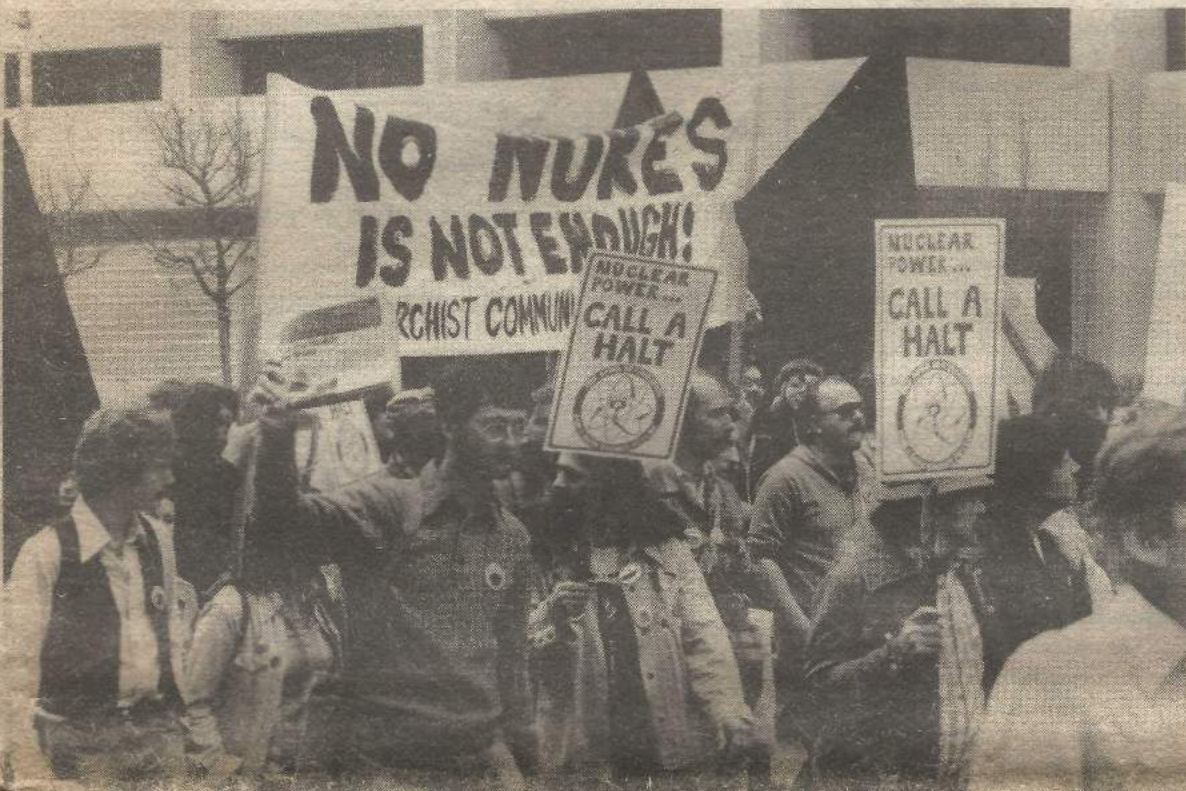


North American ANARCHIST

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

500

Anti-Nuke Offensive



On April 26 nearly 2,000 Anti-Nukes marched through the heart of downtown Toronto. The march was part of a continent-wide mobilization against nuclear power that culminated in the mass assault on Seabrook (See:

Page 5) on May 24. On June 7 an occupation of the Darlington nuclear facility will be attempted. See you there!

Anarcho-Photo/Lazarus Jones

"The capitalist," as that mummy in the cardboard suit under glass outside the Kremlin once said, "will sell you today the rope that you will use to hang him with tomorrow." Lenin's point, that the capitalist is more concerned with today's profits than tomorrow's consequences, goes to the heart of the nuclear power issue. But nuclear power is just one aspect of the madness that is capitalism in both its western private and eastern 'soviet' manifestations. Dioxin, asbestos, Agent Orange, the list of biological horrors inflicted on workers is endless — nuclear power is merely the most potentially horrific.

The dangers of nuclear power, however, are not simply ecological. Nuclear power is a centralizing technology that binds untold future generations to eternal vigilance and eternal subjugation to the power monopolies. A wide spectrum of decentralized, user owned and operated energy sources — solar, wind, tidal, geothermal etc. — are, to the capitalist, not only "impractical" they are *unprofitable*. The most important part of any energy system to the power company is the meter. In addition the capitalist

needs the vast amounts of energy generated by nuclear technology to fuel the mindless expansion and consumerism that are part and parcel of capitalist development.

The nuclear state is the police state. Because nuclear installations are extremely vulnerable to sabotage the state can demand the acceptance of security measures that would otherwise be unthinkable. "Potential subversives" must be monitored and nuclear installations must be guarded, with security forces given wide discretionary powers, and even the guards themselves must be watched. The nuclear state requires a technological elite to expand and maintain the nuclear industry. A *stable* and *permanent* high priesthood of science to monitor and contain the radioactive waste. No civilization has yet managed to endure more than 1,000 years without major disruption. The catholic church, the most enduring of present-day institutions, has managed to survive barely 2,000 years. But the nuclear waste we produce today will have to be stored over for the next 250,000 years!

See No Nukes Page 5

Autoworkers Must Fight Back

By Brian Amesly

The North American auto industry is in the midst of the worst crisis in its history and autoworkers are suffering the consequences. Nearly 300,000 are now out of work in addition to thousands of others in auto-related industries.

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With each passing week autoworkers have witnessed more plant shutdowns and other production cutbacks. Even so, the worst is yet to come as evidenced by remarks from top auto bosses following their discussions with Jimmy Carter to the effect that the next six months to a year will be "hell" for the major U.S. car manufacturers.

Furthermore, this assessment does not even take into account the consequences of a Chrysler bankruptcy. Despite massive aid from governments on both sides of the border and sacrifices imposed by the UAW upon Chrysler workers this remains a distinct possibility. One only needs to look at the figure just released for car sales during the first ten days of May compared to the same period last year. They show overall Big Three sales are down 42.8% with Chrysler's declining 56.9%.

The main cause of the slump is the failure to changeover production to serve a market which demands fuel efficiency in the face of skyrocketing gas prices. But this is not the only reason. Today's car prices are enormous. Especially at a time when the North American working class is being battered by chronically high inflation, massive unemployment and high interest rates, growing numbers of working people are finding it hard to afford even "economy" models.

Much of the blame for the burden autoworkers are bearing in this crisis rests with the UAW bureaucracy. A look at their "historic" 1979 contract negotiations make this clear.

The agreements which resulted, provided nothing in the way of real increases in job security. (See *naa2* pg. 12) The main objective of a Cost of Living Allowance on pensions was not achieved. This would have provided greater incentive to high seniority workers to retire sooner in the knowledge they had some real protection against inflation. In addition, the UAW bureaucrats bear responsibility for allowing the mandatory retirement age to rise from 68 to 70. Both of these developments are now costing autoworkers enormous numbers of jobs.

Likewise, the UAW bureaucracy repeated its failure to deliver a reduction in the work week. Instead autoworkers gained a miniscule in-

crease in the number of Paid Personal Holidays throughout the life of the agreement. In addition, numerous incidents of supervisors using overtime to fill the resulting vacancies have occurred even as autoworkers were on layoff. These added insult to injury in respect to the lack of job security gains last year.

Silent about their responsibility for these things highly paid bureaucrats like UAW President Doug Fraser and Canadian Director Robert White try to focus our attention elsewhere. Their worst ploy to date has been to promote economic nationalism with slogans like "Buy the car your neighbour builds." What they're actually saying is put North American autoworkers back

on the job by shifting the crisis onto the backs of Japanese and West European autoworkers.

This ploy of divisive nationalism even pits Canadian autoworkers against their American counterparts. In Canada, the UAW, with the support of "left" nationalist organizations like the New Democratic Party as well as the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese Communist Parties, focuses largely on the 1965 U.S.-Canada Auto Pact governing automobile production on the con-

While it is true the Auto Pact has worked in favour of the U.S., demands for changing it would still put even more American auto-

See Fight Back Page 12



With the North American auto industry steeped in crisis autoworkers across the continent must turn the tables on management by forcing them to suffer the consequences of their actions. They created this mess, let them pay for it!

For Starters



Well here we are into our fifth issue and we've actually managed to be a bi-monthly. Around about the time NAA2 was out a comrade from Montreal cautioned us that "the first six issues are the easiest." We're just beginning to fully appreciate what he meant.

These are hard times for anarchist publications. We've heard that *No Limits* may cease publication. *The Match* is long gone. And even though the *Open Road* is coming out with a huge 32 page issue it's been an awfully long time since the last one. The problem, as always, is time, energy and money.

Well, we can supply the time and energy, what we need from you, dear reader, is money. Each issue of the NAA costs approximately \$1,300 to typeset, print and mail out. About half of that \$1,300 comes from ACF group pledges. The rest comes from our readership in the form of sales, subscriptions and donations.

If worst came to worst we could probably continue to publish the NAA as a quarterly. But we have always felt that a bi-monthly publishing schedule was inadequate and what we really wanted was a monthly or even, dare we say it, a bi-weekly anarchist publication.

As for now, however, NAA5 will put us in the red. So, if you think a regularly published anarchist newspaper is worth supporting we hope you will contribute generously to our **Sustaining Fund**. Funds donated are *not* tax deductible.

And, lest you think we're only interested in your money, we're always in need of people to help with lay-out and distribution. Production for NAA6 will take place on the weekend of July 26-27 and distribution on the weekend of August 2-3. If you are in the area and interested in helping out leave your name and phone at the **Autonomy Bookroom**, 175 Lappin Ave. (between

Bloor and Dupont off Lansdowne) or drop us a line at our P.O. Box.

We've also received comments on our proofreading, or rather, our seeming lack of it. Well believe it or not we do proofread our copy and we're working on reducing the number of typos and errors in layout. But we doubt that we'll ever be perfect so bear with us.

All letters to NAA and other correspondence should be mailed to: **The North American Anarchist**, P.O. Box 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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LETTERS

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

TOPLESS AGAIN

Comrades,

My thanks to Frank Stevens for having the audacity to stir up some ideological hornets' nests: technology and, the ultimate taboo, sex. As a cabdriver on the fringe of the "sexual fantasy industry" I encountered women who were intelligent and aware, and others who were not; some who were sensitive and others who were not; and "patrons" who were lustful/bemused/pathetic/vicious. A range not too unlike that among other people I knew, the difference being that the sexual misery was even more miserable and more directly and openly capitalized than the world of "normals". Was I a "scab" to take fares to such dens of iniquity? They were fellow workers as much as any proletarian manufacturing weapons of war or industrial poisons. And which of them was doing the most harm?

I agree completely with comrade Lee Dupre's assessment. It was concise and incisive, sketching a meaningful response to an ugly and complex problem, informed by libertarian principles. Elaine Leeder's reply was exactly the opposite: the factional malice of a domineering, self-righteous intellectual. This 100% "true Feminist" has judged comrade Stevens, found him wanting, and cast him beyond the pale. A "radical therapist"? I can believe

it! Mark Kaufman is the one who really got to me though. I can just see the shit hitting the fan when Brother Mark voiced his initial opinion that Steven's article was "worthwhile". His letter typifies the inability of many anarchists to break the chains of Leftism. Like Marxism in the 19th century and Bolshevism after it, Feminism has recuperated revolutionary struggle into the avant garde of bourgeois ideology. The sexual oppression of women and men is lost sight of in the haze of "theory": "as individuals we can understand them. As a group..." they're scabs!

This isn't the place for a dissection of the implications of feminist ideology, with its anarcho-fringe and bourgeois core; but if debate on this closed system of thought (final and complete, except for "details") is impossible, then we are lost, Guila. All the elements of "after-the-revolution" intolerance and repression are present in the three "Con" letters in NAA 4; unseeing bitterness, acquiescence, and an authoritarian will to "purge". What kind of "social morality" do these anarchists envision? What exactly will happen to those who would reject their one Truth and their "correct" model of relations between the sexes? As libertarians, shouldn't we consider individual sexuality and the struggles of repressed groups (women, homosexuals, children, men) as their own, as our own liberation, as self determining... and *not* as the property of a political ideology?

In solidarity,
Jesse McCoy
Seattle, U.S.A.

ANARCHIST-LIBERAL NOTES?

Comrades,

Just finished reading issue No. 2 of the NAA and have some critical comments on the Anarchist/Feminist notes. In its featured report on new proposals for eliminating current sex wage inequality (and also on the situation of domestic workers in Canada), A/F Notes sounded more like the CBS nightly news, or even something out of *60 Minutes* rather than a serious anarchist publication. In mentioning work, sex wage equality (equal pay for an equal dose of alienation), employers, labour unions, women's rights organizations, and so forth, the report failed to incorporate any semblance of a revolutionary, proletarian orientation. Consequently, on these issues, A/F Notes merely conveyed an uncritical, liberal reformist perspective having little to do with anarchism or revolution.

For a world without wage-slaves and without bosses!!
Maria Fernandez
Tampa, Fla.

SIGN ME UP

Dear Friends,

Just received a copy of NAA and would like to subscribe!

After feeling isolated all these years it's great to know that there are many more of us out there and that we are organized (or organizing).

The paper is well balanced, giving plenty of local and global views and information.

Leave plenty of space for letters: a part of your (our) paper should act like a forum for all of us to communicate our ideas.

I have a family and am involved in organizing Maryland unschoolers in their attempts to turn down or

ganized "education" — "private" or public. This is truly in the anarchist spirit: not an attempt to "seize power" but rather to *abstain* from forced learning. You will be hearing more from me on this subject from time to time, and I would appreciate other views on Deschooling.

As for now, SIGN ME UP.
Viva Anarchy!
M.S.

Columbia, Maryland.

PLEAD THE FIFTH!

NAA,

Please remove my name from your mailing list. I am not now, nor have I ever been, a supporter of the anarchist movement. I don't know how my name ever got on the *Open Road* mailing list, but I would like it removed from there too.

Doug Cayne
Stanford, California

JUST THE FACTS MA'AM

Folks,

I may be leaning toward anarchism. Maybe if I am good I will be one one day. It takes a lot of work, on my part and on everyone else's. And I think it is important that people stand up and speak for and defend this particular way of being.

But I do not believe being a cheerleader through the pages of the *North American Anarchist* is the way to go about it. You folks propagandize too much for me. It is one thing to present the "facts" so much as they can be obtained. It is quite another to draw the various conclusions that you come to.

I strive to criticize honestly and sincerely. For me your paper is too accepting of standard political lines to do me much good. Please take me off your mailing list; it's not much but it will save you a couple of dollars that can be put to use elsewhere.

I wish the North American Anarchist all the luck in the world. However, for now, I don't want it gracing my mailbox.

Keep the faith
Ken Stern
Yellow Springs, Ohio

I VOTE 'YES'

Dear Comrades,

I have just read the article by Lazarus Jones on the Quebec referendum (No Choice But Abstention) which elaborates on the resolution taken at the 5th ACF conference in Milwaukee.

I largely agree with the views expressed. Nevertheless I have some reservations with your formula. It is quite right that the Parti Quebecois comes from and represents the petite bourgeois class of Quebec and that their aspirations, other than nationalism itself, amounts to little (a vague social-democratic programme). But I don't believe that independence is their actual goal and your phrase "fraud that must be strenuously opposed" is definitely exaggerated. Because, if at its birth the Parti Quebecois was founded to realize political independence for Quebec (and so on), progressively, as they approached power and, when they attained it, we were able to judge the weakness of their original urge to make their aspirations clearly electoral (like all parties they want respect!!). And in the event of a resounding defeat of the PQ in the referendum (which is not likely) or in the following elections you will be stunned at the speed with which they will dilute or abandon their aspirations for independence.

Like all parties, the PQ want to retain power and like them they will adapt themselves and soften their policies according to their perception of the sentiments of the electorate. See More Letters Page 14

A Call to Resistance

By Geoffrey Gardner

Everywhere we turn these days are headlines and talk announcing the revival of the worldwide Cold War. For my part, I don't believe a word of it. This talk of "revival" is sheer journalistic mythology. When has The Cold War ever lapsed?

The overriding fact of our lives is that the *only* break in the headlong course of The Cold War any of us can remember was its own awful overflow into 14 years of localized heat and waste; the waging of the war in Southeast Asia by Americans. Worse still, the only Americans with legitimate claim to memories of what it is to live in a time of real peace are people over 70. The War is, for us, perpetual. It is the constant atmosphere within which we draw our every breath.

However few the numbers of those who arrange The War and whose advantage it serves, it is true that their plans succeed only by the passivity and acquiescence of the many. Because I have learned no deeper truth about it, I will repeat what others have said before me: The War — and most especially The Cold War with its constant threat of total nuclear annihilation — is the collective unwilling longing of vast numbers of people to live in proximity with — if not over the edge and into — a kind of mass suicide. Its motive is the collective and near universal eagerness and utter powerlessness to flee and have done at last with lives too thwarted and blandly miserable. The war spirit thrives on alienation from vocation and the materials of productive work, on the lapse of contact with the true inventiveness of arts and sciences, on abstraction from the powerful emotions of joy, rage, grief, compassion and sexuality and on the reduction to a minimum of the communal and political initiative typical of a free people. It is the absolute duty of each of us — as much as we can — to reject the war spirit and the habits of life on which it grows, and, in the thousand acts of our daily lives, to wage the peace instead.

There is no question that the Cold War *is* intensifying. Panting after the Presidency, the former Governor of California, like the first chill gust of an unnatural senility, urges an increase of 500% in spending for "defense." And clutching as in a fever to maintain his position of power, Jimmy Carter — for all the seeming innocence of his personal bearing and inept capabilities for either speech or policy — proposes actions in the same field no less insane when measured by the rod of their likely consequences. There are the American hostages in Iran and the fact that no one has yet successfully explained just how these unlucky 53 are not equally the hostages of the American president, the State and Defense Departments, the CIA, the armaments industry and the oil interests. And there is more that is just as bad.

Worst and most intolerable of all is the president's direct declaration of The War against the citizenry, his decree that come June, and then again in July, all 19 and 20 year olds will be coerced to register for the military draft.

What can we do to gum up the works and stop him in his tracks?

One thing we can dispose of at once: the president's resolution that women will be included in the registration is a thorough-going liberal canard intended to confuse the issue and demonstrate his "good will" towards women. Without special legislation, the president has *no* authority to command the registration of women. There is ab-

solutely *no* chance — and the president knows it — that any such legislation will ever get out of committee and onto the floor of either the Senate or the House. The committee votes are simply not there. The registration of 19 and 20 year olds in June and July will be, as ever, *for males only*.

For months work against the registration has been under way. Many are lobbying against the legislation that will be needed for the necessary appropriations to carry out the plan. Civil liberties attorneys across the country are preparing briefs for suits against the government on constitutional questions and grounds of discrimination by age and sex. There have been teach-ins and mass demonstrations. There already have been arrests for

"Die-ins" at the Pentagon and other acts of civil disobedience. All these activities will and should be continued.

But the question remains: just what should we do during the week in June (probably 23-27) and the week in July (probably 22-26), just after the Republican convention) when all 19 and 20 year old men are ordered to troop to their post offices and fill out the registration forms?

According to reports, the government expects that some 15% of the men ordered to will not register. Some will not because they won't know they are supposed to. Others will not register out of indifference to the order and others still out of principled opposition. Whatever

their reasons, the government — selectively, of course — will try to track them down for arrest, prosecution and imprisonment. If many times the expected 15% were not to register, the registration itself would become impossible and go by the boards. It is on the image of just such an eventuality that, traditionally, the anti-draft movement has banked its hopes and towards which it has turned its energies.

But there is a paradox here. With no certainty about the likelihood of mass refusal to register, are we merely asking a relative few to enlist in prison as an alternative to registering for the draft? Can we reasonably expect that very many 19 and 20 year olds have yet lived enough life and taken enough

thought to have come authentically to the day by day engagements as well as the moral and political principles that would both justify and give courage and meaning to the act of refusal and its dangers? For those of whom we can expect this, refusal to register, of course, has its power and its meaning both as principled opposition and as testimony against The War. But for the very many others, might not the choice for the risk of prison drive them more deeply towards the alienation and disruption of life on which The War and its spirit thrive? Can we expect them to wage the peace from jail? Lacking certainty in the massiveness of refusal, is this the best way for us to wage the peace and stop the draft? The problem is made all the more urgent and poignant by the president's plan to register men to be draftees by slow increments and at a season when many of them will be dispersed and not available to one another for mutual aid and support. According to this plan, at each registration period there will be fewer called to register, (and so fewer who also might resist and refuse) than if all were ordered to register at once.

But wait! We have other resources, and there is the possibility of another plan. It could have the power to cause 19 and 20 year olds *not* to register by the thousands and without legal culpability!

Let us declare each week of the registration **STOP THE DRAFT WEEK**. And let us make each week a prolonged spell of massive non-violent civil *obedience* to gum the works, confuse the computers and render harmless the president's commands!

Here is what I propose: hundreds and thousands of us should gather in groups at our local post offices on the registration days to be sure that no young man registers for the draft before taking thought. (In some cities and rural areas a single central focus — the main post office — may prove more effective than our scattered presence at the neighborhood stations). Let there be teach-ins — vigorous, detailed and personal — within the post offices themselves to ensure that all who register have considered fully what they do. Let us draw our line *inside* the post offices, risking arrest if necessary, asserting our right to our presence there to be certain no young man registers without the benefit of discussion and reflection. Let us urge the registrants to mark their thoughts in detail on every available space of their forms.

But further, let us assert, in the richest spirit of satire, that "If they go, we all go!" And we are by habit the insubordinate to authority (we have better to do than obey) and, by the thousand acts of our daily lives, the wagers of the peace! Let each of us come bearing a photocopy of our birth certificate with the date of our births and indication of sex altered so that for these weeks we are all "proved eligible" for the registration. Then let us all enter the post office, and one by one and in groups, to obtain as many registration forms as we can — for ourselves, our sisters, brothers, cousins, friends, the family dog, our Senator or Congressman — and let us all register as many times over as we can for the draft.

Let us all be sure to note as precisely as possible on the forms our reasons for wanting to register. For example: I am eloquent and nifty and would know just how to denounce my officers' idiot orders," or "my skills are chiefly

See Resistance Page 14



Nuclear suicide or mass action?

Anarchism and the Leninist Counter-Revolution

By Lazarus Jones

A recurring theme in anarchist circles is the proper relationship between the anarchist movement and the various Leninist sects and grouplets. While most anarchists harbour no illusions about the ultimate goal of all Leninist organizations — a rigidly centralized police state — there are some who advocate varying degrees of cooperation where Leninists are doing "good work." The implicit rationale for this collaboration is the acceptance of Leninists as legitimate "left-wing" groups whose activities in some way help to further the socialist project. To say the least this acceptance is, at best, hopelessly naive and at worst dangerously misguided. Leninism, in all its many manifestations, is inherently reactionary and anti-worker.

That this point should still have to be made sixty-three years after the "glorious" October Revolution is eloquent testimony to the fact that nothing succeeds like success — or should we say excess? Bakunin, Marx's greatest contemporary antagonist, perceptively discerned the Leninist embryo in Marx's theories. In *Statism and Anarchy* he declared: "They (the Marxists) are enemies of the powers that be only because they cannot take their places. They are enemies of the existing political institutions because such institutions preclude the possibility of carrying out their own dictatorship, but they are at the same time the most ardent friends of State power, without which the Revolution, by freeing the toiling masses, would deprive this would-be revolutionary minority of all hope of putting the people into a new harness and heap upon them the blessings of their governmental measures."

The much hailed attempts of libertarian Marxists to "retrieve" Marx from the grip of Leninism is a futile exercise. While we accept the fact that libertarian Marxists are genuine revolutionaries with whom we, as anarchists, have much in common the fact remains that Marxism is, at heart, a reactionary ideology. Marx's "greatest achievement," the elevation of socialism into a "science," made some form of Leninism inevitable. By accepting the concept of "scientific socialism" the Marxists drove a firm wedge between themselves and the workers. By claiming to possess a knowledge not available to the common person — the pretension to unique insight into the historical process — the Marxists set the stage for the day a Marxist ruling class would use bullets instead of manifestos to convince the workers of their "errors" — all for their ultimate good of course.

Social "Scientists"

Both Marx and Lenin owed their power and influence within their respective socialist movements to the fact that they were generally acknowledged to be the leading theoreticians of their day. This was a natural result of the conception of socialism as a science. After all if socialism is a "science" its theoreticians can justifiably claim to be "scientists" and, as we all know, some scientists are more knowledgeable, more brilliant, more "correct" than their fellows. It is only logical that the foremost social "scientist," the one with the keenest perception of the historical process, should also be The Leader.



Like father like son?

Now when a Marxist party is out of power this tendency is often beneficial. Stature, and usually advancement, within the party hierarchy is based on merit and, as a result, many Marxist parties have brilliant leadership. But, when a Marxist party seizes State power other avenues of advancement open up. The merely competent administrator can become as highly valued as the sophisticated theoretician. This was Stalin's road to power.

Appearances, however, must be kept up. In Stalin's case, being somewhat of a thickhead in matters theoretical, the logic of the Marxist process involved the slaughter of the upper intellectual strata of the Bolshevik party. It would not do to have the leader of the socialist motherland continually upstaged by underlings manifestly more well versed in Marxist theory than he was. And after all once State power is consolidated brilliance of polemic and incisiveness of theoretical insight become eminently dispensable. Stalin's ironic legacy, as a Marxist, is the cardboard caricature of Marxism which prevails in the Soviet Union today.

Marxism was the theory, Leninism-Stalinism is the practice. But it wasn't an easy road. Marx had been very vague on exactly how a Marxist revolution should be organized. He limited himself to declaring that the working class should organize politically to seize State power. The resulting party should fight for limited reform in the political sphere and at the same time prepare the working class for the inevitable revolution that would destroy the power of the bourgeoisie and raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class. Nice theory but how, exactly, do you pull the rabbit out of the hat?

In Russia the incipient Marxist movement of the 1890's was young, vigorous and dynamic. From the beginning Lenin's aim was to forge a disciplined and obedient party out of this boisterous raw material.

Lenin blasted any waverers from the path of Marxist orthodoxy, as interpreted by himself, with withering blasts of invective. The heresies of Economism and Revisionism were denounced mercilessly. Lenin's style of debate often drove individuals right out of the party and this, in essence, was Lenin's aim. As he would later declare "the party strengthens itself by purging itself." In the editorial statement of the first issue of *Iskra*, the journal of the Social Democratic Party, he made his strategy plain. "The lines of demarcation must be drawn," he declared, to separate the "true" revolutionary from the backsliders and betrayers.

To Lenin the incessant debate and the lack of a firm, centralized organizational structure within the party was intolerable. This chaotic jumble of hair-splitting intellectuals would never be capable of challenging the Tsarist autocracy. In 1902 Lenin published his views in the pamphlet *What Is To Be Done*. In this pamphlet he called for a strongly centralized party composed of professional revolutionaries operating under strict hierarchical control. In *What Is To Be Done* Lenin broke with orthodox Marxism even more dramatically than had the German Marxist Bernstein, who Lenin had reviled as Revisionist heretic. Marx had always maintained that class consciousness arose spontaneously as a result of working and living conditions under capitalism. Now Lenin begged to differ; he declared that "the working class, exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only a trade union consciousness." Class consciousness, Lenin asserted, would "have to be brought to them from without." In *What Is To Be Done*, Lenin was calling for the creation of a party that would, in effect, substitute itself for the working class! Socialist ideas, rather than arising from the daily experience of the workers, would have to be drummed into their heads by middle class intellectuals. As might be expected,

one of the earliest and most enthusiastic supporters of Lenin's position was an obscure Georgian named Iosif Djughashvili — better known as Joseph Stalin.

Lenin's view of the party as a military unit pre-supposed the office of Supreme Leader. Although this is understated in *What Is To Be Done* Lenin made his views quite clear in 1920. "Classes are led by parties," said Lenin "and parties are led by individuals who are called leaders . . . This is the ABC. The will of a class is sometimes fulfilled by a dictator . . . Soviet socialist democracy is not in the least incompatible with individual rule, the recognition of the dictatorial powers of one man . . . All phrases about equal rights are nonsense."

The Struggle

Whereas Bernstein had openly and honestly called for a re-evaluation of Marxism, particularly the theory of immiseration, Lenin declared that his revisionism was pure orthodoxy. It is a tribute to Lenin's intellect and polemical ability that he was able to pull off this feat of theoretical legerdemain successfully.

At the second congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1903 the editorial board of *Iskra*, which also functioned as the party's central organ, presented a united front in proposing a draft program for the party based on *What Is To Be Done*. Akimov, an obscure party member, raised some perceptive questions. Does not Lenin's pamphlet treat the workers as a passive object to be manipulated and driven by an elite party? Does the merciless denunciation of Economism imply that socialists are not interested in the workers' struggle for an improved standard of living? What exactly does Lenin mean when he says that the central organs should control party publications? Is he advocating censorship? Akimov's objections were for the most part laughed off as inconsequential. But Lenin's proposals did lead to deep divisions within the party. At this congress the Social Democratic Party split into two factions — the Bolsheviks (majority tendency) and the Mensheviks (minority tendency). The issue which caused the split was ostensibly the dispute over whether the editorial board of *Iskra* would be reduced from six to three. This proposal, which was passed, was a maneuver on Lenin's part to ensure that he would have total control of *Iskra's* editorial policy. The actual dispute centred on whether or not Lenin's concept of the small, rigidly centralized party of professional revolutionaries would prevail over Martov's more open membership policy. The debate was bitter and prolonged and although there was an attempt to patch-up party unity at the end of the congress and in spite of subsequent attempts to re-unite the opposed factions the Social Democratic Party had been irrevocably split into two opposed factions.

Bolshevik flexibility

The dispute between Lenin and Martov, the leader of the Menshevik faction, should not be misconstrued as a battle between an "authoritarian" and a "democratic" view of the party. The Mensheviks rejected Lenin's prescription for a united and disciplined party, with its emphasis on one supreme leader, but their aims and ideology were the same as the Bolsheviks'. The Mensheviks are a classic example of the problems of

combining an authoritarian ideology with democratic scruples. The Mensheviks would never be able to combine, as Lenin and the Bolsheviks did so well, a rigid strategy with totally flexible tactics. The Mensheviks' pathetic adherence to orthodox Marxism, and their insistence in 1917 that the bourgeois revolution must come first, doomed them to defeat at the hands of the unscrupulous Bolsheviks.

The tactical flexibility of the Bolsheviks, which has become a hallmark of Leninist politics, is often what attracts independent leftists to their organizations. With their belief in the primacy of ends over means the Bolsheviks have always been willing to play the libertarian if that was what was required in any particular situation. Thus Lenin could unblinkingly call for "All Power To The Soviets", a statement that was in direct contradiction to his stated views on revolution. His support of the Soviets was not however, based on any commitment to them as a basis for building socialism. Lenin viewed the Soviets and Factory Committees as useful de-stabilizing elements and his support of them was strictly predicated on that perception. As Maurice Brinton stated in *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control*: "Between March and October the Bolsheviks supported the growth of the Factory Committees, only to turn viciously against them in the last few weeks of 1917, seeking to incorporate them into the new union structure, the better to emasculate them." To the Leninists the aim of a revolutionary party is to goad the masses into revolution. Their agitational efforts are intended to arouse the workers' and to use their collective power as a battering ram to bring down the political institutions that, as Bakunin observed, "preclude the possibility of carrying out their own dictatorship."

Slander And Invective

In the wake of the second congress the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of the Social Democratic Party indulged in a campaign of mutual slander and invective. That Lenin, the master of the art, should emerge from this debacle triumphant is not surprising. Martov and the Mensheviks were too much the sentimental intellectuals always hoping for an eventual rapprochement. Lenin, on the other hand, was unwilling to have them back on any terms. They simply wouldn't fit into his concept of the party. In their polemical battles Lenin always spoke with 'the voice of history' and was unstinting in his characterization of the Mensheviks as "intelligentsia scum," "scoundrelly intellectuals" and "that riffraff."

For Lenin the goal was always a rigidly disciplined party devoid of the weakness and vacillation of the Mensheviks. Ironically Lenin would never see the party rise to the apotheosis of order and discipline that he desired. The completion of that process would be left to Stalin.

In his lifetime Lenin would never be free of the intellectual sentimentality he so despised. During the October Revolution, when the Kremlin was under fire after Provisional Government loyalists retreated there, Bukharin rushed into Lenin's office in tears to tender his resignation declaring that he could not stand idly by while Russia's cultural heritage was being destroyed. Fortunately the damage

See *Leninism* Page 15

April 26 Anti-Nuke Demo



By Craig Glassner

Here are some photos of the April 27 C.D. at the Pentagon. About 400 of a crowd of 1200 protestors were arrested. It was good to see the anti-nuclear power movement make the connection with the military powers-that-be. Many people weren't into sitting around waiting to be busted — so they spent the day spraypainting, blocking the entrances and exits with trash cans and trash, parking barricades and military vehicles with deflated tires.

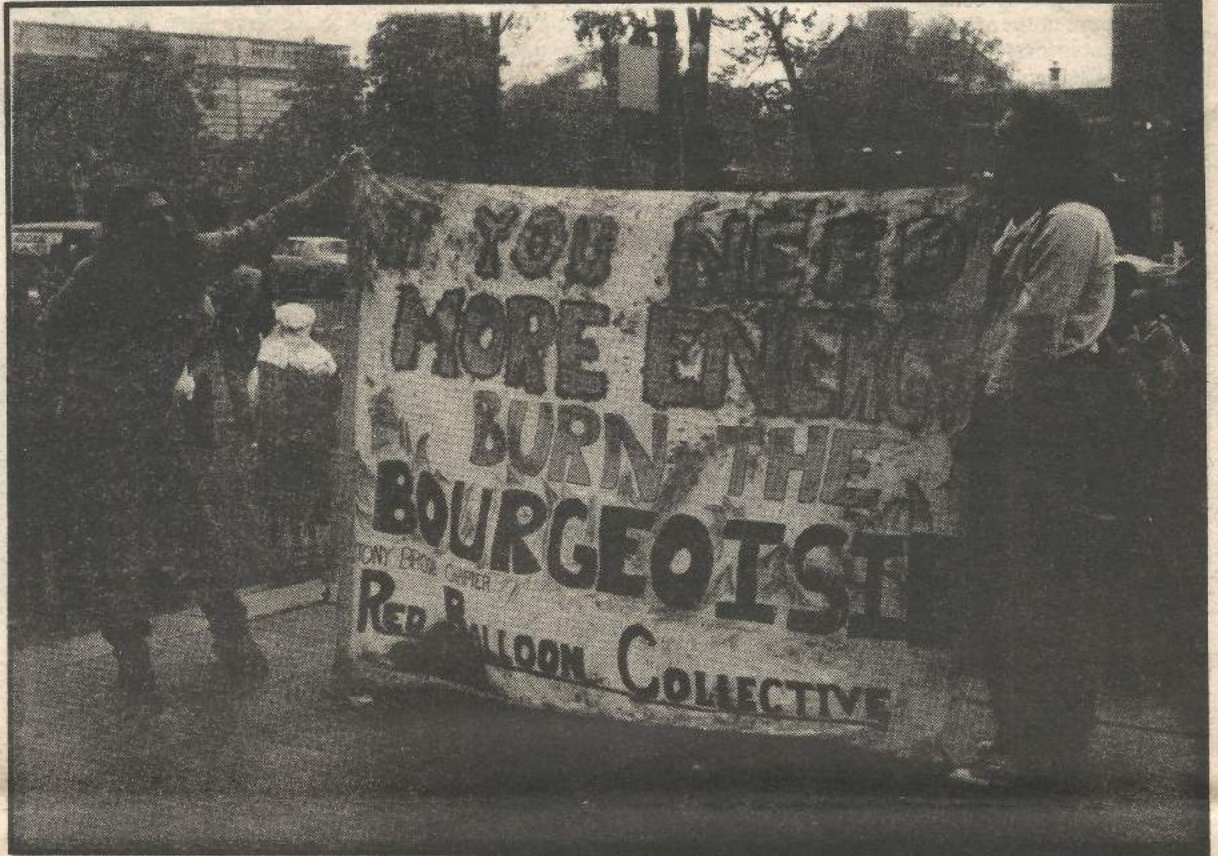
On several occasions, buses try-

ing to leave full of arrested protestors were stopped and their tires were punctured or otherwise deflated. Many people I talked to who were engaged in such disturbances talked of the liberation of the C.D.'s, and how they thought it was better to flirt with arrest — engaging in other activities rather than the traditional C.D.

About 20 anarchists from Washington, D.C. spent the day engaged in not so civil forms of disobedience. After all, why LET the government arrest you — much better not getting caught!



Craig Glassner/Phantasm Photography



Three day assault on Seabrook ends in failure

By Milli Rem

After a three-day running battle, and what a spokeswoman described as "the most violent anti-nuclear confrontation ever in North America," the almost 2,000 activists who gathered at Seabrook, New Hampshire, failed to occupy the Seabrook nuke.

People began arriving at the site on Friday and settled in for the night during which the previous occupation attempt last October was extensively discussed. As a result of these discussions and the weeks of

preparatory work, the May 24 action was much better organized.

The mass assault on Saturday was repulsed by Seabrook guards, reinforced by state troopers, and five people were arrested. One of them was charged with criminal assault after a grappling hook hit a state trooper on the head. A spokeswoman at the Boston Clams office said that this individual had been nowhere near the scene of the incident and that he had been "selectively arrested."

Sunday and Monday saw the as-

sault force adopting "commando-style" methods of hit-and-run attack with skillful use of diversionary tactics. A small force of activists remained at the Seabrook site after the Memorial Weekend in an attempt to blockade the site and prevent construction workers from entering the plant.

We hope to have a more extensive report on the Seabrook action in the next issue of the NAA. We would appreciate any first-hand reports or impressions of the action from anyone involved.

No Nukes

Continued from Page 1

No Nukes Is Not Enough! Nuclear power is merely a symptom of the disease of capitalism. A disease that places profits ahead of people's health and even their very lives! The sterility of liberalism is nowhere more evident than in the anti-nuclear movement. Pathetic appeals for "reforms" within the system and "polite" protests are dead-ends that the powers-that-be will be quite happy to let us explore

indefinitely. What is needed is **Direct Action!** The attempted occupations of Seabrook nuclear facility indicate the strategy we must pursue in the future. This is serious business. We are talking about *our lives* and the lives of our children. The time for *action* is long overdue.

The next opportunity to *forcefully* express our objections to nuclear power and the social system that produces it will be at the Darlington nuclear facility on Saturday June 7. See you there!

Rage at Three Mile Island

Middletown, Pa. — "We will never forget or forgive what you have put us through . . . You are no more worthy than a hunk of cow manure!"

These are the words of Michelle Iewert, one of the hundreds of angry residents who showed up at a hearing by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). The NRC, expecting a routine, sparsely-attended meeting, was stunned at the vocal outrage.

Technicians who attempted to explain why it was "necessary" to release "small amounts" of radioactive Krypton from the damaged reactor at Three Mile Island were shouted down by chants from the crowd: "Keep your Krypton! Keep your Krypton!"

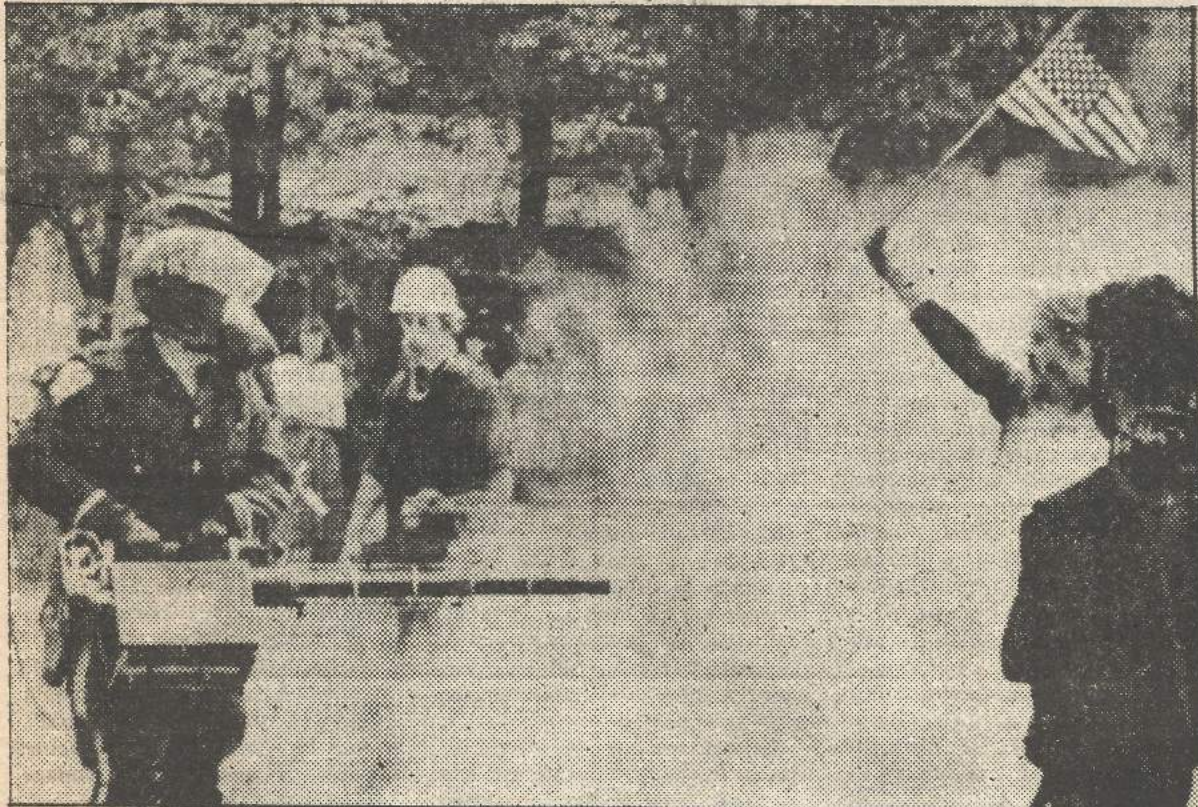
"We hate your guts! shouted one woman from the crowd. "You're an animal!" greeted another NRC technician. "Do the people here think we're inhuman?" asked NRC Operations Chief John Collins. "We don't trust you!" was the shouted rejoinder.

General Public Utilities, owners of the crippled reactor, want to

repair it and put it back in operation. The cheapest way to do this involves the inevitable release of unknown amounts of radioactive gases into the atmosphere. But residents of the area are so angry that the reactor may be scrapped instead.

Politicians from central Pennsylvania have told the NRC that there may be riots if radioactive gases are intentionally released from the reactor. One jerk went so far as to say "These are very simple people who don't understand the new nuclear technology. They are afraid and have out-and-out hatred and contempt for the NRC."

Or perhaps the people of central Pennsylvania understand the new nuclear technology better than anyone else (who is still alive, anyway). "I resent having a handful of people making a decision that is going to affect thousands," said Michelle Iewert, and perhaps that is an attitude that could spread even faster than radioactive gases. For all our sakes, we'd better hope it does!



"Oh say can you see . . .?" Seabrook guard uses pepper fog generator on a member of the Seabrook assault force.

Anarchist Feminist Notes

Sexism and Science

Many scientists claim that theirs is a value-free field. Interestingly, among those who hold a science or engineering Ph.D. in North America, 93.4 percent are white and 92.1 percent are male. It is this white-male preponderance in the scientific fields that has feminists questioning the supposed "aloofness" of scientific research and proving that the value-free image of science is a myth.

A woman is taught from a very early age that science is a 'man's' world. The first male teacher I had in the primary grades was a 'science' teacher. Even now, 15 years later, 70-80 percent of male teachers teach science or math, mostly to the older grades.

Other factors also discourage young women from developing scientific interests. In a grade 7 science textbook describing simple chemistry, physics and biology experiments boys are shown setting up the apparatus and seriously contemplating snakes while the girls stand slightly behind them, assisting them and smiling demurely.

In a series of educational toys designed to teach children about electricity and magnetism, not one girl or woman is shown on the packages or in the instruction leaflets, while white middle-class father-sons images abound.

In university textbooks, the student is always referred to as "he" although up to 50 percent of the undergrad science students may be female.

The worst sexual bias probably can be found in the life sciences. Eileen Van Tassell, a professor at Michigan State University, demonstrated in her article printed in *Politics and Education* that the male overrepresentation in the biological sciences has a profound effect on what we perceive as the truth about ourselves as male and female human beings. She criticizes the selective reporting of her colleagues. Male weaknesses are minimized or ignored and female strengths are similarly downplayed. Differences between the sexes is a valid biological study while sex similarities are ignored. Men are often assumed to be stronger than women. One author (male) reported that the process of men overpowering reluctant females over the years resulted in the selection of strength in the male and a corresponding reduced strength in the female. Apart from the obvious sexism in justifying rape, the implication is that men are stronger than females in all ways and at all times, an assumption which has been shown to be untrue.



Other research is more disturbing. Rape of females is often justified as "natural" by applying the concept to lower animals. (Homosexual Rape and Sexual Selection Among Acanthocephalan Worms — *Science*, vol. 197). This reinforces the mistaken belief that rape is a biological phenomenon arising from a high sexual drive and not the desire to dominate, humiliate and degrade women.

Also disturbing is the frequency of insulting comments in many texts with respect to women and female biology. Ovulation, in one text, is likened to a boil bursting to release its pus. Another article claims that the male cliché of 'crazy mixed-up women' now merits attention. Van Tassell lists many more examples, most of which she came across quite casually during her work.

Since women are denied the right to study the theory of science, it comes to no surprise that they are also denied the right to take part in the practice of science, that is, technology. Until I turned 18, high school women in my city were forbidden to take part in the shop classes — in my city, auto mechanics, sheet-metal working, carpentry, machine shop, drafting — and the girls who insisted on taking these courses now are often looked upon as 'weird' and harassed by male teachers and other students. There are still very few programs designed to let women catch up to generations of missed technical knowledge.

Science and technology form a wide basis of our society. It is through science and technology that a large portion of our everyday life is designed and implemented. Our homes are built by men, our cities designed by men and our food grown by men because it is men who hold the knowledge of stresses on a beam, the properties of concrete and the processes of cross pollination. Important solutions to environmental pollution problems, nuclear power and microcomputer industry infiltration could be found through technology and activist means. In order for women to make decisions about their lives and to take control of their lives, they must understand the technological aspects of those lives.

The old barriers that have prevented women from participating as partners in the scientific and technological breakthroughs must be broken down. Women and men must agitate for institutional programs which retrain women in non-traditional careers and for a wider availability of non-sexist teaching aids. Work must be continued and expanded to provide resource bureaus for women's studies and the hidden history of women as well as providing factual, clear information on human biology. Any ban to women in any field must be answered by protests and demonstrations. The promotion of a co-operative style primary reference group is necessary to counteract and minimize the influence of the patriarchal family.

A society that concentrates its skills in an unrepresentative small portion of its population is bound to produce sexual, economic, social and political underclasses frozen out of dominant social institutions and at war with them.

Luisa Capetillo

By MiMi Rivera

Very few people know that most of the early Latin American revolutionary labor movements were greatly influenced by anarchism. There were anarchist influences in Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Another little known fact is the role women played in these movements. An example of this is the life and work of Luisa Capetillo. Luisa Capetillo made important contributions as a journalist and organizer for the anarchist-syndicalist and the women's movement in Puerto Rico.

Luisa Capetillo was born in Arecibo, Puerto Rico in 1880 or 1882. Her mother, Margarita Peron, a French woman, came to Puerto Rico at a young age as the governess of a wealthy family of Arecibo. Margarita Peron worked hard as a domestic worker doing the ironing of the wealthy townspeople. Luisa's father, Luis Capetillo Y Echevarria, came to Puerto Rico originally from Spain. He became a construction worker. Luisa grew up in Arecibo where she was called "the daughter of the French maid." Her mother played an important role in her life. In 1910 Luisa dedicated her book on women to her mother. She wrote, "To you, mother of mine, whom never pushed me, nor did you ever think traditionally. You let me investigate freely not making me angry when you criticized me when you thought I was wrong."

Luisa's father taught her to read and write and the rules of arithmetic. She was a bright child and did well in school. She was very fond of literature and her favorite occupation was writing. Many people considered her a great journalist but she never received much recognition because the literary establishment decided she was too controversial.

She taught and propagated the ideas of free love. Not the love which can be interpreted as sexual promiscuity. She believed in a responsible free love. She thought that the oppression of women was due to economic reasons and saw women's emancipation as part of the class struggle. It was her opinion that legal matrimony was the sale of the woman to the man, who in turn, treated her like his own property. She advocated that men and women live together without legality, or consent by the priests (whom she considered to be representative of the hypocrisy of the established church).

When Capetillo was young she often visited the home in which her mother worked. The son of Don Gregorio Ledesma, who later inherited the title of Marquis of Arecibo Puerto Rico, fell in love with her and made her his mistress. They lived together for several years. She had two children by Don Gregorio, a girl Manuelita and a boy Gregorio, both children had their father's name. The Marquis wanted to marry Capetillo but the Marquesa, his mother, would not allow it. A Marquis could never marry out of his class and Capetillo soon realized that she did not want to spend her life as only a mother, housewife and lover. She was not a companion to the man she loved, but a servant who waited night after night to please his whims. Her restlessness increased when the Marquis married a Puerto Rican woman of the upper class. Luisa felt that a man should be an intellectual and domestic companion as well as a sexual partner. She believed that men should share in the raising of children. She broke off with the Marquis even though she loved him and found work in the needle trades. Capetillo soon found out



Luisa Capetillo

that she could barely make a living and the Marquis had to pay for the education of their two children. Capetillo went to work as a reader in a tobacco factory. In those days the factories had readers who would read to the people while they worked. The reader would sit on an elevated wooden platform and read the day's paper, novels and other books of interest including ones on anarchism and socialism. This is why many workers, even though they could not read or write, were nevertheless intellectually sophisticated. Through her readings Capetillo was influenced by syndicalist and anarchist theories. She joined the local Tobacco Union and read to the members of the Federated Unions of Tobacco.

Capetillo believed that women should emancipate and educate themselves in order to be good mothers and whole individuals. How could a woman, illiterate and enslaved, raise her children to become independent women and men? In 1910 she proposed the formation of an agricultural school where the skills and values of a free society could be taught. Among these values was the recognition that sexuality is an important part of our lives and should not be hidden. It is ironic, Capetillo would say, that woman is kept in ignorance of the sexual facts of life and yet, when she marries, the man expects her to be a sex expert.

Capetillo fell in love with a merchant from Arecibo, lived with him, and had a third child by him. She named him Luis Capetillo. Her son followed in her footsteps and became a distinguished labor writer and took part in the social struggles of Puerto Rico.

Capetillo often discussed her articles with her children and said that her children often made recommendations which she incorporated into her writings. Capetillo believed children should be brought up in an atmosphere of absolute liberty. In her books she showed her intense love for her children and said she felt whole in being a mother. "I don't think I'd be fulfilled as a woman unless it was for the fact that I am a mother."

Capetillo became increasingly involved in the leadership of the growing Puerto Rican labor movement. In 1907 she participated

in a strike at an Arecibo factory and became a member of the Free Federation of Puerto Rican Workers. She was active both as a union organizer and as a reporter for the local newspaper the *Worker's Union*. At the 1908 general assembly of the federation she proposed a resolution asking for women's suffrage in Puerto Rico without regard to literacy. (Twenty years later only literate Puerto Rican women were allowed to vote. Universal women's suffrage was delayed until 1930.)

Capetillo caused a scandal in Puerto Rico, Cuba and New York because she wore pants in public. She also wore a short brimmed hat. In 1915 she was jailed, in Cuba, for wearing "men's clothing." She pleaded her case and convinced the authorities that no law forbade women to dress as they pleased and was acquitted.

Capetillo wrote many essays, pamphlets and a couple of books. In her book *My Opinion* she gave her philosophy. "I am a socialist, because all advancements, discoveries and established inventions should belong to everyone, that is to establish their socialization without privileges. Some understand it as needing a State to direct the march, I understand it as having no government. I do not want to say that I oppose their reasons for wanting government regulation and control of wealth, but I maintain my dedication to no government Socialism-Anarchism."

Capetillo read and was influenced by Zola, Tolstoy, Malatesta and Kropotkin. She made her syndicalist debut in the 1907 strike of the tobacco workers in Arecibo. In 1908, as a member of the Union of Tobacco Workers, she participated in the Fifth Workers Congress of the Free Federation of the Workers of Puerto Rico, that was held in Arecibo. At the congress women's suffrage was discussed for the first time in Puerto Rican history.

Capetillo spent much of her time lecturing around the island and at times she experienced some opposition from the townspeople. In Utuado a leaflet was passed around during one of her lectures which severely criticized her. She responded to every point in the leaflet from the podium and made the

See Capetillo Page 14

New hats for bureaucrats

By Jeff Stein

Socialism is becoming respectable these days. In the United States a relatively new organization, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), is growing rapidly. The organization was formed in 1972 when the Socialist Party split over the Vietnam issue. Since that time, DSOC has grown to 4,000 members, including an 800 member Youth Section. Its members are mostly professionals and academics. Many well-known figures in entertainment, publishing, politics, and labor have joined up. Powerful union officials like William Winpisinger of the Machinists, and Jerry Wurf of the State, County, and Municipal Employees, maintain open ties. DSOC points with pride to an article in the September 24, 1979 issue of *Businessweek* saying that "Socialism is no longer a dirty word to labor."

There are reasons for DSOC's apparent success. For one thing it is extremely flexible in its political tactics. Basing itself on an approach similar to the "Popular Fronts" of the 1930's, DSOC has expressed a willingness to work with anyone that is "anti-corporation." The organization places an emphasis on what it calls "coalition-building." This strategy has made it possible for DSOC to work with just about anyone to the left of the Republican Party. Certainly DSOC is relatively painless to join.

A second reason for DSOC's growth is that it is probably the best financed group on the U.S. left. DSOC's ties to the labor bureaucracy has provided the organization with funds from the numerous union political action committees. In return DSOC volunteers have filled out the lobbying staffs for various union legislative efforts, like those to defend the Davis-Bacon Act and for labor law reform. Union officials have been generous. A look at the September 1979 issue of *Democratic Left* (DSOC's national newsletter) reveals that 3/4 of the ad space is union advertising. This roughly amounts to between \$5,000 to \$6,000 for that single issue. Another indication of the financial support given to DSOC was an article on DSOC coalition-building in the November 1979 issue of *Democratic Left*. In the article Ruth Jordan, a co-ordinator for the "Democratic Agenda" (a DSOC coalition within the Democratic Party), revealed that the bulk of the financial support for DSOC's coalitions comes from "trade union leaders."

It is comforting to believe that the red scares and witch-hunts of the 1950's and 1960's are a thing of

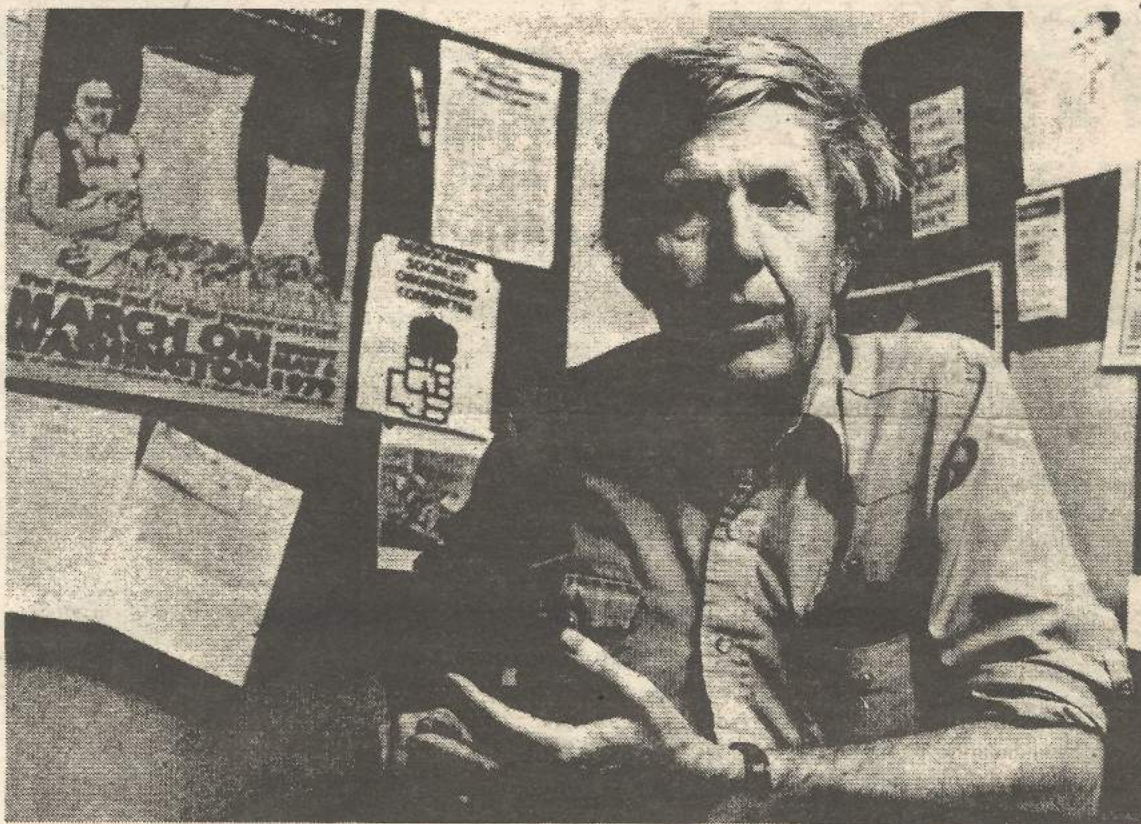
the past. Yet when socialism suddenly becomes acceptable to many of its former opponents, it raises a lot of questions. DSOC is currently working within the Democratic Party, hardly a bastion of social revolution. Even the staunchly conservative and pro-nuclear AFL-CIO Building Trades Department has contributed money to DSOC. Are we witnessing a dramatic shift to the left by these groups?

In a word, "No." Currently the traditional policies and programs of the Democratic Party and the union bureaucracies are under attack. With inflation targetted by the government and the corporations as Public Enemy Number One, attempts are being made to dismantle the so-called "welfare state" created in the 1930's. This has jeopardized the interests of the capitalist service sector that is subsidized by them. The unions, which in the U.S. depend on government labor boards for their survival, are also part of this "welfare state." Lacking both the desire and the necessary independence to use their economic strength to confront the corporations, the union officials must collaborate with the government and the pro-union employers. DSOC seeks to ingratiate itself to the union bureaucracy by acting as a go-between in forging an alliance between the union officials, welfare administrators, and service sector business executives. In the U.S., all these groups are to be found within the Democratic Party.

What is shaping up is a confrontation between ruling elites. Since these elites are not strong enough to do in the opposition by themselves, they both must turn to the "masses." The corporate elites have thus spawned the "tax revolt" and the "new right." DSOC, playing its role as cheer leader for the welfare bureaucracy, is now searching out allies among the popular protest movements. It is doing its best to revive the myth of the 1930's "New Deal." The "New Deal" was a slogan given by the Roosevelt regime to a series of reforms during the depression to head off a social revolution. DSOC's major theoretician, Michael Harrington, describes that top-down co-optive measure as "... the most dynamic social movement in American history" (*Democratic Left*, November 1979, p.5).

The problem with DSOC's approach to socialism is that governmental welfare measures are not under the control of the people they are supposed to benefit. Initially these programs provide concrete benefits to ordinary people. However these benefits seldom last any longer than the protest movements they were intended to pacify. Once the hollering dies down, the cut-backs quickly follow. More and more of the money allocated for the programs finds its way into the pockets of welfare bureaucrats and service sector businesses. And where does the money come from for these programs? The corporations? Ultimately it must come from the same source all wealth comes from, the workers and their families. Without direct worker and community management of welfare programs, there is nothing to prevent these programs from becoming a new source of exploitation.

At the same time it is unlikely that DSOC's political alliances could ever develop such worker and community control. Its ties with the welfare state bureaucracy only act to sabotage movements seeking popular self-management. Take the



Michael Harrington shown counting the number of real workers in DSOC. Do you think he'll have to use his toes?

labor movement for example. One of the most significant revolutionary developments of the past few years has been the growth of a rank-and-file rebel movement. Nearly every major union in North America has seen a reform or wild-cat movement develop within it. These rebel workers are trying to dump the union bureaucracy that has become collaborationist with

the employers. DSOC is trying to build a movement with the support of the very same bureaucrats that the rebel workers are fighting. Even those unions, like the International Association of Machinists, whose leaders are DSOC members, are run in the same top-down bureaucratic fashion as the less "enlightened" unions. Should a show-down arise in these unions, DSOC will be faced

with a choice of supporting either the rank-and-file rebels or the union officials. Since it is the union officials that are paying DSOC's bills, it is not hard to imagine who DSOC will give support.

Another movement where rebels are being asked by DSOC to support the movement's natural enemies is the anti-nuclear *See Bureaucrats Page 14*

CUPW wins one year agreement

By Tom Marick

With the unconditional support of the 2.3 million members in the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) has been able to force the government to bargain a one-year collective agreement. This represents solid improvement for the postal workers who had been forced back to work, unconstitutionally, by the state in their last attempt to alter the conditions of work during the strike of October, 1978. They have clarified the tactics necessary in the wake of the post-war boom.

When the postal workers defied the unconstitutional *Postal Services Continuation Act* in 1978, as was their obligation, their union's offices were raided by federal police, members were fined and key delegates of the union were jailed including the union president, Jean-Claude Parrot.

The postal workers' demands were not immoderate. They included provisions for alleviating bureaucratic, authoritarian, management techniques as well as means for preventing repeated government violation of the collective agreement, which had resulted in over 12,000 grievances, intimidation of the employees by supervisors, the use of casual labour and arbitrary technological change contrary to the contract. Beyond this CUPW also fought against Bill C-28 which would have cut public sector workers' wages by unrealistic comparisons with arbitrarily chosen private sector occupations. As well, CUPW insisted on a reduced work week which is also a general demand of the CLC.

However Dennis McDermott, the president of the CLC, consistently and vocally opposed this last demand during CUPW's struggle with the state in 1978-79 and encouraged the isolation of that union. This laid open the union to government attack. The federal state campaign during the summer of 1978 therefore continued to use the CLC president's position to oppose CUPW demands.

McDermott did not encourage support for the CUPW strike in the fall of 1978 reasoning that they did not consult the CLC before undertaking industrial action. However under the CLC's own constitution it is up to each affiliate to independently determine appropriate job actions. In any case on November 3, 1978, the CLC executive publicly condemned the CUPW strike. This was intolerable. They also falsely suggested that only a general strike would satisfy CUPW. This was a low-down smear campaign tactic.

As Michael Mandel pointed out, at a support rally for the postal workers in Ottawa during March, 1980, which focused on Jean-Claude Parrot's imprisonment, Dennis McDermott lined up with the reformist New Democratic Party, the bourgeois press, the federal state in Canada and Business to depoliticize the strike by calling for the back to work order for postal workers to be obeyed out of 'respect for the law'. They obscured all the key issues—the liberty to strike, freedom of opinion and association—and displaced the really political point—the class character of the law.

The CLC executive violated the whole tradition of the labour

movement which has always had to fight the law to preserve and extend workers' freedom. Enough of this 'responsible unionism'. To hell with the law! The bosses don't respect it. Why should we? They're on strike against us every day. They don't even wince at ignoring the Bill of Rights and the due process that they designed, as Mandel has noted. We must begin to develop our own independent notions of justice.

The latest CLC conference in May, 1980, indicated that this process was beginning when the labour movement threw its support behind CUPW. It was this solidarity which proved decisive in the latest negotiations between inside postal workers and the state apparatus in Canada. Key provisions in the new agreement include restrictions on the use of casual labour, higher over-time and basic pay-rates, as well as better shift premiums for weekend and non-day work. And the new agreement provides for a reduction in the work week from 40 hours a week to 37.5 hours by extending the lunch break to one-hour from one-half hour a day. The extra half hour would not be paid though. The main drawback to this benefit as presently formulated by CUPW is that they acceded to state demands for a productivity clause in return for it. In Halifax CUPW members rejected the new agreement for just that reason although it found wide acceptance in the Montreal area.

There is no denying however, that closer ties between union affiliates of the CLC has facilitated better conditions of employment for postal workers than was the case in 1978. This signals a new trend in the industrial relations of the 1980's.



President "Wimpy" of the Machinists, is always good for a few laughs at DSOC functions.

The Impossible Quebec

THE IMPOSSIBLE QUEBEC

Pierre Vallières

Illusions of Sovereignty-Association

The Impossible Quebec

Pierre Vallières, Black Rose Books, 1980, 147 pp., \$7.95

When the original French language edition of *The Impossible Quebec* came out in late 1977 it was taken so seriously that the Parti Quebecois convened a special session of the cabinet to discuss it. The most heartfelt statement to come out of that conclave was that "someone should kill that bastard!" Vallières' scathing critique of the PQ in power has been extensively revised for its English language publication and in it Vallières makes more explicit his sympathy for an anarchist perspective.

"I guess you could say I'm an anarchist," Vallières remarked in Montreal's English daily *The Gazette*, during an interview held shortly after the appearance of the English translation of *The Impossible Quebec*. Within the pages of this book one of socialism's most ardent champions in Quebec lays out a libertarian communist blueprint for meaningful change in that nation. Its argument is most compelling and should command a wide audience in both English-speaking Canada and the United States.

The taste of power has stunted the Parti Quebecois drive for independence. This is the premise with which Vallières begins. Prudence has replaced courage. Visions of socialist democracy have given way to corporatism in practice.

It is the fear of transnational business, its pan-Canadian and American state machinery, which has becalmed the Parti Quebecois. Vallières has observed two immediate results of the Quebec government's caution. It has depleted the trade union and intellectual bases of the Levesque forces while at the same time stiffening the resistance of imperialists to genuine Quebec independence. Parties to the national oppression of Quebec now speak in terms of armed intervention. These are the tangible effects of the Parti Quebecois strategy.

Without change there is no action. That which does not act is dead. To be then is to act or become. To be is to survive. To survive means to change. In other words to survive means to live dangerously. Pierre Vallières knows this. He says: Since the time of the revolution of 1837-1838, everything in Quebec has ended up a psychosis of survival.

Survival is the relation and determinant of real freedom and historical assimilation or equality in Quebec. The struggle of the Quebecois is then to make liberty and homogeneity mean the same thing in practice. They want to survive. This explains their long history of civil disobedience. For survival means rebellion. And Freedom can only be assimilation when

everybody recognizes that the self-determination and independence of Quebec are legitimate demands.

The emergence of American centred imperialism has been the dominant fact of life for both Quebec and Canada since World War Two. However only the people of Quebec have seriously begun to challenge this domination. A mass independence movement has grown up in Quebec since 1960 to champion the slogan of 'Independence and Socialism!' Survival is still the watch word of our times in Quebec. But it is not mere intention. According to Vallières this survival effectively means revolutionary action. The middle-class good-will of the Parti Quebecois is no longer enough. The times cry out for a concrete blueprint which transcends the slavery of American based imperialism with its attendant militarism. As Vallières puts it:

As I stressed earlier, it will take nothing less than a revolution to abolish the constraints of the present system and favour the founding of a new relationship between man (sic) and community, man (sic) and production, man (sic) and environment. Utopia? Without a doubt. Utopias have never fared well confronted with the military might of the established power. Still the idea has endured from antiquity. It breathes liberties which have never been attained, but which refuse to die all the same because they represent the sum of all our hopes.



'In short, what I want to make clear,' concludes Vallières;

is that the 'challenge of Quebec' cannot be undertaken in the 'terrorism' of mad growth which capitalism commands, nor with the opulent and inhuman privileges that imperialism procures.

The challenge ahead of us is one shared by all other cultures: *to change the way we live.*

Vallières' book explains how from an explicitly anarchist perspective. He has said:

I confess to a preference for political and ethical anarchism (of the kind Spain saw in the '30's for example) to the bureaucratic 'programization' supposedly leading us to a *Francisized* sovereignty in employment and consumption.

The import of economic problems is of great moment to Vallières in constructing his explanation of Quebec. The dilemma of capitalistic production is an even greater concern to the people of Quebec than independence. This illustrates Quebec's advanced industrial character. Its standards of living is amongst the highest in the world. It is a junior partner in the Western imperialist alliance. It is a suburb. But a suburb firmly within the Western industrial bloc. They are a colony. However they share what

Vallières calls the North American 'car ideology'. This, suggests Vallières, means that capitalistic prosperity cannot be the objective of Quebec sovereignty.

The capitalistic states oppose Quebec autonomy as a most undesirable precedent for others of the world's oppressed people. A 1970 U.N. statute embodies this animosity of world capital to shifts in the composition of its sovereign entities. It signifies that Quebec will never be given its independence. It must be illegal by bourgeois standards. It would require a revolution for which the P.Q. has not prepared. That is traitorist, argues Vallières. He concludes:

By not wanting to disrupt the inertia of the present system of the lethargy of those who have yielded to it, the P.Q. government has left itself wide open to the forces of the enemy.

Independence cannot be reduced to a marketing campaign.

In actual fact, there is only one plan of action which can embody the hope of collective liberation: The one based on a class struggle which supports national independence to the very end.

Unless the P.Q. supports syndicalism, and we are all aware of how likely that possibility is, it will find its hopes for independence dashed. It will line up on the side of the transnationals. We will see a return to the despotic era of Duplessis.

Journalists must share in the blame for this failure to articulate a solution to the fundamental inhumanity of a system based on profit for the few. While the Anglophone press gears up for war and incites race hatred, the Quebecois news media delude themselves into believing that journalistic restrained liberal objectivity is concretely challenged by whosoever participates in the work of the masses.

It is clear to participants that, as Vallières argues;

The federalism practiced today in Canada is not based on an independent society of which Quebec is the colony. It proceeds rather from the colonization of the whole of Canada by the United States. The secession of Quebec will not make the Quebecois any less dependent on foreign capital. Like Canada, Quebec can free itself from economic dependence only by way of revolution.

The anti-statist argument demands communication. It presses insistently in on the media in the form of Inuit and Amerindian rebellion against the exploitation of James Bay and the Ungava peninsula. These nations have begun to implement a programme to control their economy, territory, culture and social affairs. They are pointing the way to self-management.

Their approach stands in stark contrast to the bankruptcy of a civilian referendum. It is activist and revolutionary. And therein lies its superiority. Without 'popular self-management (that is a social revolution in contrast to a simply political one), a project undertaken by all in a spirit of dignity, justice and liberty' which transcends Leninist dictatorship and the meagre comfort of social democratic mumblings, the movement for independence is doomed, Vallières concludes. This is why he advocated abstention in the 'sovereignty-association' referendum. And this is why his book deserves serious study. For by going beyond rhetoric to the substance of the national question he renews our own commitment to a free socialist habit.

Tom Marick



Without A Trace
Partisan Press, 1980
125 pp., \$4.95

As the line between "legal" and "illegal" forms of political dissent becomes ever more blurred there is a pressing need for precise information on the technological capabilities of the police. *Without A Trace*, a new book from Partisan Press, fulfills this need admirably.

The authors of *Without A Trace* are quite explicit in their aim of providing the left with a technical manual that details the vast array of sophisticated techniques that the police have at their disposal to trace and apprehend "criminals" and, more importantly, how to circumvent them. Without a doubt *Without A Trace* should be required reading for every political activist.

All of us, as we go about our daily activities, cause minute changes in the environment. We leave 'traces' and also, in turn, pick up traces from our environment. "Traces," as the authors point out, "in the criminalistic sense are understood to mean material objects and evidence which are created in the process of a crime which allow one to draw conclusions about the process or circumstances of the action or about the perpetrator."

In today's world of high technology these traces go far beyond the simple fingerprints, footprints or ballistics tests that might at first spring to mind. In undertaking an action the elementary precaution of wearing gloves would most likely be followed. But how many would be aware of the fact that the police routinely search for textile traces at the scene of the crime to compare with suspects gloves or even textile traces from underneath the fingernails. Some gloves, like surgical gloves, have even been known to transfer fingerprints to other objects. And before you throw those gloves away you should be aware that you've probably left fingerprints on the inside of them.

Tools such as crowbars and screwdrivers create distinctive markings both on themselves and the objects they are used upon. These markings can be compared to place a particular tool at the scene of a particular crime. Dust traces can place an individual at a particular place and sometimes can even specify a particular time. Minute fragments of



broken and blood police ca comrade

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Love and Anarchy Fear and Powerlessness

Love and Anarchy is an appealing movie, often clear in its view of human interaction, but dangerously distorted in its political content. By its sensational use of the word 'anarchy,' it is an obscene comment on the lives and acts of thousands of Italian anarchists. By its use of the word 'love' it is an obscenity to all of us who love enough to fight for a better life.

In the movie, a man chooses to commit an assassination, to be an 'anarchist' true to the simplistic definition he heard at his mother's knee — to kill a powerful ruler and to be killed in return. He is motivated by personal revenge and a gut knowledge of oppression; he acts in spite of being taught that "it is better to bow down and live than to stand up and die." It is believable that outrage can move a human spirit to act; this much is beautiful and real. But to succeed, this spirit must be armed, because unarmed, it spells failure and despair. The director betrays Tunin's spirit when she plays on our prejudices toward the 'country bumpkin' who appears to be the perfect dupe in the hands of 'manipulative politicians.'

She goes on to betray the spirit of everyone who loves and everyone who fights by setting them against each other. The battle on the bathroom floor between the women personifying politics/death and love/life is a set-up for an anti-political victory. It is a false consciousness. Naturally, everyone wants love and life to win, but to make anarchist politics synonymous with death and reckless suicide is double-think of the first order. An anarchist would perhaps have risked his life, but he or she would not have intended to give it away for nothing. Even the most desperate of the anarchist assassinations came out of the belief that the act would help to destroy the old society and create a new life.

Tunin's act may well be based on a desire for revenge, but it is also apparently based on a desire for suicide. The message is that the two are inextricably linked in Tunin's mind, so much so that when he is deprived of his act, he is still committed to the suicide. This sets us up to conclude that it is really a death wish that motivates political assassination, and not an impera-



tive to defeat tyranny, whatever the cost.

Not only is this political perspective misleading, but love is equally misrepresented as a harness and a betrayal. The ironic, interlocking misuse of 'love' and 'anarchy' is sealed when our hero yells, "Long live anarchy!" while shooting wildly into a crowd. In the guise of love and anarchy, it is fear and powerlessness that conquers all.

We are revolutionaries who recognize the validity of the anarchist perspective and methods of organization. We also recognize that powermongers, whatever they may call themselves, have reason to label the anarchists despicable, unrealistic fools. Anarchists are fools because they don't seek power over others or a bureaucrat's position. Anarchists are fools because they know that coercive government (redundant?) is inefficient, and does not protect people from those who prey upon them. Instead, government agencies (FDA, FTC, HEW, etc.) give free rein to and collaborate with those true criminals who would enslave us, who would poison our minds and bodies.

Anarchists are fools because they

believe that most 'crimes' result from an interlocking system of laws and economic oppression; they are not the result of a basically evil human nature, needing control by church and state. Anarchists are fools because they believe that if people get together, they can take care of themselves and their communities, that a basic human need is co-operation, not competition. Anarchists are fools because they believe in the elimination of all restraints to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. When asked, "What would you replace it with?" we are the fools who reply, "With what would you replace a tumor?"

Every day we are treated to glittering spectacles to divert us from the boredom and disintegration of our lives. Death and murder of every description are glutted upon our consciousness by the media. As if to incite the mass of people to suicidal outbursts or sadistic adventures, everything is depicted in its bloodiest form. People are incited to direct their violent feelings towards one another. Cops shooting people is rampant in the movies and TV. And the lesson is clear in every sector: fight back, resist, and you

will unleash a torrent of annihilating brutality. The authorities made sure to televise the massacre of the SLA. There can be no mistake in the message: be passive, prey on each other, commit suicide, but if you revolt you can expect less than a shoebox of ashes to bear your remembrance.

In spite of, and in response to this cynicism of devastation, we acknowledge that we are fighting *for ourselves*. In a world delirious with destruction, we who have not yet surrendered know that the revolution must be fought on many fronts. We know that one of our mightiest enemies is our own fear and powerlessness. We cannot forget the chaos and confusion within each of us.

These words are neither the beginning nor the end to our dialogue, to our struggle, to our love.

Excerpt from an eight-page leaflet produced by a San Francisco anarchist collective and distributed at screenings of Lena Wermuller's film, Love and Anarchy, in late 1974. This excerpt originally appeared in the anthology Reinventing Anarchy.

lass, wood fibres, sputum, hair and traces can all be weaved into a se that could send you and your away for a long time.

uthors caution that great care taken with the humble finger-ey relate the case of the burglar a tunnel to get to a safe being tful to wear gloves at all times. exception was when he paused to cigarette. The police were able to nt from the discarded butt and ough the sputum remains, they e to ascertain his blood type. The ate burglar is now a guest of the

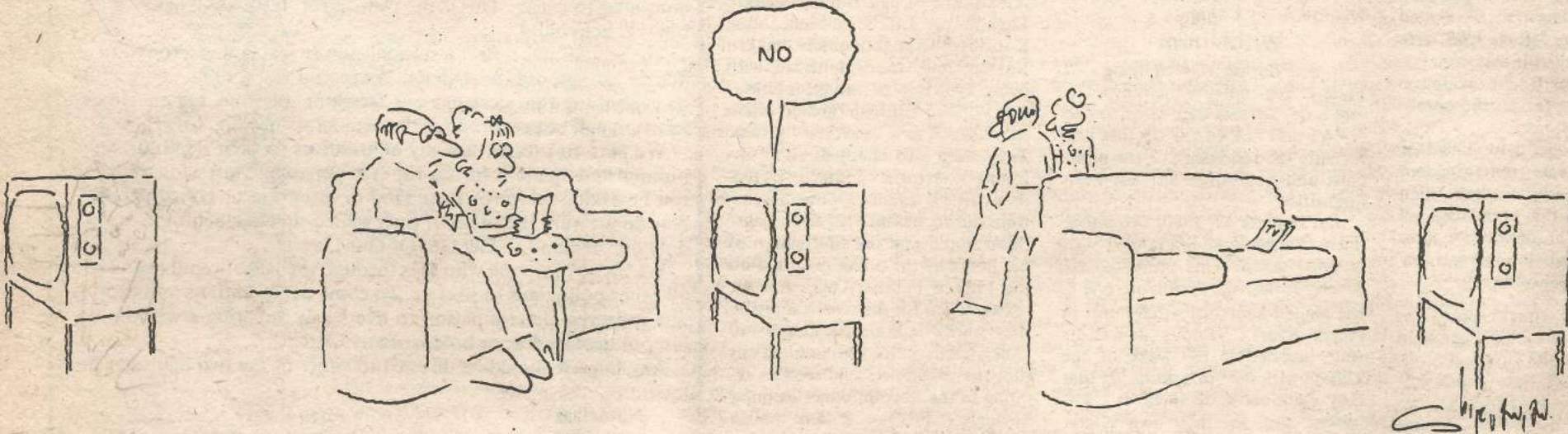
other case two comrades out ating were surprised by police. t worn gloves so they didn't feel ied that they had had to discard ycan. Unfortunately they had to wipe the can before setting he police found a full set of prin- t of the comrades handling the with bare hands while pur- and storing it. And while we're on ct of spraypainting the authors t that all such work should be rather than written. Handwriting an link up different examples of ating and can also provide a k to the suspect.

g this book can be intimidating. authors declare, "One might y wonder how, in the face of the police technology outlined here, possibly do anything without en- g a reasonably great possibility nension." Their answer is that a knowledge of the capabilities, limitations, of the police is a site for any serious action. One ink every action through ly "in order not to make the job lice too easy." The authors do point out that a great deal of the of this sort of evidence "lies in ological realm; that is, the police idate a suspect by telling him already convicted scientifically, s way try to get him to confess, still worth more than all the results put together." anarchists, and rightly so, oppose rrorism which is isolated and from any social base. This ot, however, serve as an excuse to he study of the means of and the ways to circumvent an think of no better place to study than with this book. As uction to police technology it is ed and it's excellent annotated hy provides ample scope for work.

t A Trace is available from: Par- s, P.O. Box 2139, Seattle, WA A.

Lazarus Jones

TV



ANARCHY IN GREECE

By St. Stateless

Six and a half years ago Greece underwent dramatic political change — or so many liberal-minded people thought. The major event, of course, was the downfall of the CIA supported Junta — the so-called Greek Colonels — and the restoration of parliamentary democracy with Constantinos Karamanlis as Prime Minister.

But the real 'democratization' of a political regime should be judged by its reaction to those groups which oppose it at its foundations. Radical change in society can only occur as a result of a struggle which brings into question the foundations of a particular social system. Thus parliament and the system of parliamentary opposition is insignificant in this struggle and its presence or absence is no real barometer of the quality of our so-called democratic system. The anti-authoritarian movement in its various manifestations is the only movement that questions the foundations of society and thus is the only political force with potential for real social change.

In the last ten years Greece has seen the emergence of a militant anti-authoritarian movement especially amongst young people. This development has not gone unnoticed by the Greek government which is not slow to recognise a threat to its existence. The result was a vicious witch-hunt directed against political 'deviants' — i.e. those people who reject the parliamentary road to social change. This reaction is not unique to Greece and in truth the only difference between the USSR and the Western states is the number of footsteps you can take before you are shot down.

In Greece political activists have been illegally detained and houses have been searched without warrants. A typical case was one in which three high school students were accused of being terrorists after an investigation into the theft of attendance records and a flag from their high school. The apparent motive for this charge was the fact that a search of their homes revealed that they possessed anarchist literature, specifically copies of *The Anarchist and Without Authority* were found. The charges were laid on March 10, 1980, but were later withdrawn due to lack of evidence.

In 1978 an 'anti-terrorist' bill was passed in Parliament which was based on the West German model. In spite of this apparent concern with 'terrorism' one has to search thoroughly to uncover any evidence of leftist terrorist activities in Greece. What you do find is almost invariably linked to the fascist right rather than the left. On March 11, 1978, a bomb was placed in a movie theatre that injured 18 people and on June 20, 1978, 14 other people were injured in a similar fashion. In June of 1978 Athens was rocked by 23 separate bomb blasts. Following these incidents the police rounded up a great many leftists who were only released when it was conclusively proved that fascist groupings were responsible for all the bombings.

Since 1976 police have killed or wounded at least ten innocent people who refused to stop when ordered to. At the same time all manifestations of discontent have been suppressed in increasingly brutal fashion. For example:

•17/2/77 MAT attacks protesters outside the Polytechnic School in Athens. MAT is the Greek abbreviation for a SWAT-style police formation who are used to break up demonstrations by the use of tear-gas, special riot sticks and armoured vehicles designed to combat urban insurgency. Recently attack

αδελφευτο περιοδικό πολιτικής δράσης και κουλτούρας
ΙΔΕΟΔΡΟΜΙΟ
εβδομαδιαίο 50px 40.49

και τώρα,
η εξουσία τραγουδάει
τον δικο της σκοπο...



Repression is on the rise in Greece. Leonidas Christakis (upper right corner), editor of the anarchist magazine Ideodrome, is currently in jail and all across Greece the left is under vicious attack from the State.



non-aligned magazine of political action and culture
with the recent enactment of the law against terrorism
by the greek parliament a new nazism
is rising in greece, too



dogs have also been used and if any protestors attempt to defend themselves against the dogs they are liable to a sentence of up to three years in jail.

•19/2/77 Slaughter of Palestinian students while Greek police were exchanging gunfire with armed guards at the Egyptian embassy. The Palestinian students were protesting outside the embassy and had informed police of their action.

•20/3/78 MAT brutally attacks students who were occupying the University of Patra.

•21/3/78 Tobacco producers are attacked by police at a demonstration in Agrinion.

•11/7/78 30 armoured vehicles and 300 club swinging police attack peasants in Horavgi Kozani.

•24/7/78 A violent attack by MAT on a protest outside the Iranian Embassy.

•28/9/78 MAT attacks protestors at Peristeria Athene.

•October 78 MAT launches an attack on residents in the Haidari district of Athens. The residents had organized a protest to demand the installation of a traffic light at an intersection that had been the scene of many accidents.

Witch-hunt

It was during this campaign of State terror that the anarchist Ph. and Sofia Kyritsis were arrested (see NAA1 and NAA4 for details) and recently the repression of the anarchist and libertarian left has been intensified.

On January 17, 1980, two policemen (Petrou and Stamoulis) were gunned down. This prompted the Greek authorities to initiate one of the biggest anarchist witch-hunts in recent years. Various anarchists were arrested in the wake of the killings with the State declaring that they were being detained as "witnesses" and for their own safety. The following nine "witnesses" were held for six days in the cellars of Central Police Headquarters:

Christine Stamatopoulou, Evi Kotsou, Polina Pefani, Thothoros Giorgiou, Kay Yenafel, Eleni Zaharopoulou, Fotis Yianopoulos, Stratos Ioanithis and Nana Daounaki. After they refused to testify they were released and are now awaiting trial. Many others were later arrested including four members of the Trotskyist 2nd Panhellenic. The homes of all these people and others who were not arrested were searched by police. In connection with the same case a second wave of arrests occurred in February of 1980. Eleven people were arrested and held illegally for 13 days. They were: Kostas Zirinis, Isabella Bertrand, Monia Barsefoti, Christia Makrithou, Kiriakos Christofis, Avgi Plati, Eleni Boyiatzithou, Eleftheria Matrithou, Georgia Hatvakou, Basiliki Sokratous, Thomas Horalambus and Rozina. These eleven people were members of a group called Popular Frontal Initiative. At the same time in Salonika five young people (ages 17-19) were arrested on charges of being members of a terrorist group.

On February 17 police arrested Alexandra Lagathinos, Geoge Lagathinos, Efi Efstathiou, Vaso Kotsou, Goerge Ikonomeas and Evi Kotsou and charged them with being members of the Revolutionary Popular Struggle group which they classed as a "terrorist" group. They were also charged with "extolling" terrorist actions. Defending herself against police accusations during her interrogation Lagathino stated that the first search of her home by the police occurred on the 15th of February and that the reason given for the search was that they were "looking for drugs and stolen goods." She also pointed out that the pamphlets and leaflets relating to the Revolutionary Popular Struggle (RPS) group were mailed to her anonymously to be placed in the archives kept by her former husband Kasimis Lagathinos.

Kasimis was shot down by police while he was sabotaging an AEG plant to protest the murder of RAF members in Stammheim prison in West Germany. Initially a revolutionary worker named Serifis was charged with Kasimis' murder. Serifis was later acquitted of this murder although the real murderers have yet to stand trial.

Alexandra Lagathinos also declared that she does not belong to any political group other than the Women's Democratic Movement in her home city of Hania, Crete. She also added that the RPS leaflets were sent to many other people. All

The leaflets had appeared in various Greek newspapers and the anarchist journal Ideodrome.

On the 25th of February police searched the home and office of Leonidas Christakis the publisher of Ideodrome. They were looking, they said, for "explosives." Failing to find any explosives they seized various papers and leaflets and arrested Christakis. At first they claimed he was being held as a "witness" but later announced that charges were pending.

On the 5th of March Eleni Kolovou, who had worked on Ideodrome, was arrested and on March 10th the police issued a press release claiming that they had broken up an "anarchist-terrorist group" whose members were Leonidas Christakis, Nikos Souleles, Eleni Kolovou and Manolis Kinigos. Kinigos was the principal prosecution witness against Christakis and Souleles and was undoubtedly a police agent. Kinigos claimed that Christakis had given him photocopies of plans for manufacturing bombs and that Souleles was organizing a group of people for the purpose of committing terrorist acts. The examining magistrate, however, found Kinigos' testimony inadequate and Christakis and Souleles were released.

The importance of these actions by the Greek police is their infringement on basic civil liberties and the Greek constitution. Interestingly no major political party (from the right-wing New Democracy Party to the Communist Party) has reacted to these events. But this is not so surprising. The anti-authoritarian movement attacks their basic political principles and they have little interest in defending anarchists of libertarian socialists.

The events described above are not uniquely Greek. Such things happen in England (remember Persons Unknown)? They happen in Germany (remember what happened to the members of RAF)? They happen in Italy and all around the world. And with the recent legalization of the interception and opening of private mail in Canada will it be very long before such events happen here?

SOURCES: The Greek anarchist magazine Ideodrome and various Greek newspapers.

Republicans to Convene in Detroit

This summer the Detroit area will experience an invasion making it a virtual police state. The idiocy will come to its conclusion July 14-16, when the republicans hold their convention.

In preparation, millions of dollars are being poured into select areas of the city. This money will be of no benefit to those desperately in need of it. Rather, it is enhancing the power and reputations of those standing to gain by Detroit becoming a "convention city". As they do this, the quality of life in the rest of the city continues to decay. This is the Detroit the delegates will never see, but will help build.

The republicans reflect a suicidal culture living on borrowed time. We do not oppose them alone. We intend to express our rejection of everything that destroys our freedom. It is our hope a similar reaction will be prepared for the democrats in New York.

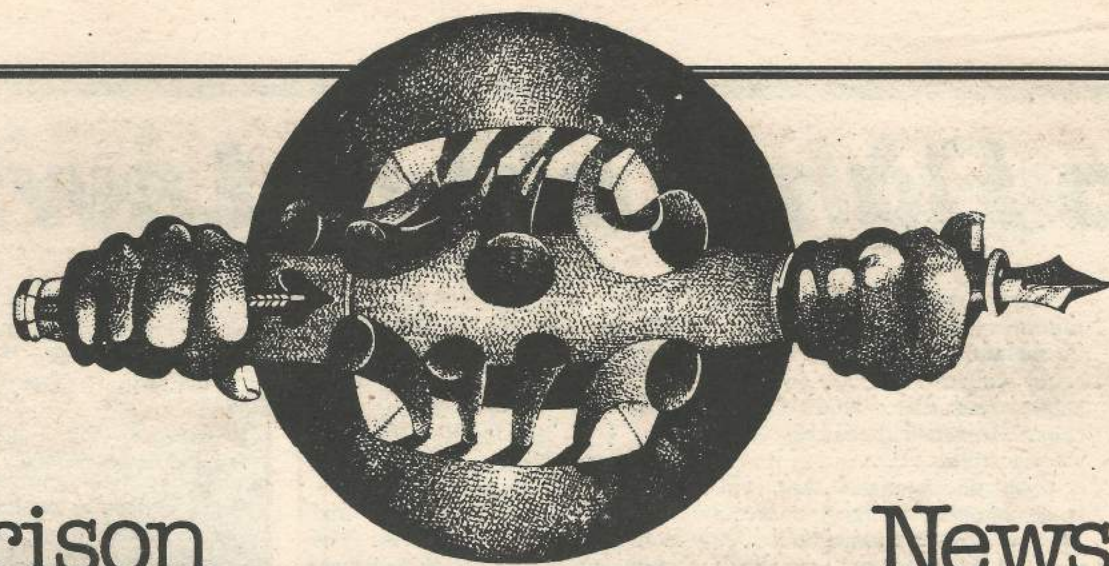
We plan to present healthy alternatives to their death-oriented politics and create a forum for free personal expression. We will not be asking them for their kind of attention or policy changes. Nor do we want the focus of their schizo-media machine. We have only one demand — Get Out Of Our Lives!

We invite everyone who sees through the lies of republicans and all other politicians to join us. To come dance with us and express our collective determination to live freely, creating a world without political leaders or bosses of any kind.

Any interest should be directed to either of the two addresses below.

Nameless
Box K,
Ypsilanti, MI 48197

Fifth Estate
4403 Second Ave.,
Detroit, MI 48201



Prison

News

Walla Walla prisoners "win" class action suit

A "class action" suit brought by former and current Walla Walla inmates was so convincing that it forced a federal judge to declare in his oral judgement on May 23rd that conditions at the Washington State penitentiary amount to "unconstitutional cruel and unusual punishment".

The "action" by the inmates is against state functionaries such as governor, Dixy Lee Ray; secretary of the department of social and health services, Gerald Thompson, and right on down the line of authority to their hirelings; superintendent of the penitentiary, James Spalding; a few of his direct subordinates, head guard, Stanley Hansen, twelve members of the segregation unit "goon squad", 50 John Doe guards known as the "8-wing riot squad" and 50 other John Doe guards.

The inmates decided to concentrate their energies against the state apparatus last June following a "lock-down" by the institution that intensified their already deplorable living conditions. They stated, "that the totality of conditions at the penitentiary as it is operated by the defendants, falls far beneath standards of human decency, inflicts needless suffering on prisoners and creates an environment which threatens prisoners' mental and physical well-being...". Prisoners at the penitentiary have been and continue to be systematically subjected to "unjustified humiliation, assault, and serious debilitating bodily injury; unjustifiable theft and destruction of personal property, and racial discrimination and harassment of minority groups.

A number of specific situations were brought to Judge Jack Tanner's attention. Carl Harp, a member of the **Anarchist Black Dragon Collective** and co-editor of the **Anarchist Black Dragon**, stated in Vol. 1, No. 6 of **The Dragon**, "... when the riot squad entered the building and came down A and B tiers, five prisoners were at their mercy. Not one prisoner threatened or attacked the squad. Over fifteen guards in various riot gear dress first handcuffed them to the cell bars, cleared out of their cells and then left. Shortly after, they returned in force.

"While the prisoners were still handcuffed to their cell bars, the guards first maced them, then unmercifully beat them with lead-lined gloves, night sticks, and boots. After uncuffing them and re-cuffing them while beating them, they kicked and dragged them out of their cells. While they lay with their hands handcuffed behind their backs they were again beaten and kicked unmercifully. The whole time they were doing the beating, the guards called the prisoners names, laughed, and cheered. I didn't demolish my cell, but at this gross inhumanity my rage drove me to my feet in my cell and I began protesting and demanding that it cease.

"For this, they entered my cell and set upon me unmercifully. When I went down they tore my pants

down and raped me with a night stick, then kicked, beat, and dragged me out of the cell to the tier where they surrounded me as I lay on the floor, and then beat and kicked me some more, calling me "political prisoner", "jailhouse lawyer", and every foul thing they could. All of us were then lifted up on our toes by the cuffs behind our backs, then beaten and run out of the unit to "black-out" strip cells in another unit where they beat us again as other prisoners watched. After this we were uncuffed and forced to crawl naked on our hands and knees into the cell and lay face down. I was hurt so bad internally and externally (torn rectum, split eyebrow, etc.) that they had to take me to an outside hospital in the city of Walla Walla, where I remained for a week. They told me as I left the prison that they would kill me if I mentioned their names, but the moment I was in the hospital I exposed it all to the world, which caused the shit to hit the fan on all levels. Even the federal government became involved."

Also revealed at the trial was that associate superintendent of custody at the penitentiary, Larry Kinchloe, issued a "kill order" to guards sent to 8-wing on July 7, 1979. This "kill order" authorized the screws to kill any prisoners found outside their cells and set the psychological stage for actions of guards in events to follow. Later that night, a goon squad dressed in full riot gear with helmets, face shields, and with riot sticks, entered 8-wing. A shotgun blast sprayed pellets onto part of the tier on the lower deck, hitting several prisoners locked in their cells.

Prisoners were individually removed from cells, handcuffed and thrown against a wall with hands behind their backs, and forced to run a gauntlet of guards who beat them with riot sticks. They were then forcibly shoved down a metal staircase,

causing them to fall down stairs with hands wired behind their backs. After forcing prisoners face down to the ground, the guards walked across their backs or necks, beating them with riot sticks. A guard would stand on the neck of an inmate while other riot screws would beat him in the crotch area with riot sticks while spitting and urinating on him. Observers on the prison wall, who included the warden and his bureaucratic thugs, shouted encouragement to those guards participating in the beatings.

Also included in the trial were sound arguments made by the inmates, pointing out blatant inadequacies in the areas of overcrowding, sanitation and safety, the arbitrary classification and parole system, inadequate medical care, etc.

This oral decision by Judge Tanner cannot be seen as a major victory to the inmates. A written decision including recommendations to

"correct" the Walla Walla situation has yet to be made and at this level it is but another situation of the state investigating and judging the state. At best we can expect a few of the henchmen to be reprimanded for overstepping jurisdictions or being overly ambitious in performing their functions. Because of public exposure, the "heat" may come off the convicts for a while and the overcrowding will mean the transfer of some inmates to other maximum security and/or behaviour modification units.

But the effective nature of the situation cannot be ignored and, in a pedagogical sense, the example set by the inmates of Walla Walla State Penitentiary is a valuable experience for us all.

In the past, the state has been very effective in avoiding direct confrontations with convicts, students, patients, inmates or whatever name they choose to give to those indi-

viduals being trained to submit to their power.

In recent history, where extreme frustrations turned to aggression, hostility missed the target completely by turning inward. Recent history has indicated how angry inmates have turned their anger against one another, based on hierarchical, racist, ageist or sexual lies. The Walla Walla inmates saw through this ploy and argued that this is indeed a major part of the problem. In the brief submitted to the court, they state that the guards "consistently engage in acts of discrimination against minority, racial and religious groups of prisoners. Over the past year, correctional officers have several

times, without justification, destroyed a sweat lodge used by Native American prisoners for religious activities, and have harassed and abused Native American prisoners using the sweat lodge." Native prisoners are then told falsely by guards that Black prisoners intend to institute reprisals against them for "causing" prison problems. The inmates further noted that following the stabbing death of a Native prisoner in May 1979, the administration took no action to investigate the killing and guards stated to prisoners that they "were going to let the Indians and the Chicanos fight it out."

The horrors of Walla Walla are not unique. There is every indication that prisoners across north america will protest disgusting living conditions this summer. In Canada, August 10th has become a traditional day of prison protest in memory of inmates who have mysteriously "committed suicide" in the hole at Millhaven Penitentiary. To be effective, the protests must be directed towards the source of the oppression — the state apparatus. Interested inmates, former inmates, and supporters are asked to contact the **Prisoners Support Collective**, c/o the NAA.

Kamalla's Trial Begins

By Brian Amesly

The trial of Kamalla Miller for "stealing" her own daughter Ishka and committing an act of burglary in the process is now underway. These charges stem from Kamalla's retrieval of Ishka from her parents, who had won custody in a very prejudiced court decision. (See NAA 4.) Once reunited, they fled from California to Arkansas, where the FBI tracked them down. Extradition proceedings followed, which returned Kamalla to California to await the trial now taking place.

Kamalla's defense counsel, Heidi Mueller, is arguing the case from the standpoint that she was of diminished capacity at the time of the act in question, because of her non-recognition of the laws which forced her separation from Ishka. Given this and the fact that the burglary charge rests simply on Kamalla's

having removed a screen from her parents' home to get Ishka, the defense is hoping for a maximum 90 day sentence at worst. The prosecution is trying for the maximum one year penalty for child theft and an additional burglary conviction.

The chances of acquittal are almost nil. Kamalla, herself, expects to go to prison. Her estranged husband Arthur, who is Ishka's father, sees trouble if she does because of her defiant nature. He notes that to date she has been incarcerated in one way or another since age 13 and has always rebelled in response. Consistent with this, when Kamalla was held in Orange County Jail last December she responded by staging a hunger strike as well as generally going limp. The guards responded to these actions by using acts of harassment, such as placing her in an isolation cell and starting rumours

about a death threat against her.

Support Continues

Although the Kamalla Defense Network has been experiencing internal problems, support activity is continuing on an international scale. In addition to the campaign being wage here, largely by the women's movement and anti-authoritarian left organizations, support work has also been going on in Britain, Holland, Portugal and Australia. This activity must be continued and expanded to involve even more people.

Money is desperately needed to sustain the awesome legal and agitation expenses involved. So is any form of publicity, especially since mass media coverage has been dropping off. Interested persons are also encouraged to send unprovo-

See **Kamalla** Page 12

Time to Fight Labour Laws

By Jeff Stein

The 1970's was a decade of wildcat rank-and-file rearguard actions during a general retreat of the labor movement. At the end of the decade, the labor situation can be summed up by a number of events. After a brief flirtation with internal democracy, the United Mine Workers (UMW) is once again in the hands of a petty dictator of the Lewis stamp. The international headquarters of the United Steel Workers is helping the steel corporations force wage cuts. The president of the United Auto Workers, after negotiating one of the worst sellouts in union history, is now also a member of the Chrysler Board of Directors. The new head of the AFL-CIO has signed the "National Accord", committing that union federation to co-operate with the U.S. government's austerity program. The 1970's has been a decade of the "take-back" (companies eliminating long established worker benefits), union-busting, and the run away shop.

A significant factor in this debacle has been the massive intervention of the State on the side of the employers. The 1978 UMW contract strike, in which rank-and-file coal miners heroically resisted company and union efforts to dismantle the miner health system, was finally broken after government intervention made it difficult to co-ordinate resistance. That same year the industry-wide railroad strike of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks collapsed in the face of government threats. Particularly hard hit have been public employees. In Kansas City a recent strike of firement was broken by the use of National Guard and police as scabs. Strikes by municipal transit workers and teachers in several cities have been defeated by court injunctions and the jailings of strikers. On the national level, the policy of the Republican Nixon regime of helping employers fight union wage demands, has been continued by the Democratic Carter regime. The

support of union officials for "wage and Price guidelines" has been won by the government helping union leaders fend off court suits, electoral challenges, and wildcat strikes.

These developments have not gone unnoticed by rebel workers. They are slowly beginning to see the mask of government "neutrality" in labor-management confrontations stripped away. Sentiment is growing against the infamous Taft-Hartley Act in particular. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed by Congress in 1947 to help employers fend off the post-World War II strike wave.

Hartley. It has also severely restricted union organizing efforts in the southern and western U.S., where most states have passed open shop laws. These laws facilitate the efforts of employers in intimidating their workers and in getting close cooperation with local courts and police in breaking strikes. The recent difficulties the United Steel Workers had in organizing the shipyards at Newport News, Virginia can be traced to such laws.

At present the movement around abolishing the Taft-Hartley Act is small but it is growing. There have been rallies, educational events,

summed up by one activist, that repeal of Taft-Hartley "is the key issue that faces the labor movement today."

In May of 1979 a meeting of nearly 100 union members was held in Minnesota to organize the "Minnesota Coalition to Repeal Right to Work". The coalition was formed in anticipation of a right-to-work campaign in Minnesota. As a conference organizer put it, "That's what's behind the effort to start this movement, to educate our own members for if and when they do try to introduce right-to-work legislation here. Not just the future of the labor movement, but the security of our own union is involved."

Springfield, Massachusetts was the scene of a rally against Taft-Hartley in September of 1979. Over 350 people attended the rally sponsored by the "Committee to Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act". A paper distributed by the group saw "Taft-Hartley as not just another anti-labor law but rather as the legislative cornerstone of capital's domestic anti-labor strategy in the post-World War II period."

The dominant thrust of this budding movement is reformist. Many participants are low level union officials and liberal politicians. The view of the government presented is as a potentially neutral institution presently dominated by the "new right", business interests, etc. The solution offered is to pressure the Democratic Party to "bring back the New Deal." This would mean a return to the "pro-union" Wagner Act of the 1930's. Unfortunately this does not go far enough. The government has its own stake in maintaining industrial stability and austerity, regardless of which party is in power. As a parasitic growth on the economy, the State must maintain the wages system at all costs. The State only permits unionism as long as the unions do not interfere with management's "right to manage".

The original Wagner Act was passed in 1935 in the midst of

massive wildcat strikes, factory occupations, and worker revolts. It required employers to "bargain in good faith" with union officials which the government felt, represented the majority of the workers in the bargaining unit (the scope of this "unit" to be worked out between the government and the employer). The Act was meant to create relatively harmless government-sanctioned unions that would refrain from sabotage, wildcat strikes, and factory occupations. Radically minded unions, like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), were weeded out of industry through the collaboration of the employers, the AFL and CIO unions, and the government. In effect, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the union federation created during the 1930's, was the U.S. government's "One Big Company Union".

It is a dangerous illusion to depend on the State to win greater worker freedom. The system can not be used against itself. It is especially true now, when the State's top priority is cutting labor costs to ease inflation. The 1980's will be a period of increasing clashes between rebel workers and the government. As anarchists we must point out to our fellow workers that these clashes are inevitable and must be prepared for. Workers will have to rely on direct action instead of government labor boards to build their organizations. Only widespread solidarity carried out through sympathy strikes can defeat court injunctions, "back to work" orders, and police violence. (That this approach can work was proved in 1976 when 100,000 coal miners struck in sympathy and stopped a federal court injunction against a wildcat strike at a mine in West Virginia.) It will not be reform legislation or elections, but a massive wave of direct action that will shift the situation in favor of the workers. The 1980's will be a time to challenge the labor laws and "de-regulate" the labor movement!



The provisions of the Act ban sympathy strikes and boycotts, provide legal sanction for presidential "back to work" orders, allow employers to sue unions for wildcat strikes and other breaches of the contract, and permit state governments to pass laws requiring the open shop (so-called "right to work" laws). Much of the union-busting that took place during the 1970's was a direct result of Taft-

union resolutions, passed, and committees set up in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico, Texas, and West Virginia.

Last memorial day weekend, 110 members of Workers Education Local 189, an independent labor education union, held a conference in Beckley, West Virginia. The main item on the agenda was repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. The sentiment of those present was, as

Kamalla

Continued from Page 11

cative letters in support of Kamalla to Judge Macmillan, c/o the Orange County Courthouse, Santa Ana, California, who is presiding over her case.

Although an account of the trial and the events following it will be provided in the next issue of *The North American Anarchist*, interested persons should contact here supporters at **The Kamalla Defense Committee**, c/o 1324 Powderhorn Paris, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407 (612-729-4236) or **The Kamalla Support Network**, c/o Bayou La Rose, 3525 Gravier St., New Orleans, Louisiana 70119. The latest information is available from them. Lengthy accounts covering the development of this case from its beginning are provided in *Bayou La Rose*, which is available free on request.

Free Kamalla Miller!



Fight Back

Continued from Page 1

workers on layoff. So much for worker solidarity. In any event with over 250,000 U.S. autoworkers already jobless there is no way the U.S. government would even consider the possibility.

On Capital's Side

The UAW's response to the Chrysler situation shows how its business unionism serves as a prop to uphold the social order of capital. Solutions such as a worker take-over of the company's operations or at least demands which would impose the biggest sacrifices upon management remain unheard of. Actually, if there ever was a situation where demands for laying off management were appropriate this is it.

Likewise, one UAW demand which is getting a sympathetic hearing from many politicians is to get foreign automakers to build plants here to serve the North American market. Japanese and West German companies are already indicating they're receptive to the idea. So here again we see another UAW solution on capital's terms.

By contrast, one positive thing the UAW did was to make an unsuccessful bid to activate the program of Transitional Assistance Benefits (TAB) established by the

government of Ontario in the mid-1960's to aid autoworkers due to the highly cyclical nature of the industry. This attempt was made with Windsor, located right next to Detroit, in mind where 80% of the city's autoworkers are laid off. Chrysler and Ford plants are the dominant industries there. Consequently, union Supplementary Unemployment Benefits funds are running out and growing numbers of workers find themselves on the welfare rolls.

Throughout this crisis the UAW bureaucracy has told the membership to trust them. However, these same people have encouraged acceptance of the capitalist logic that because the bosses don't profit from a plant's operations its closure has to be tolerated.

But such drivel will ring hollow as the crisis deepens. And even afterwards, when the upturn comes with the conversion to small car production, many will remain unemployed. Characteristically, the changeover will inevitably result in a more automated production process employing less workers. Beyond this, rising gas prices will also jeopardize those autoworkers who'll be employed in the production of six cylinder vehicles.

Struggle Needed

The last thing the bureaucracy wants to see is the emergence of an effective, ongoing mass struggle by autoworkers themselves against the crisis. Like true labour cops they

Will do whatever they can to prevent this.

Nonetheless, action must be taken now. A good beginning would be to force the bureaucrats to sponsor mass autoworker demonstrations at state, provincial and national capitals. While these alone would change little, they would provide a useful opportunity for rank and filers to start to get together on their own terms. Hence, the basis could be laid for the formation of autonomous, horizontal workers' organizations based in every workplace affected by the crisis.

Only such a movement could make the qualitative advances necessary for a successful struggle, free from control by the UAW bureaucracy. In doing so autoworkers would be able to shift the burden of the auto crisis onto the backs of the bosses and open the way to the only lasting solution. Namely, a self-managed society based upon workers' power.



SUSTAINING FUND

D.M., Seattle.....10.00
D.D., Sault Ste. Marie...5.00
May Day Picnic.....50.00
S.F., San Francisco.....5.00
M.S., Tucson.....10.00
C.W., San Francisco...5.00
Exchange on U.S. funds...5.10
Total, May 28/80.....85.10

Many thanks to all who contributed from the NAA editorial collective.



Pat Davitt/An Account to Settle

Kirkland's Shady Connections

By Mitchell Miller

Unlike Lane Kirkland's predecessors as chiefs of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (both merged in 1955) all were at one time in their careers members of the working class. However this new head of the AFL-CIO class origins and ties are quite different. Born into an elite Southern family of cotton growers — his family supported the "southern tradition" of slavery — and who at one time aspired to become a career diplomat has some rather unsavory connections with Big Business.

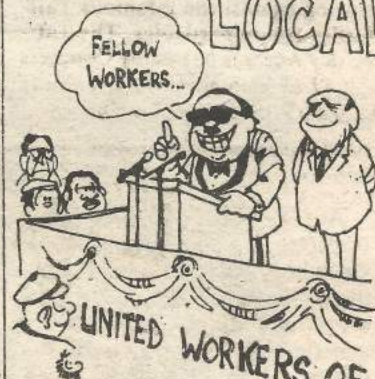
Regardless of Kirkland's accusations and militant posturing that the business community is waging a "class war" against the working class, Kirkland's own track record as to which side of the "class war" line he is on is far from that of the working class. As a proponent of "business unionism" and joint labor — management committees, Kirkland has had, particularly as George Meany's right hand man for 19 years, great contact with the business community.

In fact, Kirkland's contact with this community has literally lead him to find an open door policy on the part of his supposed "class war" enemies. It can only be said that in America the head of the major labor confederation can be found on the board of directors of a major conservative organization such as the Rockefeller Foundation. As a board member he sits alongside such members of the financial establishment as C. Douglas Sillion, Robert Roosa and, until they resigned to join the Carter Administration, Michael Blumenthal & Paul Volcker. Kirkland is as well a veteran place holder on the corporatist (labor-management-government) Trilateral Commission, which was started by none other than David Rockefeller and which also has Blumenthal and Roosa as members. He also sits alongside one of the kingpin family members of monopoly-capital David Rockefeller, Arco's Robert Anderson and Xerox's C. Peter McCulloch as one of the handful of directors of the high nest of the free-trade oriented American foreign policy establishment — the Council on Foreign Relations. From time to time Kirkland also serves as director of the conservative pro-business Brookings Institute, whose board of directors overlaps the two forementioned organizations.

Serving the Rich

Ten years ago, while serving as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, and therefore supposedly serving organized labor's interests, Kirkland was asked by top business and foundation executives (including J.D. Rockefeller 3rd) and accepted the position of labor "representative" on a committee that was designed to head off Congressional challenges, meek as they were, to the tax privileges and policy shaping research reports of American foundations. Although the commission (Commission on Foundations and Private Philanthropy) was ostensibly supposed to be impartial, J.D. Rockefeller personally selected the chairman, Peter Peterson, then chairman of Bell and Howell Corporation. Upon completion of their lobbying the Senate Finance Committee, in early 1970, called for tax breaks for rich donors.

In a time when militarism and jingoism are at a peak, it is a frightening fact to know that the head of organized labor is a superhawk, and one who certainly has no concept of working class internationalism and solidarity. Notwithstanding, Kirkland's ties to the



military establishment are as deep as his ties to the business community. According to A.H. Raskin — labor reporter for the *New York Times* and no friend of the rank-and-file — in a special cover story in the *New York Times* magazine section noted that "Throughout his career, Kirkland has been a superhawk, as unwavering as Meany in his belief that even higher levels of armaments (are) needed to protect the U.S.... In line with these sentiments, he is a founding member and co-chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger, a group convinced the cold war is 'far from over.' In tune with this line of thinking Kirkland has called for 'beefing up the U.S. strategic arsenal through the development of the MX missile...'"

Kirkland's ties to the military establishment simply do not end with his charter membership in the Commission on the Present Danger. He is also a member of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's notably belicose General Advisory Committee, where he has worked with Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and William Scranton (long time Rockefeller family advisor) to — according to a recent issue of *The Nation* — insure that there would be neither real arms control nor effective disarmament."

And to add to the already vile smelling list of associations, Kirkland also has ties to the intelligence community. For most rank-and-filers, Kirkland's ties to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are unknown. During President Ford's years he served on the Commission on CIA Activities in the United States. The Commission was headed by none other than Nelson Rockefeller, most certainly a friend of the CIA (It is a known fact that the CIA has been used to protect the Rockefeller's family interests abroad). And when the Commission issued its findings on the CIA's domestic activities the agency was, of course, mildly cited for undercover activities against black, radical and labor activists and organizations.

CIA Ally

Unlike Rockefeller and other monopoly-capitalists Kirkland and more particularly the rank-and-file, should have no interests in either supporting or maintaining any agency than, at times, is known to violently suppress other peoples' desires to manage their own affairs, organize unions and associations, or to overthrow repressive dictatorships. Being militantly anti-radical,

anti-democratic and a nationalist that he is, Kirkland's stake, and obviously the whole leadership of the AFL-CIO, in maintenance of the CIA is essential. Even though he has denied, in 1976, that the CIA has funded AFL-CIO affiliates in Latin America the facts speak for themselves.

Yet how can we believe that the right hand man of the Federation's ex-President has no idea about this despicable track record for a labor organization? We simply cannot. For nearly four decades, since the end of World War II, the AFL, then the merged AFL-CIO, has been quite active abroad organizing and training anti-radical and pro-capitalist unions and union staffs. Surprisingly enough, even Victor Reuther, co-founder of the United Auto Workers, and no friend of radical unionism either here or abroad, has detailed the AFL-CIO-CIA connection in his book, *The Brothers Reuther*.

According to Reuther's account, the European office of the AFL was a conduit for "incredibly large funds" from the CIA as early as 1951. While denying such ties, Kirkland has at least admitted that "The AFL-CIO devotes a substantial part of its resources, attention and manpower to overseas work... (and) we have done our time in the field of international conflict" (re: maintaining capitalism and giving support to despotic regimes).

In line with his desire to become a career diplomat, Kirkland's special focus has been foreign affairs. He has been a trustee of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and a director of the African-American Labor Center, two AFL-CIO organizations that promotes a pro US ideology, labor-management co-operation and, according to a March 1965 AALC bulletin, to expand American investment... in the countries where it is active. Both of these organizations have supported anti-left coups during the 60's and 70's. It should also be noted that strike tactics are noticeably absent from AIFLD training courses and curriculum.

Organized in 1961 AIFLD, with Meany as president, shipping magnate J. Peter Grace, of W.R. Grace and Company as board chairman, longtime Rockefeller family friend and later Latin American advisor Berent Friede as vice chairman, and a host of other multi-national corporation representatives on its board. The AIFLD was President Kennedy's labor arm in the rather dubious

Alliance for Progress. From the outset AIFLD has been tripartite in nature. And specifically organized to promote and defend "common interests" in Latin America. However the organization quickly became the major outfit which the Agency for International Development (AID) funded. The AID, over the years, has been well exposed as a covert CIA group. Naturally labor bureaucrats have denied this CIA connection, yet, under

A Land Without Joy

By Frank Stevens

We all know there are those in North America that hold up China as a model of liberation. But to know a social order, find out how the ordinary people live.

Duli and Meihua met and became lovers while attending Fudan University in Shanghai. They were both engineering students and looked forward to living and working together. Then Duli was transferred to a commune in Guangdong Province, 600 miles to the south. Over the next seven years, Duli never saw Meihua for more than a month each year. Finally, he fled to Hong Kong.

There are small signs posted along Sun Yatsen Avenue in Wuhan, near the Liberation monument in Ghongqing, along East Wind Road in Kunming, at Wangfujing Street in Beijing, and many other places. Each has at the top two horizontal arrows pointing in opposite directions. The appeals written below ask if anyone in that city wants to trade jobs. They are written by men or women in remote towns who have wives or husbands living in the larger cities.

Han Fa Li cried and rubbed her eyes as she told the Beijing Divorce Court how her husband, Zhou Hui Xien, repeatedly came home drunk and beat her. But the judge was unmoved and tabled the case for further investigation. In 1979, the divorce rate in China's capital city was only 3 per cent.

On a bulletin board near Shanghai's People's Park is a sign that reads: "Love is a normal thing, but young men and women should treat it with pure motives. People should not really talk about love during working hours. Too frequent dating might distract you from your work for the state."

There was a man in the city of Guangzhou called Dulong. He lived with his wife, Meisong, and their

AIFLD-AID guidance, several US unions have funded overseas operations that have led to the curtailment of militant workers' actions, as well as the destabilization of radical majoritarian unions.

"National Accord"

At home Kirkland will follow the same sort of policies his organization is following abroad: resolute anti-radicalism, preference for stability in labor management relations and strong hierarchical bureaucratic organization and discipline within the labor movement. Thus we find the new basis for the new "national accord" he negotiated with the Carter Administration which mandated labor's participation in a Pay Advisory Committee on wage guidelines. The committee is chaired by veteran labor negotiator, former Secretary of Labor and General Telephone and Electronics director John Dunlap, and here, as elsewhere Kirkland has strong business ties. His and Dunlap's history can be traced for the past 30 years in the labor movement and their joint investment in the Puna Cana Dominican Republic resort plantation project. (Masterminded by Theodore Kheel, a labor negotiator and according to *The Nation*, "a director of *New York* magazine, Western Union, Athlon Industries and U.V. Industries, Inc., the venture was later shadowed by the indictment of one

See Kirkland Page 14

five children. He worked as an accountant in a printing plant. One summer's day he put up a big character poster where he worked. It said "The gap between the government and the people is growing wider and wider. It is very dangerous for the country as well as the people if the bureaucracy continues to grow the way it has." For this he was fired and subsequently exiled to a communal farm 60 miles away. He is permitted to visit Meisong and their children for a few days each year.

Most young people are concerned with their futures, according to a refugee now living in Hong Kong. They spend their time studying to get into a university or to get an urban job or to find a way to emigrate.

When two students at a Shanghai university were caught making love behind some bushes, the man was imprisoned and the woman committed suicide. The lovers were criticized by student officials because "they let themselves go while others have to hold themselves in."

An official Communist Party directive advises young men to take lots of cold baths.

And rape is the second most common crime in Shanghai, according to the political commissar of the main municipal prison there.

Yes, we all know of those in North America who hold up this prison camp of a nation as a model of liberation. But to know a social order, find out how the ordinary people live.

And then remember that no order, no matter how oppressive, endures forever. A Shanghai radio broadcast monitored in early 1979 complained that "some young men have dyed their hair blond and set it in permanent waves and are walking around flirting in an effeminate manner..."

More Letters More Letters More

torate. The question, all the same, is significant because it was formulated after the results of the public opinion polls of November 1979 and demands "a mandate to negotiate a new agreement (we are far from independence) based on the equality of peoples (sic) and sovereignty-association."

In the referendum campaign (as of May 5) the PQ does not want independence for Quebec but the transference of the maximum amount of power from Ottawa and this is largely admitted in Quebec. It is why if there is fraud here as you say in your article it is somewhere else (but it *is* somewhere).

More dangerous is the recourse to national chauvinism (they all are) which drains energy and obscures the real problems.

As for the second part of the ACF resolution, the possibility of armed intervention in Quebec, this is completely ridiculous. Because, as you say yourself, "The PQ plan for independence foresees no break with consumerism, capitalism or class society." Nothing will change.

All the same I will vote "YES" in the referendum, in solidarity with the people of Quebec (who exist), its a little like signing a petition to support the struggle of women in the Catholic church. No more, no less.

I thank you!
Guy Gauthier,
Ste. Thecle, Quebec.
Translated by L.J.

Lazarus Jones replies:

That the PQ will settle for a renegotiation of confederation which puts the petite-bourgeois of Quebec in a dominant position within the economy is a distinct possibility, but I feel it is a secondary position and that the prime goal of the PQ remains a politically sovereign Québec. The fraud in this equation is that the PQ, like all bourgeois

movements seeks to mobilize the workers into a battle that is not their own for aims and goals that are diametrically opposed to those of the workers. Having rejected the revolutionary road to self-determination the PQ have to fall back on the tacky expedient of comparing relative benefits accruing to the workers under the established pan-Canadian state and the proposed Quebec state and declaring, falsely, that the fracturing of the bourgeois Canadian state for the benefit of the Quebec bourgeoisie can be accomplished without significant hardship for the working class. That public opinion polls show that support of the PQ project is lowest in the least affluent sections of the working class is a tribute to the people's common sense and a refusal to be used as economic cannon-fodder.

At the same time the PQ project threatens the stability of the pan-Canadian state and adds a greatly disturbing factor of possible political turmoil that the Canadian bourgeoisie would greatly love to dispense with. The possibility of armed intervention in Quebec will remain as the pan-Canadian state's trump card to be used if all other methods fail. Armed intervention does not need the excuse of a radical break with "consumerism, capitalism or class society" to become a viable option. All it needs is a perception by the pan-Canadian state that the immediate effects of intervention will be offset by long term political and economic stability within Quebec.

To speak of a 'YES' vote expressing a Quebecois solidarity is false and misleading. Solidarity, if it is to be real and not merely apparent, must be based on a clear perception of reality and a fundamental awareness of the power of the working class when it organizes as a class and therefore becomes the dominant

force in the historical process. Only the autonomous action of the working class can bring about truly beneficial social change. The PQ project is a blind alley that we blunder into at our peril.

ASSHOLES

Dear Friends:

From Stevens: "... the kind of people who look down on topless dancers are the same people who look up to cops, clergymen, executives and politicians — that is assholes who look up to assholes!" In his article on the Pope, Stevens also makes a reference to idiots who attack women's clinics as being "a large pain in the ass."

One of the positive achievements of the sexual liberation movement of the past ten or more years has been the de-genitalization of eroticism. That is, penile and vaginal stimulation and excitement are still OK, but we have discovered that the entire body is capable of erotic response. For many men and women, the anus has achieved a very high erotic status — need I elaborate that this area of sexual interest has long been held in high esteem by gay people? By referring negatively to the asshole, writers and speakers reveal a very antiquated and in fact discriminatory bias against people who value this area of stimulation; and still, I would venture, that bias effectively operates primarily against gay men. That such usage reveals a pitiful lack of imagination is the writer's problem. But to the extent that the reader or listener thereby has society's genito-centric and body-hating message reinforced is definitely a problem anarchists should be more responsible about dealing with. I mean, I doubt seriously that Frank Stevens or the editors of NAA would allow to slip through a statement that "Nixon is a prick" and that "Margaret That-



Yes it is. Pass all your comments about the paper and the world to us.

write

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

cher is a cunt," so it looks like the asshole — like gay people?? — is a last-ditch hold-out for deprecating the body and its innocent functions.

Now, there are other considerations as well that I think bear

consideration by anarchists. I remember some years ago when the entire left around the world used to chuckle over the Peking Review and its reports of Comrade So-and-So from Such-and-Such Commune who loved nothing more than carting out the night soil into the fields the next day, all for the greater glory of Chairman Mao. Well, it was ridiculous to play it up so romantically, but have we lost a certain point? Mustn't we agree that all things considered, the Chinese have probably achieved the most sensible relationship to the problem of waste, the problem of re-entry into the life-cycle of human excrement, of any major society in the world today? Mustn't we agree that the flushing out of human wastes into the ocean is a stupid, thoughtless, unecological custom brought on mostly by our Protestant fears of "dirt"? And that our society is in fact among the most impoverished when it comes to solving the life-cycle equation? Much of this comes from our senseless deprecation of — there we are again — the asshole and its proper, not to mention its improper, functions. It seems to me that anarchists have a much higher responsibility to pass on to others a more sophisticated notion not only of sexuality but of ecology as well.

There is nothing wrong with your asshole, nor with your prick, nor your cunt, nor your earlobe or finger nail. Nor, in case we're thrashing about for substitute vocabulary, with pigs, cows, sheep or bees. I think the search for appropriate vocabulary will only serve to enrich our powers of expression by forcing us to say clearly what we think of things, rather than resort to crude and ahistorical terminology that only perpetuates our social lies and crimes.

Yours in struggle,
Eric Gordon
New York, New York.

Bureaucrats new hats

Continued from Page 7

movement. Nuclear power is a creature of the government. Sure there is a nuclear industry that profits from nuclear power. But this holds true for any government program. Schools, hospitals, public assistance agencies, and so forth are all tied to industrial-complexes. The point about nuclear power is that it was totally conceived by government bureaucrats, not business executives. It was seen as a way of showing that nuclear fission could be used for peaceful purposes, a way of damping the "Ban the

Bomb" movement of the 1950's. Nowadays the government has such a large investment in nuclear power, that only a major social upheaval can reverse the nuclear trend. DSOC's propaganda purposefully evades this connection. It would hurt its program of rallying all popular movements against the corporations, as well as disillusion people that government officials are inherently more concerned about people's well-being.

So that no one thinks I am exaggerating, consider Harrington's

book *Socialism*. Harrington cites two models for the type of change he is seeking in the U.S. The first is derived from the New Deal, the Tennessee Valley Authority. He claims that the TVA can, as a public corporation under the broad supervision of the federal government, direct capital investment to meet social need. "There is a quite successful model in the United States for what a public corporation can accomplish: the Tennessee Valley Authority" (*Socialism*, p. 368). Yet one of the biggest promoters of nuclear power in the U.S. is none other than the public spirited TVA!

The second model used by Harrington has been the social democratic government of Olaf Palme in Sweden. Harrington has nothing but praise for Palme, crediting his party as "... the first movement in the world to engage in planned deficit financing as a way of promoting full employment" and as playing "... the role of pioneering innovators" (*Socialism* p. 442). Yet Palme and the Swedish Social Democrats are firm supporters of nuclear power. It is this commitment that toppled Palme from power in 1976!

Harrington mentions nothing about this now that he has jumped aboard the anti-nuclear bandwagon. In an article in the June 1979 issue of *Democratic Left* (shortly following the Three Mile Island accident), Harrington generously offers DSOC's leadership to the anti-nuke movement. Advising the anti-nukers not to let themselves be pitted against the pro-nuke building union leaders, he suggests they throw in their lot with those seeking greater government control over energy. According to Harrington, the nuclear problem

"... will be settled by political power and requires that the anti-nuclear movement be willing to take on giant corporations" (as if they weren't already doing so). DSOC — No Thanks.

DSOC's brand of socialism fails to address the real ills of the present system. The revolts that are currently developing among the lower classes, can not succeed if they are limited to choosing between corporate or welfare state bureaucrats. Freedom can not be found either in the market place or at the ballot box. To whatever extent DSOC tries to convince us that working within the system can make real social changes, it is propping up the state bureaucracy. These days when bureaucracy is in danger of losing its legitimacy, it comes as no surprise that the bureaucrats appreciate DSOC's efforts on their behalf. To regain their lost popularity, they may well become "socialists." For working folks, however, they'll remain the same old parasites.

Resistance

Continued from Page 3

mechanical and I am possessed of a will to beat swords and electronically governed anti-personnel weapons into ploughshares," or "I am a homebody and would desert and urge others to desert at the least prompting." The possibilities are infinite and need to be restrained only by the scope of our imaginations.

If the police throw up cordons and attempt to admit only those with "legitimate" credentials, we can line up again and again and in the same lines with the real 19 and 20 year olds to show our (phoney) birth certificates. We can also come

with letters of outrage to whomever we choose — but with *no stamps*. Then we can enter the post offices on "business." Have we not the right to mail our letters of protest and petition to our public servants?

Let us gum up the works by every measure we can conceive and devise. Let there be speeches, street theatre and whatever else we can imagine to block the way of the registrants. Let the spirit of indignation and of satire be evident and forceful on every hand. But also let there prevail the spirit of principle, dignity and essential order. Let us have before us the example of Mohandis Shandi. And let us gum up the works but good! All week!

Kirkland Continued from Page 13

of its trade union investors for misappropriation of union funds").

The aforementioned facts and connections are only an indication as to the breadth of Kirkland's support for the repressive and restrictive policies and organizations that support capitalism both here and abroad. Indicative in this as well is the sort of narrow minded and conservative unionism that prevails in the US. It is before this backdrop that organized labor suffers from high inflation, low wages, poor working conditions, continual runaway shops and plant closings, as well as unresponsive and undemocratic unions. Rather than aggressive unionism based on the principles of the class struggle we find nothing more than a unionism that has been fully integrated into capitalist society and the State apparatus. A simple change in leaders won't do, rather what is needed is a whole change in the concept of what our unions should be: that is combative and democratic.

Luisa Capetillo

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leaflet's authors look like the fools they were.

Capetillo corresponded with other anarchists and socialists and in 1912 she moved to New York where she resided for several months. In 1913 she went to Florida and established herself in Tampa where she collaborated on a paper called *La Union de Tampa* of the Union of Federated Twisters of the State of Florida. Capetillo later returned to Puerto Rico to continue the fight for the emancipation of women and workers. During May and June of 1918 she lead an agricultural strike in Ceiba and was arrested for "agitation among the workers."

Luisa Capetillo died in April of 1922. Her comrades felt her loss deeply and many articles were published praising the "syndicalist, anarchist and feminist Capetillo." Her death was mentioned in almost every Puerto Rican newspaper.

Luisa Capetillo devoted her life to advocating a totally free society where everyone would have control over their own lives. She was one of the forerunners of the feminist movement, an outstanding labor figure, and an extraordinary woman. It makes me angry that patriarchal society consigned her, like so many other women, into a historical limbo. Her writings were lost or destroyed and her life's work was ignored. I hope that this small article has managed to shed some light on the forgotten life of Luisa Capetillo.

Author's Postscript: Parts of this article have been loosely adapted from a translation of a pamphlet on Luisa Capetillo written by Norma Valle. This article originally appeared in the Fall, 1978 issue of Anarchist Feminist Notes.



Libertarian Notes

ABBOT AND COSTELLO MEET THE AYATOLLAH

That great new international comedy team, Zbig Abbot and Jimmy Costello really out-do themselves in their new mad-cap film *Abbot and Costello Meet The Ayatollah*. The hilarious plot involves an evil Iranian 'holy-man,' the Ayatollah Khomeini played by Vincent Price, who overthrows the good Shah of Iran played by Leslie Nielsen. In an effort to force the Shah to return to Iran and certain death the evil Ayatollah seizes the staff of the American embassy, played collectively by The Bowery Boys. After a series of comical misadventures the movie rolls to a slam-bang finale as Abbot and Costello launch a rescue mission that turns into a laff-riot. Helicopters get lost or fall out of the sky and at the secret desert base the lads accidentally total a giant C-130 transport as Jimmy Costello finds himself at the controls of a Seahawk chopper.

But, seriously folks, Jimmy Carter's tragi-comical foray into 'big-stick' diplomacy only serves to underline the utter incompetence of his regime. Even the Israelis couldn't restrain a snicker at Carter's fumbled handling of Entebbe II. In light of the U.S.'s dismal record in these affairs — the Son Tay and Mayaguez incidents — maybe next time they should just slip the Israelis a couple of squadrons of Phantoms under the table and tell them to go to it.

THE RATS DESERT THE SINKING SHIP

The mass exodus from Castro's Cuba, although partly explainable by the fact that there will always be a minority who refuse to accept any kind of socialist society as long as there exists a chance to make a fast buck elsewhere, is also a reflection of the pitiful state of Cuba's economy. The sugar cane and tobacco crops, the backbone of Cuba's economy, have been devastated this year by disease and an epidemic of African swine fever has decimated Cuba's stock of pigs. If it were not for the Soviet Union's massive aid program, which includes cut-rate sales of oil, the Cuban economy would

collapse. As well, the weekly death toll from Castro's adventures in Africa, continues to mount.

In light of the above situation Castro's decision to pull the guards from the gates of the Peruvian embassy on April 1 resulted in a mad stampede with over 10,000 Cubans streaming into the embassy grounds seeking a ticket out of Castro's island. This led, in turn, to the grotesque 'boat-lift.' Night after night we have been treated to the spectacle of emigre Cubans kissing U.S. soil, *a la* John Paul 2, and proclaiming their eternal gratitude to the peanut farmer in the Whitehouse. The reception given to the 'refugee' Cubans stands in stark contrast to the treatment meted out to the Haitians fleeing the 'Baby Doc' Duvalier dictatorship. Instead of exultant TV coverage the Haitians are ignored, jailed and deported. They are classed as 'economic' rather than 'political' refugees. Of course the fact that the Duvalier dictatorship is of an ideological stripe more amenable to U.S. control than Castro's has nothing at all to do with this distinction.

CHILEAN SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT IN NEED OF FUNDS

The Norwegian Syndicalist Federation (NSF) has issued an appeal for funds to help re-build the shattered anarcho-syndicalist and libertarian socialist movement in Chile. The NSF has been active in supporting imprisoned militants, particularly those who have been disavowed by the Popular Unity Coalition in-exile, and have had some success in agitating for the freedom of these individuals. The union movement in Chile is in the process of re-building and while the unions that swear allegiance to either Moscow or Peking are receiving ample funds from outside Chile the libertarian movement has no such ideological 'sugar-daddies'. Donations to help

re-build the Chilean libertarian union movement should be directed to: **The Syndicalist Alliance**, P.O. Box 92246, Milwaukee, WI 53202, USA. All monies received will be forwarded to the NSF for transfer to Chile.

FEAR OF FRYING

A 24-year old Ontario man, Keith Young, was fired recently for refusing to work in a Zone Two radiation area at the Bruce nuclear power plant near Kincardine. Radiation levels in Zone Two average 0.2 millirems per hour, but as the *Toronto Star* noted "the average Canadian receives about 12 millirems of radiation a year from natural sources." Apparently the *Star* saw nothing amiss in comparing an hourly radiation rate with a yearly rate. If both rates were calculated over a year the comparison would read 220 millirems per year for Young versus 12 millirems for your "average" Canadian.

Young had been working on outside construction when his foreman ordered him to move into the Zone Two radiation area. When he refused, citing his fear of exposure to radiation, his foreman and Hydro officials declared that "there was no radiation risk at all and (that his) head wasn't screwed on right." When Young remained adamant he was suspended for one week. In an interview Young declared that Hydro officials had given him "a big manual to read about radiation levels, safety procedures and radiation protection," but as Young stated "a heck of a lot of good that did other workers who have been overdosed in the past."

When Young returned to work, at the end of his week's suspension, he was again ordered into the radiation area and upon his refusal was fired. Ontario Hydro officials, who administer Ontario's nuclear program, told Young that "they couldn't have him doing this (refusing the transfer). It looked bad in public and would create a precedent for any worker who didn't want a transfer." Young's union, the North American Boilermakers Union, refused to back him up and agreed with the employer that "workers can't refuse assignments because they fear radiation." However, Young's Local has promised to submit a grievance on his behalf.

BLOWIN' IN THE WIND

Canadians were outraged to discover that during the early 1950's the U.S. Army carried out chemical warfare testing in Winnipeg. The chemical, zinc cadmium sulphide, was sprayed in aerosol clouds "to determine how it would spread over areas and how it would penetrate structures." At the time the citizens of Winnipeg, a large city in western Canada, were told that the clouds of zinc cadmium sulphide were an experiment to determine if cities could be hidden by "smoke-screens" in the event of war.

This incident is just one more example of the undeclared war on the citizenry of the U.S. and Canada conducted by the U.S. army in the 50's and 60's. In 1966, to give another example, a supposedly "harmless" bacteria was sprayed into the New York City subway system to determine how it would spread and to ascertain what counter-measures could be taken to minimize the effects of a bacteriological attack. Exactly how many casualties this secret war resulted in will probably never be known but it serves as one more example of the madness of the State.

Leninism

Continued from Page 4

to the Kremlin was slight and Bukharin withdrew his resignation. Even the party congresses were still wild, chaotic affairs torn by the factional dissension Lenin loathed, until Stalin, who did not possess even Lenin's few scruples, finally strapped the party into the straight jacket so well designed in *What Is To Be Done*.

Leninist Counter-Revolution

The strategy, tactics and form of party organization elaborated by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done* in 1902, and brought to horrible perfection under Stalin in the 1930's, are today the theoretical and organizational basis of every Leninist organization in the world. It should never be forgotten that the campaign of terror waged against the working class and all other left-wing organizations remains a cardinal and even exalted principle of Leninist politics. The various Leninist sects and grouplets, whether they call Moscow, Peking or Tirana their capital, are inherently counter-revolutionary. The sole aim of Leninism is political power and Leninists will use anyone or anything to further that end. To aid this project in any way, shape or form is to contribute to a plunge into a night of unending darkness and reaction.

To present the tactical initiatives of the Leninists against the capitalist regime in North America as "good work" worthy of the support of anarchists and other leftists is to display an ignorance of, or

worse, blithe indifference to, the record of Leninism in power. The aim of anarchist agitation in the work-place is to foster the self-confidence of the working class and to encourage an awareness of their collective power and ability. The Leninists on the other hand seek to subordinate the struggle of the working class for emancipation and self-management to their own insatiable lust for political power. Upon attaining that power they would instantly turn on the autonomous organizations of the working class and crush them. Anyone who doubts this, or feels that this or that particular brand of Leninism is "different," is a fool and deserves Lenin's contemptuous appellation for such individuals — "useful idiots."

Gregory Maximoff, the anarchist chronicler of the Red Terror in his book *The Guillotine At Work*, concluded his history with this admonition: "Let Russia serve as a lesson to all other nations, let the mountains of corpses and the oceans of blood shed by its people be a redeeming sacrifice for all nations, for the toilers of all countries." Let us not be, as those who ignore the lessons of history invariably are, condemned to repeating the mistakes of the past. The consequences, in our case, could well be final.

Quebec

Continued from Page 16

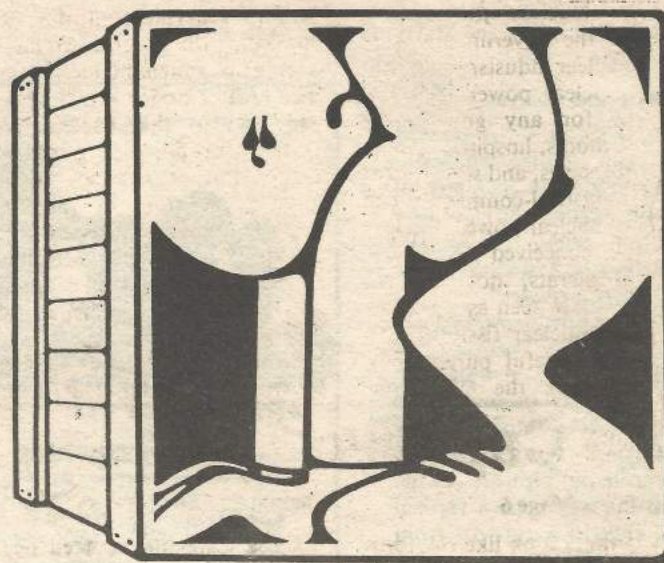
While this might seem refreshingly open it also virtually ensures that the conference will end, as all others have before it, in a deadlock. Such a result would be an effective springboard for launching a second referendum sometime in the future.

Assuming, of course, that the PQ wins the next election which must be held by the fall of 1981 at the very latest.

Right now the chances of the PQ winning that election are very good. Over 60% of the electorate feel that the PQ are doing a good job as the government and it is unlikely that their defeat in the referendum will significantly change that feeling. As for their chances in a second referendum, that is something else again.

It is difficult to see how the PQ could make the question any softer or the referendum campaign any more vacuous. To adopt anything other than a limp social-democratic platform would alienate the bankers and governments they depend on and also, as noted above, such a leftward swing would raise the possibility of a revolutionary movement for self-determination that could swiftly overtake and overwhelm the PQ.

The only solace the PQ have is that their support is strongest among the younger strata of Quebec's population. They can thus present themselves as "the wave of the future" and assert the "inevitability" of independence. But to say the least such a strategy will give *etapisme* a whole new meaning. The prospect of the PQ holding innumerable referendums until the 'No' forces gradually die off is macabre indeed.



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Quebec Votes No

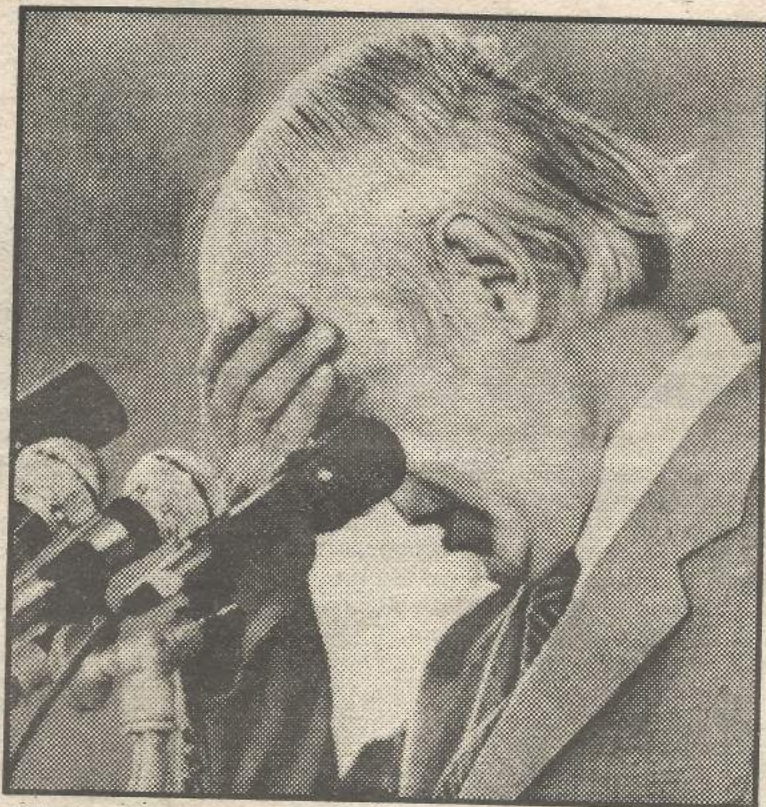
By Lazarus Jones

Almost 20 years to the month after the election of the Liberals under Jean Lesage and the beginning of the "quiet revolution" that set Quebec on the road to independence an impasse has been reached. With the overwhelming defeat of the May 20th Parti Quebecois (PQ) referendum on sovereignty-association, 40.5% 'Yes' to 59.5% 'No', the limits of the bourgeois independence project have been graphically revealed.

The defeat was so massive that premier Rene Levesque was unable to fall back on his second line of defense—the claim that at least a majority of French speaking Quebecois supported the PQ project. It had been expected that the English and ethnic voters of Quebec would vote solidly against sovereignty-association and they did by a margin of 96% to 4%. What was more surprising was the rejection of sovereignty-association by a majority of French speaking Quebecois.

The referendum campaign itself was a travesty as the debate degenerated into a mere clash of symbols devoid of any meaningful content. In the campaign's final weeks even the phrase "sovereignty-association" was retired by the PQ and the issue became a question of whether you were for or against the 'Yes'.

The PQ had hoped to lull the electorate into a somnolent state with a "soft" question and a campaign that stressed how painless the independence process would be. The masses must be mobilized but that mobilization must only lead to a quiet shuffling through the polling stations and the marking of an 'X' in the appropriate space. The PQ's policy of *etapisme*, the step by step approach to independence, is a reflection of their perception that the day has long since passed when



"The best laid plans of mice and men . . ." Rene Levesque concedes defeat in the "sovereignty-association" referendum. Maybe next time Rene, or next time . . .

the bourgeoisie could hope to express the repressed longings of the people as a whole.

The evolutionary drift to "independence" can all too easily become a revolutionary call for true self-determination. This is what the PQ feared above all and their entire strategy was geared towards minimizing the revolutionary potential of separation. The PQ gambled that an appeal to national chauvinism would be sufficient to fuel their independence project. It was a gamble they lost.

As Levesque, almost in tears, conceded defeat at the Paul Sauve arena he spoke of "next time" before leading the assembled PQ campaign workers in a pathetic rendition of Quebec's sappy sen-

timental "unofficial" anthem *Gens de Pays*. But despite the pathos of that moment the future of the PQ is far from bleak.

Levesque has declared that there will be no early election call and so Claude Ryan, Liberal leader and champion of the 'No' forces, will be relegated to the sidelines when the promised federal-provincial conference on "renewed federalism" is convened this summer. The PQ has stated that they will bargain in "good faith" with the federal government having put aside "for the moment" their call for sovereignty-association.

Levesque has demanded that all the proceedings of the upcoming conference be conducted in public. See *Quebec* Page 15

Separatist Skirmish Different Drummers

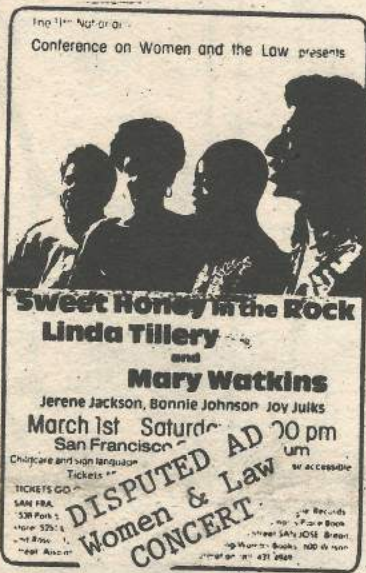
By Frank Stevens

SAN FRANCISCO — A concert featuring black lesbian musicians performing before an audience of 4,000 people turned into an ugly confrontation when 30 to 100 women loudly attacked the presence of a male back-up guitarist.

When Ray Obiedo walked on stage to join Mary Watkins and Linda Tillery, he was greeted with shouts of "get the prick off the stage" and "pricks shouldn't play lesbian music." At this point, Tillery reportedly replied to the critics with the well-known vertical finger and called for support from the audience. Cheers and booing rang through the hall and the protesters began to shower the stage with trash and at least one tomato. Scores of women walked out and, in the lobby of the auditorium, confronted the concert organizers, demanding refunds and, in one case, slapping one of the organizers in the face.

Although the protest did not stop the concert from continuing, it did reveal the depth of several bitter divisions in the women's movement in a very dramatic fashion. Following the concert, many letters were written to *Plexus* (the feminist newspaper in the San Francisco Bay Area) to explain the politics of the protest and the response to that protest.

The musicians, the concert organizers, and many of the women attending thought the protest was clearly racist. Comments ranged from a simple "this wouldn't have



happened at a Holly Near concert" to condemnation as a "fascist tantrum" that sounded like "the call of the Klan and the bloodhounds baying in the distance." The protesters were attacked for refusing to acknowledge the feminist integrity of black lesbian musicians; that is, black women are fully capable of choosing what to play and whom to play with in the total absence of white feminist guidance.

But some women went even further, toward an outright attack on the separatist politics of the protesters: "Separatism is a reactionary and misguided stance which attributes all oppression to biological determinism, that is, men are by nature rotten, uneducable, and violent. Philosophies with bio-determinism at their base weigh old

and heavy in the ears of people of color. Blacks are stupid, Chicanos are lazy, Asians are exotic, etc. Fatalistic separatism which assumes the omnipotence of men and excludes the possibility of class struggle, is not only bankrupt but dangerous — leading to...by example of their behavior, woman-on-woman violence."

Still, no matter how convincing these arguments may be, one cannot simply pass over the hurt and anger of the women who walked out. This is what one woman wrote: "Women's space is small enough. It is precious territory, gained through bloody, arduous, tenacious work over a long period of time. It needs to be guarded and nurtured. To defile that space without prior warning is to perpetrate an act of violence upon one's sisters. Tillery and Watkins have done no less than this. Their irresponsible act of March 1, 1980 remains a raw wound in the breast of the woman's community."

And so it goes. The ideas and attitudes that divide us remain far more powerful than the ideas and attitudes that should unite us. The struggle between those sets of ideas and attitudes will be a protracted one. Which side are you on is going to get harder to decide before it gets easier.

(Author's Postscript: *Plexus*, the Bay Area feminist newspaper, is \$6.00 a year from 545 Athol Avenue, Oakland CA 94606 USA.)

Labour Pains

HARD TIMES FOR UNION BUREAUCRATS?

Double digit inflation is hurting every union member—except the heads of major U.S. unions. The pay of top union officials averaged \$55,000 in 1979. Eleven of 56 big union presidents made it into the \$100,000-plus club.

Topping the list for the fifth straight year in a row is Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons. He got \$156,000 in straight pay and another \$140,000 in personal expenses.

Union members also shelled out \$124,000 to pay lawyers to defend Fitzsimmons from charges by the Teamsters for a Democratic Union that he is corrupt.

The list of well paid bureaucrats also includes the following:

United Auto Workers: Douglas Fraser: \$71,386

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: David Fitzmaurice: \$92,609

Hotel, Restaurant Employees: Edward T. Hanley: \$130,495

United Mine Workers: Sam Church Jr.: \$60,283

Postal Workers: Emmet Andrews: \$59,603

United Rubber Workers: Peter Bommarito: \$49,516

Service Employees: George Hardy: \$95,431

Association of Federal, State, County & Municipal Employees: Jerry Wurf: \$106,824

United Steel Workers: Lloyd McBride: \$92,256

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations: Lane Kirkland: \$97,940

The figures, compiled by *Business Week* magazine, show an inverse relationship between the amount of union democracy and the salary of top officials. The *Business Week* article also states that the salary of AFL-CIO Building Trades Department head Robert Georigne had to be raised 33% last year because Georigne was considering a more lucrative job offer from a big construction company.

Such salary figures only go to show which side of the class line these labor fakery are on.

Detroit Burger King Organizes

It was a small but symbolic victory. For the first time ever, workers at a **Burger King** fastfood chain voted for union representation. The April 3 vote at the Detroit store was 25-23 to be represented by **Detroit Fast-food Workers**, an independent union. The union has another election scheduled in June at a **MacDonalds**.

There are 1.2 million fastfood workers in the U.S., many of them teenagers working part time; and in major urban areas the majority of the workers are black or hispanic attempting to eek out a meager living. High turn over has made organizing very difficult in the past.

Catering to Scabs

For all those harried executives who worry about how to keep management and scabs fed during a strike, fear no more. **Gaper's Caterers of Chicago** has just the thing—a corporate lock-in catering service.

Gaper's "personalized service" provides "attractive meals" for employees working under the most "anxiety-provoking conditions". They'll even bring in beds and recreational equipment.

With ten years experience in the lock-in field, they've got quite an operation going. There's the "readiness phase"—with all systems on alert, personnel on stand-by, and food ordered—then there's "dropping ship" with well stocked refrigerator-freezer trucks.

Westinghouse's Union-Busting plan fails

According to the **United Electrical Workers** at the Hamilton, Canada switchgear division of Westinghouse the company is attempting to bust the local by relocating its operations at three new places. On April 28 the **Ontario Labour Relations Board** convicted Westinghouse of trying to break the U.E. association. Although ordered to compensate the union for organization costs incurred in certifying new Westinghouse operations and to offer jobs to employees of the Hamilton operation the company is appealing the decision in order to evade the ruling.

Out with the Bad Air

Air quality both in offices and mines is being sacrificed to high profit increases both in Toronto, Canada's commercial sector and the **Sifto Salt** mine owned by **Domtar** in Goderich, Canada. This is a deduction from the total variable capital available for investment in living labour. It can be viewed as a deduction from the gross wage bill. Its net effect is to constrain social-labour productivity.

At the salt mine in Goderich underground labourers are subject to blinding headaches due to poor air conditioning. They and surface workers walked off the job in May to protest these deteriorating work conditions in the mines.

Meanwhile, in many of Toronto's clerical employments, inadequate air conditioning has been linked to cheap ventilation systems with bad filters. These operations often contribute to drowsiness and physical illnesses. Adequate filtration systems should become a higher priority in new collective agreements.