How do you feel about this and the argument that collaboration necessarily constituted a betrayal of the oppressed?

A. We have always been aware of the Communist Party's intentions. Again, refusal would have left us more vulnerable and diminished the control we had over the situation. Regarding the betrayal, we do not consider it a betrayal because as a workers' organization we and any other organization had the responsibility to safeguard the interests of the working class. In that particular case, though it was a government or a revolutionary committee, any

such organization had the responsibility to participate in either kind of government because having been away from the government the responsibility could have been even greater since the possibilities for controlling the situation would have been very scarce.

Q. How do you feel about the practicality of having formed a military alliance instead, in particular with the more left-wing elements of the Socialist General Union of Worker (UGT)?

A. Most of the top ranks of the Socialist Party were being absorbed by the Communist Party in the Government. Collaboration militarily between the UGT ranks and the anarchists was already a fact.

A strictly military alliance made no sense. In July, 1936 even, the forces of the revolution did not have enough strength to fully consolidate the revolution and had to look for help from others and only the Russians would provide it. They in turn supplied it through the Spanish Communist Party which led to the growth of its power.

Q. In effect you are saying that the isolation of the revolution and in-

See FAI Page 13

ACF Conference Report

On the weekend of January 25 — 27 delegates gathered in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for the 5th Conference of the Anarchist Communist Federation of North America (ACF-NA). Over the course of the Weekend the delegates worked through a 21 point agenda and at the conference's close it was the general Consensus that the meeting had been the most successful and productive ever.

(1) Group Reports

Delegates from the ACF's affiliated groups gave individual reports on their groups activities since the last conference.

(2) Financial Report

No delegates from ACF Regina were able to attend the conference so no verbal report was given. The quarterly financial report has been distributed by mail to all ACF affiliates. This conference marked the end of Regina's two year mandate as the financial group and the task was rotated to **Resurgence** for the 1980-82 period.

(3) External Correspondence

The External Correspondence Group reported on external correspondence. As **Totally Eclipsed's** year mandate had expired the task was rotated to the **Syndicalist Alliance**, P.O. Box 92246, Milwaukee, WI 53202, USA.

(4) Internal Bulletin Group

Bread and Roses will become the new production group for the bulletin on May 1, 1980.

(5) Next Conference

It was decided that the summer conference should be an extended one, lasting at least four days, in order that the issues facing the Federation may be discussed more fully.

(6) Phone Tree

A phone tree was set up to facilitate decisions on urgent issues and to reduce costs for individual member groups.

(7) Conferences

The issue of whether conferences

should be annual or bi-annual was discussed. It was decided that the bi-annual conference schedule be retained with the winter conference being shorter and concerned with internal business while the summer conference should be longer to allow extended debates on political-theoretical issues.

(8) New Groups

(a) Delegates from the **No Limits** group of Madison, Wisconsin, requested affiliation.

(b) Delegates from the **Soil of Liberty** group of Minneapolis, Minnesota, requested affiliation.

The affiliation of the above groups will be voted upon in the Internal Discussion Bulletin.

(9) Labour Conference Report

This conference was hosted by the **Libertarian Workers Group** of New York City. The following items were discussed.

(a) A campaign in opposition to Taft-Hartley.

(b) Support for the Free Trade Union Movement. A member of the movement, who was tried for "defaming the Soviet Union", received an 18 month sentence as opposed to the five year maximum. The sentence may have been influenced by telegrams sent to the judge by ACF groups and other concerned individuals.

(c) Publication of a rank and file group directory.

(d) The boring from within existing unions — boring from without via IWW, independent unions, and shop floor committees debate continued.

(10) Report on CNT

The ACF delegate to the recent Congress of the CNT in Madrid, Spain, gave a report. See NAA3 and this issue for details.

(11) Newspaper Report

There was general discussion on the newspaper and specific discussion of the Politics of Topless and Patriarchy articles. The newspaper production group was congratulated on an over-all excellent job.



Delegates to the 5th ACF conference.

(12) Publications

(a) Nameless agreed to print 1,000 additional copies of the ACF **Basis for Affiliation**.

(b) Black Cat Press (Edmonton) will print 1,000 copies of **Anarchism: The Feminist Connection**.

(c) ACF will re-print the Australian pamphlet **You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship: The Anarchist Case Against Terrorism**.

(d) Black Cat Press will print 500 additional copies of **Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution**.

(e) The proposal to re-print **The Clemency of the Court** was defeated.

(13) Quebec

After discussion the ACF approved a resolution calling for abstention in the referendum vote and firmly opposing armed intervention, economic sabotage or any other interference by the Canadian state in the event Quebec should choose to support the Parti Quebecois project.

(14) The Draft

A resolution was approved stating ACF's vehement opposition to registration and conscription in whatever country they may occur

and stating that ACF will aid and abet both draft resisters and resisters within the military.

(15) Patriarchy

There was extensive discussion of whether women are oppressed as a class or as a sex. The class analysis of women's oppression was rejected.

(16) Pornography

There was extensive discussion of the issue with differences of opinion over what differentiates pornography from erotica and what constitutes an appropriate response to pornography and when does this response become a violation of freedom of expression. There was no formal resolution.

(17) Consensus vs. Majority

After discussion it was decided that we will continue to strive for consensus while maintaining a mechanism for majority decision making when consensus is clearly unattainable.

(18) Critique of Leninism

There was general agreement that ACF should critique Leninist organizations. The debate was

primarily over the tone of the criticism and whether or not harsh criticism is more likely to alienate or attract unaffiliated potential allies. No resolution was forthcoming.

(19) Auto Industry

A resolution advocating expropriation of Chrysler plants by the workers was withdrawn. It was felt that empty sloganeering was best left to Leninists.

(20) Black Rose

The **Rochester Black Rose** situation was discussed and it was decided that a letter should be sent to RBR asking them to clarify their relationship with ACF. RBR subsequently voluntarily disassociated themselves from ACF.

(21) Anti-Nuke Activity

Due to the lateness of the hour this item was not adequately discussed. A pamphlet entitled **If You're Anti-Nuke You Should Be An Anarchist** is in preparation.



FAI Interview

Continued from Page 12.

adequate international solidarity made collaboration with the pro-Soviet Communist Party unavoidable?

A. Yes. But it was also the case that the government of the Republic was unable to buy arms anywhere and it had to rely on the Russians to act as an intermediary in buying them.

Q. Do you think that because of what took place then the CNT and the FAI would be much more resistant to any such approval in the future?

A. Nowadays, we are much more careful about collaborating with anyone else no matter what politics they claim to have. We know very well that they try to use us. They are only willing to co-operate with us when it serves their interests.

Q. Now I wish to deal more with the current situation. In your view, what are the prospects for the CNT and particularly the FAI in the coming period?

A. As far as the CNT is concerned this depends primarily upon the outcome of the congress. The last congress was held a long time ago.

As far as the FAI is concerned we cannot consider such a short period because we have to bear in mind,

that the FAI is increasing at the moment and that the FAI groups are mainly in the cities. So our goal is to extend activity to the countryside where the revolution has to occur in the first instance.

Q. Do you have any thoughts you wish to address to anarchists in North America?

A. Anarchism grows up from and within the working class. Anarchism does not grow from small or big groups of intellectuals who sit down in a café and just work out a theoretical point of view of how anarchist behavior should be. It has to start and grow mainly among the working class.

Postscript: The History of the FAI is a new book by Juan Gomez Casas, the former Secretary General of the CNT. At this time it is only available in Spanish. Persons interested in obtaining a copy should send \$6.00 US to: ZXY, S.A. Lerida 82, Madrid-20, Spain.

issues. They just might find the experience with critical evaluation procedures demanded of scientific workers would help them to become better anarchists and it might be a

lot more fun. It sure beats witchcraft, encounter groups and contemplating your navel. "Truth is stranger than fiction" and a hell of lot more interesting!

Fashion is also coming in for a beating in the area of anarchism's relationship with feminism, eg. the "great" debate over the cartoon of Maggie Thatcher's portrayal on the cover of **Black Flag**. Much of what "radical" (sic) feminists are haranguing the movement with should be called for the nonsense that it is. I mean does any thinking person really believe that "male dominance" is the archetype of all oppression? The Iroquois had a matrilineal society. They weren't, exactly popular with the tribes around them. Of course, the story goes, if women take up authoritarian positions or attitudes it is because they are mimicking "male life styles" or are the innocent victims of male domination. So whatever happened to personal responsibility? Now this writer is not a utopian. I do believe that individuals can and do quite deliberately choose to be rotten. Period. Unlike the marxist metaphysicians, anarchists should be willing to accept the fact that power for its own sake has an appeal for most people. This is not always bad when it translates into a desire for

personal autonomy, and ambition (that nasty word) expressed in socially responsible ways. But clearly, this is not always the case. This should be our starting point vis-a-vis the origins of oppression if anyone is really interested. Personally I feel the very nature of the terms which both women and homosexual groups use to criticize those outside their ranks only helps to compartmentalize peoples' thinking towards so-called deviancy. In short, people, being female or male, heterosexual or homosexual or both makes you neither superior or inferior. It means sweet fuck all. (except to those marginal capitalists who are always ready and willing to cash in on "something different"). There are for the record many women's groups who do not pander to the "encounter group" crowd. And there are many homosexuals and bi-sexuals around who couldn't care less about baths and discos. Nest-ce pas? More could be said on all of the above. Any comments from readers?

Yours in solidarity,
Michael Kronstadt
Vancouver, B.C.

You might have noticed the forlorn notice at the start of the letters column which asked that letters be

kept to two typewritten double-spaced pages. This is not a rigid rule, obviously, but we do ask that you make an effort to keep submissions to the letters column brief and concise.

P.S. Typesetters also appreciate double-spaced copy. It's easier to read.

Greek

Continued from Page 5.

Harilaou Trikoupi by the patrols of the private police of the Greek Communist Party (of the exterior) at the anniversary of the uprising at the School of Polytechnic Studies during a program which was started by these corrupt criminals of the CP and later handed over to the police.

"We appeal to all free people to intervene to end the silent extermination of these revolutionary prisoners. Don't allow the Stalinist bureaucrats of the CP who envision a society of prisons and mental institutions to wipe out the movement for occupations.

Athens, December 19, 1979"

Meanwhile the last legal action for the release of Ph. and S. Kyritsis from prison has failed after the appeal to the highest court of Greece, Arios Pagos, was rejected on December 10.

BOOKS FROM CIENFUEGOS

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JANUARY 1980



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An international forum for libertarian thought and criticism. "... the only political magazine worth reading today." New Worlds, New York. "... the most important in the world today." D.A. de Santillan, ed. Encyclopaedia Argentina. Nos. 1 & 3 o/p; No. 2, £1.00, No. 4, £3.50; No. 5 — ready February, 1980, £1.50. A CP subscription entitles you to all CP titles published in calendar year (£12.00/\$30.00).

ZAPATA OF MEXICO, Peter E. Newell (0 9045 64 24X) £2.95 p/b, illus. Emiliano Zapata, born one hundred years ago and murdered just sixty years ago, has been described as a bandit—the greatest outlaw known to the Western Hemisphere, as well as the purest embodiment of the Mexican Revolution. This book attempts to describe what Emiliano Zapata aimed to achieve — and just how much he and his comrades actually did achieve in Southern Mexico between 1910 and 1920. It also contains an account of the common lands, 'los ejidos,' of that country.

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY, Alexander Berkman (0 904564 118) £2.00 p/b £5.00 h/b
As Chairman and Manager of the Museum of the Revolution, the author travelled widely throughout Russia where he acquired the background material for this analysis of the revolution and its betrayal by the Communists.

A NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS: THE FACES OF SPANISH ANARCHISM, ed. Albert Meltzer (0 904564 16 5/19 3)
P/b o/p, h/b red. to £3.00
While anarchism is historically recognised as having been the main driving force of the Spanish labour movement the world's press makes no mention of anarchism in Spain today. This book offers the reader a brief history of Spanish anarchism, its aims and achievements and also casts a critical but constructive look at the failures and shortcomings of a movement with a current membership of over half a million Spanish workers.

MAN! AN ANTHOLOGY OF ANARCHIST IDEAS, ESSAYS, POETRY & COMMENTARIES ed. Marcus Graham (0 90456 01 0) £7.00 h/b
Probably one the finest anthologies of Anarchism in English. Sections include ideas of Anarchism, Crime and Criminals, Fascism, Marxism, Spain, Religion, Resistance, Controversial Issues Among Anarchists, Art & Life, Literature, Poems, Government Persecution of Anarchists, Anarchist

Biographers and more, including a history of the Government persecution of the paper MAN! and its editor, Marcus Graham.

LAND AND LIBERTY: ANARCHIST INFLUENCES IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, Ricardo Flores Magon ed. Dave Poole (0 904564 16 9), £2.50 p/b, illus.

A succinct biography of Ricardo Flores Magon together with a collection of his essays, a history of Mexican anarchism, and a chronology of the Magonist movement. "...It contains the finest collection of Magon's writings yet seen in English. It also presents important evidence in support of the argument that Magon's influence within the Mexican left between 1910 and 1920 was far

stronger than we have previously recognised." John M. Hart, *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT: A Study of the Origins and Development of the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement in Europe, 1945-1973, with particular reference to The Angry Brigade and the First of May Group, ed. Albert Meltzer (0 90456 08 8), £1.50 p/b

"I read this book last night and was wishing the whole time that my comrades and I had known what was happening with the revolutionary activist wing of anarchism before we went into action." Russ Little (referring to the Symbionese Liberation Army, San Quentin Prison, California.)

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK. Vol. I: The Leninist Counter-Revolution, Gregory Maximoff (0 904564 23 1) P/b o/p, h/b red. to £6.50

The Guillotine at Work develops the theme that the stalinist terror of the thirties, the bureaucratisation of Russian society, the imperialist escapades, through to today's lack of human rights in Russia and other East European countries are not aberrations in the development of a socialist society, but rather a logical development of marxist philosophy which finds its orientation in the writings and actions of Lenin; had Stalin as one of its chief protagonists, and today has a host of faceless bureaucrats maintaining its repressive regime with even more sophisticated control of the hearts and minds of the people of Eastern Europe. It serves one main purpose: "To dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror."

THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON, 1935-1955: A Personal Memoir of Anarchist Activity in London from the mid-thirties to the present day. (With appendices on the movement in Scotland and Wales), Albert Meltzer. (0 90456 12 6) £1.25 p/b, illus.

THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT: A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in the German Navy, 1918-1919, Icarus (Ernst Schneider) (0 904564 04 5), 45p p/b.

PETER KROPOTKIN: HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS, Camillo Berneri (0 904564 07 X) .40p p/b

new anarchist library

A WOMAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY, Emma Goldman, & PARABLES OF AUTHORITY, Multatuli. (0 90456 27 4), 40p. p/b, NAL III. Reprint of the beautiful limited edition published by Joseph Ishill at the Oriole Press, New Jersey, USA in the 1920s.

A VISIT TO THE ISLAND OF SANDAY Rev. Alexander Goodfellow (0 90456 1 10 X) .75p p/b. A history of the small Orkney island of Sanday, the present base of Cienfuegos Press, with an introduction by Stuart Christie on the current problems facing Orkney and Shetland.

AN ANTI-STATIST, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Joseph Lane (with a biographical introduction by Nicolas Walter) (0 904564 20 7), 75p/b NAL I. The most important writing of one of the little known founders of the libertarian socialist movement in Britain.

TOWARDS A FRESH REVOLUTION Friends of Durruti (with an introduction by Jaime Balius of the FOD group) (0 904564 21 5). 75p/b NAL II. An analysis of the disaster caused by the counter-revolutionary movement in the struggle for power in Spain 1938. A message of hope for the future in the struggle against international capitalism, state socialism and fascism.

CHARLOTTE WILSON ON ANARCHISM, 1888, Charlotte Wilson (Introduction by Nicolas Walter) (0 904564 26 6) 60p p/b NAL IV. Three major essays on anarchism by one of the best known of the group of middle class intellectuals who played an important part in the emergence of the British anarchist movement in the 1880s, with an invaluable biographical introduction by Nicolas Walter.

Coming soon:

THE HAYMARKET SPEECHES, ed. Paul Avrich

WINTER/SPRING 1980

THE POVERTY OF STATISM: ANARCHISM AND SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM, Nicolai Bukharin, Luigi Fabbri, Rudolf Rocker (0 904564 28 2)

Anarchist critique of the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organisation of production, etc., are among the themes of these essays intended to highlight the basic differences between anarchism and marxism.

THE STRUGGLE TO BE HUMAN: CRIME, CRIMINOLOGY AND ANARCHISM, Larry Tift and Dennis Sullivan (0 904564 0/30 4) The first contemporary work to examine crime, punishment and social harms from an anarchist perspective. The work emerges

amidst the recurring failure of both academic and marxist sociologies to provide insight into ways to live harmoniously.

TITLES IN PREPARATION

Anarchism — For and Against, Albert Meltzer; *Faceries: Anarchist Extraordinary*, Antonio Tellez; *The Story of the Urban Guerrilla Resistance in Nazi Europe and Franco's Spain*; *Red Years: Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy*; *Class War: The Collected Writings of Camillo Berneri*, ed. Mintz; *Bourgeois Influences on Anarchism*; *Luigi Fabbri: Dictatorship and Revolution*, Fabbri; *The Friends of Durruti, The Trotskyists and the Events of May 1937*, Mintz and Pecina; *Memoirs of an International Terrorist*, Joachim Klein; *The End of Anarchism*, Luigi Galleani;

Revolution, Gustav Landauer; *The Daily Life of the Worker in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, Martin Zemliak; *Marxism and a Free Society*, Graham; *Tiempos Libertarios -- The Magonist Movement in Rio Blanco, Cananea and Baja California*, Salvador Hernandez; *Towards a Global Libertarian Alternative*, Mikel Orrantai "Tar"; *Short Stories*, Red Marut/B. Traven.

The Christie File: An Enemy of the State Stuart Christie, will be published early in 1980 by Partisan Press in the USA, and distributed in the UK by Cienfuegos Press. *The Art of Anarchy*, Flavio Costantini, will also be re-issued during the course of 1980.

coming 1980



Libertarian Notes

FREE KOMBOA ERVIN!

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, a black Anarchist political prisoner, who has been imprisoned for over 10 years for hi-jacking a plane in protest over the Vietnam war, needs our help.

Kombo has been consistently denied parole by vengeful parole authorities for his militant Anarchism and prison struggles. He needs to raise money to pay for legal fees when he takes the Parole Commission into federal court on federal civil rights crimes. Send your contribution to: **Free Komboa Ervin Committee**, c/o News and Letters, 343 S. Dearborn, Rm. 1001, Chicago, Ill. 60604, USA.

DOIN' THE SAN SALVADOR STOMP

The Assassination of Archbishop Romero of San Salvador has once more thrust that tiny Central American principality onto the front pages of Western dailies. The Archbishop was almost certainly killed by right-wing terrorists, alarmed at his support of the masses "legitimate right to revolutionary violence", although the bourgeois press attempted to pass off the strained theory that the assassination was the work of leftists interested in fermenting an anti-right backlash. Such an approach is typical of the Western media's slavish loyalty to ruling class ideology. By tarring left and right-wing violence with the same brush the Western press creates a climate conducive to the triumph of the State terrorists and their claim to a monopoly on the "legitimate" use of violence.

The "moderate" ruling junta, which overthrew the military dictatorship of Carlos Humberto Romero last October, is desperately attempting to prevent "another Nicaragua" by

implementing one-half of the traditional Latin American revolutionary slogan 'Land and Liberty'. Under a three-stage plan most of the land now owned by the elite 400 families would be turned over to the peasants. But land without liberty, both social and economic, is meaningless and the Marxist opposition has rightly condemned the plan as being "merely cosmetic". The 400 families would be compensated for the loss of *direct* control over their land and their position as the ruling class of San Salvador would be left untouched.

A jittery Carter regime has pledged \$50 million in economic aid and, more importantly, \$6 million in military aid plus an offer to supply "U.S. military training squads." In the current jingoistic mood, Carter feels confident that he can prop-up the San Salvadorean regime much more effectively than he was able to assist the Somoza regime in Nicaragua.

That the San Salvadorean regime will be willing to wage a bitter civil war against the people is beyond doubt. In 1932, about 32,000 peasants were massacred by government troops when they demanded better working and living conditions and troops have been used many times since to quell disturbances. But, to echo the words of the Spanish anarchist Buenaventura Durruti, "The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world here, in our hearts, and that world is growing in this minute."

THATS THE WAY THE TITO CRUMBLES

World news is beginning to take on the character of a low-budget soap opera what with the continuing hostage drama

in Tehran and the 'B' Grade version in Bogota. Carter totes up his Olympic boycott scoreboard and in Yugoslavia an eight-man team of doctors struggles to maintain the minimal brain-wave function of President Tito.

This is more than a personality cult, it is a personality fetish. An entire society waits in anxious trepidation imagining that their security is dependant on the maintenance of a semblance of life in a living corpse. Perhaps when Tito finally dies the Yugoslav Communist Party will carry their totemism to its absurdly logical conclusion and place Tito's stuffed and mounted body on the border to stave off the Soviet tanks.

TORONTO ANTI-DRAFT DEMO

On Saturday, March 22, over 30,000 people marched through the streets of Washington, D.C. to protest draft registration and the growing climate of war hysteria. In Toronto, members of the three regional ACF affiliates — Toronto, St. Catharines and Hamilton — mounted a solidarity picket at the U.S. consulate on University Ave. The great majority of passers-by expressed support and approval of the action and encouraged us to continue the fight against all forms of militarism.

IDEODROME EDITOR JAILED IN GREECE

Greek political activist and publisher of the anarchist magazine *Ideodrome*, Leonidas Christakis, has been sentenced to ten months in prison and a fine of 30,000 drachmas (about 1,000 dollars) on one count of violating Greece's pornography laws and 45 days in jail on a second count. The 45 day sentence can be suspended on payment of a fine.

This action is just one of the many attacks by the State on the libertarian left in Greece. In the next issue of the NAA, we will have an article on the most recent examples of police abuse of civil liberties and the harassment of political activists. This campaign of intimidation has been conducted in such a blatant manner that even the establishment media has condemned it.

Christakis denied the charges in an article in *Ideodrome*, and stated that "It is not by chance that in the last three years I have had two to four trials annually. The political significance of these charges is that they are not about political statements but about pornography in a society where the number of porno magazines is over 130."

One of the articles for which Christakis was charged was titled "The Ideology of Women in Prison."

Peltier

Continued from Page 7.

January 20, 1980, Leonard was sentenced to 7 years and Bobby to 5 years.

Vital to an understanding of the situation surrounding Leonard's case is the realization that his incarceration by the U.S. state is inextricably bound to our common struggle against the racist and exploitative nature of the imperialist power. Their only and obvious reason for control of native lands and people is economic. The uranium deposits found on native lands is vital to the state's monstrous involvement in the production of nuclear energy and warfare. The mining, milling and dumping of uranium on native lands is a continuation of the longest war. A war waged relentlessly through the last two centuries by the government in order to destroy the native population and steal their lands.

The existence of AIM demonstrates the native peoples' determination to say "fuck you" to the U.S. GOVERNMENT. The state must not be allowed to continue to manipulate and destroy without recourse from you and me. Leonard Peltier needs all our support morally, spiritually and specifically. Here is what you can do:

Publicize Leonard's case; write to the committees for more information and petitions

Rosalynn Carter stated that if there was any violations in Leonard's case she would personally investigate those violations. We urge people to write to her to put those words into action if she dares

Write to the warden at Marion Federal Prison, demanding that Leonard's mail not be censored, demand that Leonard be brought out of isolation into the prison population. Also demand that he not be sent to the control unit. Demand that Leonard be granted his religious freedom

Write to the warden at Marion

Federal Prison, Marion, Illinois 62959. Write to the International League for Human Rights to investigate Leonard's case at: International League for Human Rights, 236 East 46th Street — 5th floor, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Have your group or organization adopt Leonard as a political prisoner. Send needed contributions to the committees.

Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1 Port Angeles, Washington 98362 (206) 457-1028

Leonard Peltier Support Group c/o Ericson-Leone RFD No. 1 Lexington Ave. Mohegan Lake, N.Y. 10547 (914) 528-5977



Hell on Wheels

Continued from Page 10.

As workers working in the manufacturing and transportation of these dangerous goods we have a right to a safe work environment. Because this right so often interferes with profits, safety standards and training are often grossly inadequate. Workers' control of the manufacturing and transportation industries can ensure high standards and performances in a potentially very dangerous industry.

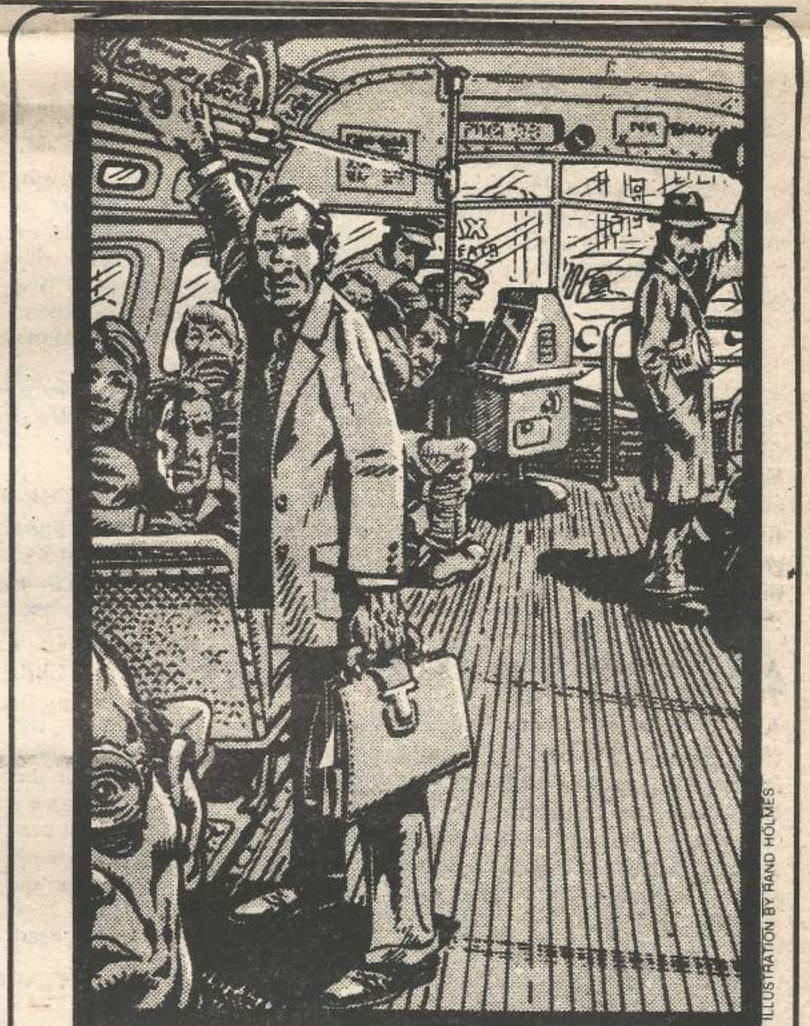
It is through the application of self-management techniques that any significant changes can be achieved, resulting not only in a safer, cleaner environment but also in a better quality and more fulfilling way of life.

Quebec Referendum

Continued from Page 1.

aside all illusions. As citizens of North America they are but a province of the Empire of Capital and any declaration of independence, if it is to have any validity, must be economic and social as well as political.

But if the people of Quebec decide to support the PQ independence project they will still face the prospect of armed intervention by either the pan-Canadian state or the United States. It is for this reason that the members of the Anarchist Communist Federation go on record as being firmly opposed to armed intervention, economic sabotage or any other interference in Quebec's internal affairs by either Canada or the United States. And we further pledge that we will do all in our power to frustrate and oppose any such moves.



No fun on the bus anymore?

read the
North American ANARCHIST

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

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



Head of L.A.'s school board paddles a teacher who voted for the re-instatement of corporal punishment. Isn't patriarchy cute?

UPI Telephoto

OUCH!

(LOS ANGELES) — California's largest school system recently approved by a 4 to 1 school board vote the re-establishment of physical punishment of students.

The approval was in response to pressure from both the teachers' union (United Teachers of Los Angeles) and a large number of parent-teacher associations. The union went so far as to include the demand in their contract.

"Spankings" will be administered with a wooden paddle, be limited to three blows per spanking and three spankings per school year, must be done in the presence of a witness, be limited to kids 14 years old or younger, and can only take place with the written approval of parents.

Having read this far, if you believe this a trivial news item, please continue.

Consider, for example, the original material basis of patriarchy. Didn't the fact that men are larger and stronger than women have something to do with the subjugation of women? Doesn't the subjugation of children have something to do with the fact that adults can physically hurt children

without fear of effective retaliation?

Is it really a meaningless coincidence that the photo chosen by a prominent press service to illustrate this little item shows a woman being paddled by a man?

Consider, for another example, the attitude of the union. The teachers obviously feel that the students are their enemies — force is something you employ against an enemy, after all. If someone wants to learn something from you and you want to teach them something, it is rather odd to proceed from that relationship to a relationship calling for the use of violence.

Unless, of course, that is not an accurate description of what is really going on. If young people are to be herded into an alien institution and kept there by the threat or use of violence, then the attitude of the teachers becomes very clear. They are prison guards and, like most guards, want greater freedom in the use of violence against inmates.

Consider the nature of the bureaucratized ritual itself. While small children could actually suffer injury from a paddle wielded by a

grown man, the teenagers will suffer "only" humiliation and shame. What kind of people enjoy inflicting this on people smaller and weaker than they are? And what will the kids conclude from such treatment about themselves and the nature of human society? It is not unusual to read in the daily press about kids who one evening kill their parents in their sleep, kids who shoot other kids for no apparent reason, etc. If you believe yourself to be a piece of shit, what does it matter what you do to others?

Consider how the official ritual is only a pale reflection of daily reality in the patriarchal family. The ugly reality of battered women and battered children is coming out in the open. If they survive, battered kids become violent themselves and attack their own mates and children. And so the cycle goes on.

Finally, consider this: if there is an anarchist-communist revolution in North America, a lot of battered kids and battered women will take part in it. Afterwards, such folks are likely to insist that the best thing to do with all the authority-types is to take them out and shoot them. I don't know about you, but don't expect me to try and talk them out of it.

Abscam Follies

By Michael Peterson

To the surprise of absolutely no one the FBI has demonstrated that politicians, like everything else in capitalist society, are bought and sold. ABSCAM, the FBI sting operation that caught eleven congressmen with their hands in the till, has sent political hacks along the Potomac scurrying for cover.

Used to baiting the unwary citizen with sex and drugs, gumshoes at the Justice Department were unprepared for the overwhelming stampede of politicians succumbing to the lure of money. As one bemused federal prosecutor remarked, "We never targeted any congressman. We just laid out all that money and they came running to try for a piece of it. It was like guys coming out of the bush saying 'Hey, give me some of the money.' They'd pay one guy and the next day five guys would be calling them, guys they didn't know." Thankfully for the politicians the operation was not guided by a more-the-merrier approach and in a display of uncharacteristic charity, the FBI terminated the operation before all of Capital Hill

was implicated. Consequently, the intriguing question of just how many politicians could fall for the same scam has been left unanswered. Those of the philosophical persuasion who may have been looking for a contemporary variation on that old medieval question of how many angels can dance on the head of a pin, need look no further.

For the rest of us, however, it is time to move beyond our generalized contempt of power and corruption. Congress after all is no fly-by-night operation. They've been ripping us off for years out of the same location. These same scoundrels will, in all probability, soon vote to reimpose the draft. It is no accident that the kind of people who have no difficulty in accepting bribes, likewise have no difficulty in sending young people to war. The wonder is not that politicians are corrupt, but that we persist in trusting our lives and liberties with such patent crooks.

Perhaps the most ironic aspect in this political farce is the fact that unlike other commodities the price of a politician has actually declined

over the years. While it took almost \$90,000 in today's money to buy a politician during the Teapot Dome scandal of the 1920's, the current model sells for a bargain \$40,000 on the average. If such trends continue, the price of a politician may well be within the reach of the average voter by the end of the century.

As anarchists, however, we do not particularly look forward to a time when there is a congressman in every pocket. On the contrary, this country needs nothing less than a wholesale congressional clearance. For as long as people continue to buy the historic con game that leaders somehow stand between us and barbarism, then we will continue to be the direct victims of our own acquiescence. Meanwhile, the authoritarian lie becomes progressively more transparent as governments everywhere lurch towards increasingly apocalyptic forms of chaos. If we choose to remain silent accomplices, then Bakunin's observation that "The only thing worse than the will to command is the will to obey", may become the epitaph for all us.

Labour Pains

Twenty Months and Counting

The brutally long strike by members of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union Local 2693 against the multi-national giant Boise Cascade of Canada Ltd. in Kenora and Fort Francis, Ontario is continuing with no end in sight. The major issues at stake in this strike centre on company demands that its employees purchase their own wood-cutting equipment at a cost of over \$50,000 and begin to perform piece-work rather than hourly wage labour. The workers view the first demand as a company attempt to make them pay for the right to their jobs and recognize a change-over to piece-rates as an intensified form of enslavement to the boss.

The length of this strike has taken a tremendous toll. Of the original 300 strikers less than 100 remain out. In addition to bearing an enormous financial burden the strikers have had to cope with massive police repression. Earlier, 200 Ontario Provincial Police were unleashed against the picket line resulting in the arrest of the strike's leaders and some wives of the strikers.

Beginning last autumn Boise Cascade officially claimed it was no longer recognizing the strike. Nonetheless, those still out remain defiant. They take heart in knowing the company's operations have been cut by possibly as much as one-half and that it needs to import wood from outside the province is a considerable expense.

Most importantly, they view their struggle in a broader perspective. They know their defeat would open the way for other pulp and paper companies operating in Northwestern Ontario to follow Boise Cascade's example.

This critical strike deserves the support of workers everywhere. Expression of support can be sent to the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Local 2693, P.O. Box 2384, Labour Centre, Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Radio Shack Wins Tentative Agreement

Radio Shack workers, members of the United Steelworkers of America, have won their first tentative agreement. The agreement culminates a bitter 9 month struggle between the Texas-based company and the steelworkers' union to get 200 hourly-paid employees at the warehouse in Barrie, Ontario under a collective agreement. The battle involved a union-sponsored boycott of Radio Shack stores and products and court-approved, landmark orders by the labour relations board to remedy the company's bad approach to bargaining and other labour practices. One of the contract's terms is full dues check off, in compliance with an Ontario Labour Relations Board offer.

For Whom the Bell Tolls . . .

Bell workers in the Communication Workers of Canada (CWC) union within Ontario and Quebec have reached a tentative agreement with the company after a three month strike. It was clear that the monopoly provoked the strike to punish workers for unionizing along industrial lines and rejecting the old sell out company association. Effectively Bell has agreed to substantially the same settlement they refused to accept as early as December 21, 1979.

The union has gained significant improvements in some areas of employment practice. Just cause must be demonstrated in any firings. Favouritism in hiring and promotion has been lessened. As well, time off has been increased by extended vacations.

On the other hand no great inroads have been made against the basic paternalistic character of Bell management practices. In addition the contract does not adequately protect CWC members against technological changes. The crack CWC workers have put in the Bell must be widened by continuing to press for the expropriation of the monopoly to the workers who have created the company's assets. Only in this fashion can workers regain control over technological change and the work day routine.

Women Back Into Stelco

A seven month campaign for the Women Back Into Stelco Committee was partially successful for the women who started it. Four of the five women who took legal action against the largest employer in Hamilton, Ontario, have gotten production jobs in the plant. As well, close to 40 women have recently been hired to work in the 12,000= person production force. The women are still demanding: A guarantee that the fifth woman is hired; retroactive pay to the time each woman filed job applications; payment of personal and moral damages; and implementation of programs to counteract the job discrimination. If the last demand is met, several thousand high paying blue collar jobs will be opened to women in the city.

Slaving Harder for Less

Eight percent of the Hamilton Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) membership voted against the new contract on Wednesday, March 5 and with good reason. Due to inflation we were offered no gain but a substantial loss since our cost-of-living-allowance (COLA) is being incorporated into our pay-checks at a 50 cent increase and future COLA only starts to work at 6 per cent. No dental-medical-optical benefits, no shorter working hours, no additional break — but a \$350 Christmas bonus and our own back pay are being used as bait to lure members into the trap.

On top of this injustice, workers are being told we must slave harder because the Post Office is in deep financial straits. Management had kindly informed us they are willing to listen to our ideas to get them out of this predicament. They are slowly whittling away at our jobs. For example, in Toronto 50 MSC jobs have been deleted — yet they expect us to give the ideas and work harder for them at a cost only to us. I can't help but agree with other workers in the post office that we should be working shorter hours to protect our jobs and create new ones.