

North American ANARCHIST

50¢

The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

Post No Bills!



Protestor Don Stewart tapes a protest poster on a Vancouver hydro pole. Said the cop: "I saw you do that. If you want a test case this is it."

By Lazarus Jones

"Whatever the intent behind the poster by-law, the effect is to discriminate against the city's less affluent community and church groups, artists, and political organizations — anyone, in short, who can't afford a two minute spot on CBC television, a quarter-page ad in a daily newspaper, or a \$2,000 fine."

Linda Hossie, City Hall reporter, Vancouver Sun, June 26, 1980.

Vancouver's new anti-postering by-law, which provides for fines of up to \$2,000 or three months in jail, is about to be tested in the courts. On Tuesday, July 9, 30 protestors led by a man identified as Bob Mutant, crashed into Vancouver's city council chamber and taped a copy of a poster protesting the by-law behind mayor Jack Volrich's podium.

"You are interfering and trampling on the rights — the democratic rights — of people," the mayor honked as the protestors booed and jeered. Volrich beat a hasty retreat to the safety of his office, where he later met with Don Stewart, a spokesperson for the group which represented over 50 theatre, music, women's, artistic, religious and political organizations in Vancouver.

Earlier Stewart had been issued a ticket by Vancouver police for putting up one of the anti by-law posters outside city hall shortly

before the protestors stormed into city council chambers.

The controversial by-law, which the New Democrats (a Canadian social-democratic party) on council helped pass unanimously earlier this year has been attacked from both ends of the political spectrum. Publications as diverse in their politics as *The Vancouver Sun* and the Vancouver based anarchist newsjournal *Open Road* have come out against the by-law.

In an editorial the *Sun* drew parallels between the anti-postering by-law and the crackdown on dissidents in China through the banning of the "democracy wall." As the *Sun* editorialized, "it (the by-law) is a denial of the right to freedom of expression."

Getting busted for street postering has always been an occupational hazard for those of us on the left. But the law in this area, until recently, was rather vague. I myself was busted for postering last year and then released without being charged when the cop couldn't figure out what to charge me with. By-laws like the one enacted in Vancouver represent an attempt to clarify this area of the law and make it harder for those who can't afford access to the bourgeois mass media to communicate their message. Specifically these laws are aimed at the left as was made obvious when the mayor of Winnipeg

See Poster Pg. 3

On The Inside

The Wall Pg. 3

Anarcho-Syndicalism

Pg. 4

Report On Iran Pg. 5

The Shining Pg. 9

Albania Pg. 10

ACF Conference Pg. 13

Anarchismo Pg. 16

Nicaragua: Year One

By Mitchell Miller

On July 19th last year, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) entered Managua after overthrowing the dictatorial regime of Anastasio Somoza.

Supported militarily by the U.S. for the last 47 years, this was one of the most brutal dictatorships in Latin America.

The Sandinista victory came after a long, brave, necessary struggle that cost many lives.

Reconstruction

Today one year later, the character of the FSLN revolution is clear. Following the ideology of Sandinismo, it is a nationalist revolution dominated by the social democratic faction of the FSLN. And it is dedicated to "National Reconstruction".

The Government of Reconstruction, installed by the FSLN, is a broad interclass coalition of bourgeois professionals and intellectuals together with revolutionary workers and peasants. Although the FSLN government has made some fundamental changes to specific parts of the Nicaraguan state apparatus, it has not fundamentally challenged the class basis of the State, nor the concept of the State itself.

Indeed, it is encouraging the private capitalist sector to take a leading role in the "reconstruction".

The FSLN promises the bourgeoisie that it can continue owning its own business as long as it assists the reconstruction.

According to the NEW YORK TIMES (special supplement, International Economic Survey, 2-3-80), which, by the way, is no friend of social change here or abroad—the Reconstruction Government has expropriated "some 240 companies owned by" supporters of Somoza, and "the private sector still accounts for 60% of the gross domestic product and 75% of the manufacturing sector." And "as a result, private enterprise is being preserved..."

The question is, of course, reconstruction for whom? The FSLN (particularly the social democratic Tercerista faction) insist that the workers are as yet insufficiently educated to control their workplaces and to determine the broader direction of the revolution. Accordingly, they say, there must be a first stage of reconstruction combined with workers' education before the Sandinists' victory can become a "socialist revolution".

Necessity

But although social democratic policies direct the Nicaraguan government today, it is by no means the accepted policy among certain sectors of Nicaraguan workers.

Among many workers there is an understanding—though not consciously recognizing this understanding as anarcho-syndicalist, but developing towards it in practice—of the setting up independent working class organizations to defend and fight for the needs of the workers. No government, even one which calls itself "socialist" (which the Nicaraguan government doesn't even do) can "give" the workers socialism.

During the anti-Somoza struggle, a number of workers' organizations arose in the cities and were active in that struggle—CDS (Sandinista De-

fence Committees) and the CST's (Sandinista Unions).

Today these organizations are active in the reconstruction effort. They serve to carry out government policies on the local level, but are not encouraged or allowed to influence these policies. A massive government bureaucracy already separates them from the source of economic management and control.

The attitude of the FSLN government is that independent workers' organizations (other than what already exists—CDS's and CST's) are

See Nicaragua Pg. 3

WHY REGISTER

During the Vietnam War hundreds of thousands of young men didn't notify the government when they turned 18. They simply continued leading their normal lives.

No one was prosecuted for failure to register, only the handful who openly resisted registration.

Why help the government jeopardize your freedom and your life? Why not make them work to find you? Chances are they never will. If they do, you just tell them you forgot, don't read the newspapers, didn't know, etc. At that point you will most likely be registered without penalty. At least you will have gained time to find a deferment, make plans to go underground, etc. At best you may never be bothered by the draft. Non-registration is the poor person's deferment.

If you value your freedom, why register?

THERE IS NO GOOD REASON!

For Starters

WE URGE ALL WHO SEEK
AN AUTHENTIC AND LIBERATED
LIFE TO IGNORE ANYTHING WE
EVER SAID, FOR IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE
ANYONE COULD BE SO IDIOTIC AS WE WERE.



Fresh from the 6th ACF conference (July 3-7) in "the green rolling hills of West Virginia" we're ready to head into our second year of publication. The financial situation is looking up thanks to the help of our readers and the resolve at the Morgantown conference to increase our financial efforts. (See pg. 13 for a report on the conference.)

Now, more than ever, as the latest and most profound Crisis of Capitalism deepens we need to reach out to the disaffected and the discontented. A regularly published, class struggle oriented, Anarchist newspaper will be a vital element of such an outreach. The North American working class is under vicious attack as Capitalism enters a period of historic transition that starkly poses the question — Anarchism or Barbarism? The only choice we have is Revolution or submission to a new and even

more oppressive form of exploitation.

We need to initiate a far-reaching discussion and analysis of what exactly is happening in the world and what, as Anarchists, we can do about it. The various Marxist-Leninist groupings, with 20-20 hindsight, can only look back to the Thirties and trot out the same old shopworn strategies. What is needed is a new approach. One that casts aside the ideological baggage of the 19th Century. Anarchism, especially its North American manifestation, must be re-evaluated and subjected to fearless criticism.

At its 6th conference the **Anarchist Communist Federation** undertook a commitment to such a project. Our goal is an Anarchist Program for the Eighties. Not a rigid, codified document, but an organic synthesis of our insight and experience. A fluid document sub-

ject to the constant revision of practical experience. A basis for theoretical unity and a guide to action.

The first step in such a process is to define what the role of a voluntary revolutionary Anarchist organization should be and to define our relationship to the class struggle. This debate will have profound implications for the ACF and for the North American Anarchist movement generally. We invite your participation. Write to us at:

The North American Anarchist
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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.

LETTERS

SEABROOK

It was good to see Frank Stevens' attempt to critically analyze the failings of the Seabrook occupation efforts (NAA 4), an analysis which must be made. However, I think Frank is headed in the wrong direction when he locates the problem in the targeting of the nuclear plants themselves, suggesting instead corporate and government offices in the cities. Further this faulty analysis seems to come from a misunderstanding of direct action itself.

Frank's strategy is based on his premise that "government and utility companies can be made to change their decisions". Direct action, on the other hand, is an attempt to bypass and hence remove the decision-making power of these authorities by making the decision ourselves. If we want a plant closed, we won't pressure them, we'll close it. This difference is largely what sends direct actionists to nuclear sites rather than office buildings.

Frank notes that "nuclear plants are the main danger of nuclear power" (certainly one of the main dangers). When the residents of the Wyhl, Germany area along with thousands of young people from Germany, France and Switzerland occupied the nuclear site there in 1975, they followed a straightforward logic. The plant was not the symbol of the danger, the plant was the danger: the plant had to be forcibly blocked. (And it was.) The fence around the site was torn down and thousands of police were forced off by a crowd which vastly outnumbered them. The concrete victory at Wyhl, not the symbolism of liberal pacifism, is what sparked the 'strategy' of occupying plant sites.

When the pacifists/liberals moved on Seabrook, they did not pervert the target, they perverted the tactic—occupation attempts were turned into symbolic sit-ins, demonstrations.

Demonstrations demonstrate an opposition, communicate a message of the need for change. Direct actions make the change. Frank's comment "It's not real if it isn't on television", may apply to a demonstration but successful direct action is real whether it's reported or not. To suggest that direct action requires media coverage to be effective is to misinterpret direct action. In any case, the two recent Seabrook occupation attempts got much more press coverage than, for example, the April 26 anti-nuclear march in Washington D.C.—contradicting Frank's thesis that reporters will only go to cover what happens in cities.

Frank suggests that no one has questioned focusing the struggle on the plants themselves. This is not true. The Oct. 29 ('79) anti-nuclear sit-ins at Wall St. is one example of an urban corporate target. However, the experience there also contradicts the theory that low numbers are the result of rural targets. Only 2-3,000 showed up in the middle of New York City (after extensive publicity), a number no higher than at the Seabrook actions. On the other hand, in Europe 28,000 showed up at the rural Wyhl site, 60,000 attempted to occupy the Malville plant in the French countryside, and so on.

No, the problem is not targeting the plants, with their rural locations, as the Europeans have shown. And neither is the solution

simply picking metropolitan targets, as Wall St. revealed.

Two factors making the European actions much larger and more forceful than ours are the active and militant involvement of the local residents, and the existence and participation of a sizeable revolutionary left, both factors of consciousness. The strategy of plant occupations is floundering here largely because American consciousness is not radical enough, desperate enough, and hopeful enough to engage in large-scale semi-insurrectionary acts at this time. That consciousness is not going to be moved by the strategy changes of several thousand activists. We probably won't see that movement in the U.S. until events take us deeper into a full-scale crisis.

In the meantime we'll have to work with smaller numbers of conscious activists, and help gradually educate others. To keep direct action vigorous until events put more people into motion, we're going to have to choose smaller targets, select vulnerable times, use surprise. In situations where we are clearly too weak to make the changes ourselves we may want to put direct action aside for a time, using pressure tactics and demonstrations to get others to make changes on our behalf. (In this context we might find ourselves at corporate or government offices.) But we shouldn't confuse this with direct action, and we'll have to remain ready to take direct action as soon as the opportunity arises.

There's a lot more to be said about this, and I hope the discussion Frank has opened can be continued in this journal.
Rudy Perkins
Somerville, Mass.

FAMILY FEUD

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is an up to date statement on the "Anarchismo" arrests

ACF Declaration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adopted July, 1980,

at the Sixth Conference of the

Anarchist Communist Federation of North America

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

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS GROUP: POB 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113, USA. *External Correspondence Group.*

NO LIMITS: POB 2605, Madison, WI 53701, USA.

CHICAGO RED AND BLACK: POB 5507, Chicago, IL 60680, USA.

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For more information on the Anarchist Communist Federation and its activities, please contact our External Correspondence Group: **Libertarian Workers Group**, POB 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113, USA, or the local group nearest you.

which I hope is of some use. Our congratulations on the continuing high standard of the paper.

We'd like to place an order for a regular bundle of a dozen for the shop. Our understanding is that the Anarchist Communist Association (ACA) in this country are acting as distributors—because of a recent dispute our understanding is that they will not supply us. A public debate of the issue at the recent Oxford Conference failed to settle the dispute—pending further attempts to do so we'd be grateful if you could supply us direct. If not could you let us know.

Rising Free

London, England.

A PLEA

Comrades:

A great many injustices occur in Canada without publicity. Fortunately there are forums like NAA to bring them out. I am writing to ask for the NAA and its readers to support me in a battle against one such injustice.

On July 4, 1980, I was fired from a summer job I held with the Re-

gional Centre for Handicapped Children of the Kingston General Hospital. The reason given verbally on the date, and stressed again in the performance appraisal made by my supervisor, was that my *political, social and personal values* were not what they wanted in a role model for handicapped children.

I am in the process of fighting my firing as being an unjust dismissal. First, a person has the right to hold and express beliefs even if they are not those shared by the powers-that-be. Secondly, I was fired before the actual work with handicapped teenagers was to begin so that they had no opportunity to judge me as a role model.

I have spent the last six summers working with children in summer camps, in hospitals and with children's theatre companies. I have been accepted for teacher's college in the fall. Surely, if I was a threat to the minds and bodies of young people, it would have been apparent in the past. Indeed, having served as a counsellor in religious summer

See More Letters Pg. 14

Thick As A Brick

By Frank Stevens

*We don't need no education
We don't need no thought control
No dark sarcasm in the classroom
Teacher, leave us kids alone*

*All in all, you're just another
brick in the wall.*

*All in all, you're just another
brick in the wall.*

Pink Floyd, The Wall

So much pompous jabber was written during the late 1960's about revolutionary culture and revolutionary music that, by now, most half-way sensible people refuse to comment on the politics of culture at all.

I felt that way myself until, a few weeks ago, I was talking to a friend who teaches 4th grade in a San Francisco Public School. She complained that the kids in her class were singing "that awful song." What song was she talking about? "You know, the one about teachers being bricks in the wall."

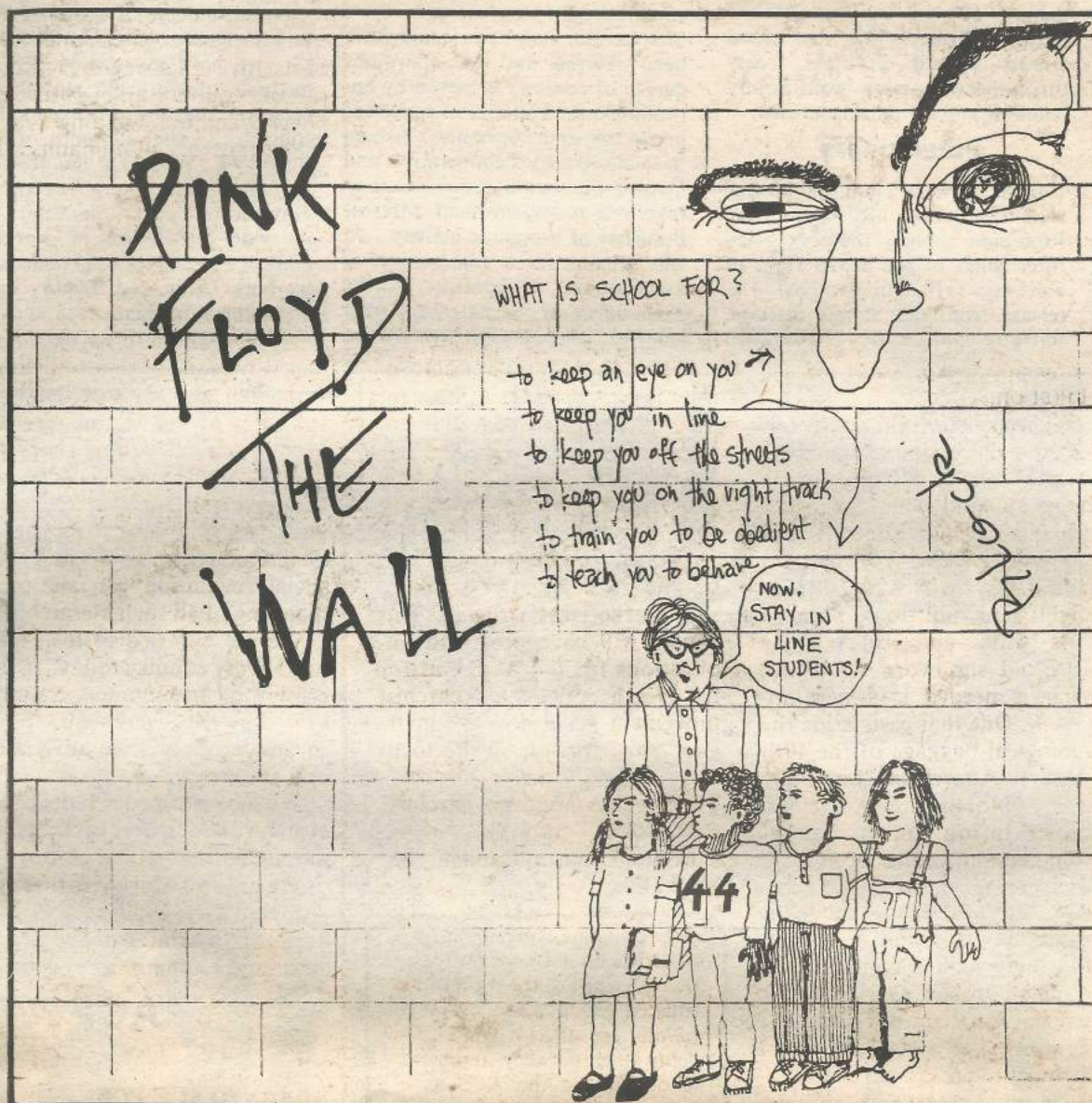
A few days later I learned that this was very far from being an isolated incident. **Another Brick in the Wall**, written by Roger Waters and performed by Pink Floyd is apparently being sung in classrooms and hallways throughout the U.S. Teacher's associations and school boards have put pressure on local radio stations to stop playing the record with some success. But with close to 6,000,000 copies sold, no one seems to have trouble learning the song if they want to.

In one country, the Union of South Africa, the song became an anthem of the student protest movement. Last May it became a crime in South Africa to play the song, sell the record or be caught owning a copy.

Why such an uproar over what appears to be a rather trivial piece of music? South Africa is an open tyranny, but why would kids in the U.S. take it so seriously? There've been anti-school songs before—why now the effort to suppress these sentiments?

I think there are many reasons for this, all of which have to do with the social role of compulsory education in advanced capitalist countries. The purpose of compulsory education is not to teach but to indoctrinate, and the subject is not this or that field of knowledge but discipline. We go to school to learn to do what we're told and not ask questions.

As long as it was possible to confuse people by blurring the distinction between knowledge and institutionalized education, the hostility that many students feel towards



school could be passed off as laziness or stupidity. Can it be that Pink Floyd recorded their song at a moment in history when the old illusions about the nature of education are breaking down?

Sex and Drugs

According to a study by a Rutgers University sociologist, American high school students view their lives as empty and meaningless, get their pleasure from sex and drugs, and consider school to be "unpaid labor". When a school guidance counselor was asked to compare today's students to those of the 1950's and '60's, he replied, "Kids hate school much more now than they did then. And I mean the word *hate* and underline it."

Through television and movies, the child that enters school today knows more than any child in history. Television in particular is almost perfectly suited for the 8 to 12 year age bracket.

Whatever the kid's tastes in TV might be, he/she will see material that interests them (they won't watch what they find boring). This material is written by highly-paid professionals and performed by people who've spent many years perfecting their skills. Programs are seen at the kid's convenience. The "teacher" does not grow annoyed if you talk with a friend, get up to get something to eat or go to the bathroom, or get bored and change channels.

Compare this to the classroom. You must be there, you must sit still and be quiet, you must pay attention to the teacher. The material is poorly written and presented, at least by contrast to television. And this goes on not for 30 minutes or an hour, but for five or six hours a day, five days a week.

But, teachers will object, you learn more in the classroom. That may still be true but won't be much longer. Small computers that attach to a TV are already available that

will teach a whole range of subjects. These computers are declining in price and becoming more available with every passing year. Compare this to the average teacher who regards his/her job as too much work and too little pay; who regards the kids in their classroom with about as much feeling as an assembly-line worker regards the next clunker coming down the line. The rare teacher with real teaching skills and a genuine affection for kids will still have plenty of pupils; the time-servers will have to find another line of work.

Time servers

Unless the time-servers can make people use their dubious products whether they will or not. The educational bureaucracy has had this in mind from its beginnings and shows no signs of remorse. In the fall of 1979, some 4,000,000 kids began their final year in high school (according to the new U.S. Dept. of Education). But only 3,000,000 completed the year to graduate.

There is strangely little publicity surrounding this astounding failure.

Extortion

But even this probably understates the real magnitude of the problem. How many "students" are still carried on the high school rolls who haven't shown up in months? Or who show up only to peddle drugs, run extortion rackets, or engage in violent crimes against other students? In a violent country like ours, boredom and frustration breed crime and violence. And crime and violence in the school system grows daily. Short of filling every campus with armed guards, what can the authorities do? (I'm not saying they wouldn't like to do that nor that they haven't taken some steps in that direction.)

In Los Angeles, where it is now legal to "spank" kids, a suit has been filed to secure a court order making it mandatory for school officials to provide a "safe environment". They're not talking about pollution; they're talking about being safe from physical violence. Insofar as the argument runs, "if the government requires people to attend school, then the government is obligated to make them safe to attend," one can only assume that the suit will parallel the many suits filed in recent years to make prisons safe for inmates. It may be that the safest thing to do is quit!

I have known a number of school teachers over the years, including some who were active in union organizing drives and strikes. I've repeatedly asked them point blank why they didn't make any effort to forge an alliance with their students, why they didn't make demands that the students would support. Even when large numbers of students reached out to teachers during their strikes, there was still no response from the teachers. Can it be that teachers as a whole have swallowed their own bromides? Can it be they really think kids have "learning disabilities", that kids just need a dose of the right drug or a kick in the ass? Can it be that teachers have trapped themselves in a prison-guard mentality to the point where there is no escape? To the point where teachers really are just another brick in the wall?

Finally, can it be that what makes a song revolutionary is not the politics of the writers or performers, not the explicit intention to write a revolutionary song, but rather the singing of a social truth at a time when people are ready to hear it?

Nicaragua

Continued from Pg. 1

unnecessary and may even obstruct the reconstruction effort.

Thus, in February of this year, Moses Hassan, an FSLN member of the ruling junta, declared that the "ultra-left" not the bourgeoisie, "poses the main threat to the Revolution." The FSLN, once it achieved power, declared itself the "workers' revolutionary party" in an attempt to stifle independent organization from below; be it political organizations or unions.

Socialism

If socialism is to come to Nicaragua with the FSLN in power, it is clear that it will be socialism from above and not from below. And that, as we have seen in Cuba and elsewhere is not socialism (anarchists believe in free socialism, that is the anti-State and anti-bureaucratic school of socialism).

So what went wrong in Nicaragua? The answer is, nothing.

The present strategy was hatched well before the defeat of Somoza. The Tercerista faction of the FSLN, a mixed but essentially social democratic faction who are strongly influenced by Castro's Cuba, were the militarily dominant faction in the final offensive against Somoza. It is their strategy that dominates today.

Consistent with this strategy, the Government of Reconstruction is courting and in some cases have received aid from the European and other social democracies, as well as from their previous oppressor, the U.S. If socialism were really part of their vision for Nicaragua's future, their "internationalism" might have also taken on a different focus—alliance with the brewing revolutions in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.

Despite the defeats, the struggle of a socialism from below continues in Nicaragua, but it is not being led by the FSLN. Already there is rising discontent among some sections of the working class over food and resource distribution, jobs, back pay, and there have been numerous small but angry workers' demonstrations.

The hope for free socialism in Nicaragua depends primarily upon the small scattered movements being able to coalesce into a wider independent workers' organization that has sufficient mass membership and support to challenge the reformist majority within the FSLN. Only the organization of the working class in pursuit of its own interests can lead to their own freedom and socialism from below; that is free socialism.

Poster

Continued from Pg. 1

(capital city of the Canadian province of Manitoba) complained that the proliferation of political posters was giving the city the air of a "banana republic." The mayor singled out the "circled 'A' symbol" as the most prevalent example and ventured the opinion that it "referred to anarchy or something or that sort."

Trivial as all of this may seem there are serious issues involved here. As we enter a period of political instability the ruling classes of the world will increasingly seek to limit the public's exposure to radical material. We'll be following this case with interest and reporting on the outcome in a future issue of the NAA.

Contacts

Interested in ACF? Members of prospective ACF collectives in these places would really like to get to know you. Contact:

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Bayou La Rose, 3525 Gravier St., New Orleans, Louisiana 70119

ACF, P.O. Box 40513, Portland, Oregon 97240

ACF c/o P.O. Box 1415, Succ. H, Montréal, Québec H3C 2W4

On Anarcho-Syndicalism

By Sam Dolgoff

The idea of self-management of industry by the workers themselves in a stateless society rests on very solid foundation. In various forms (guilds, free societies, free communes, revolutionary unions, cooperatives, collectives and many volunteer associations) this tendency traces back to Robert Owen, the communes of the French Revolution, the Commune of Paris 1871, and particularly *The International Workingmen's Association* (The "International", founded 1864).

Kropotkin traced the libertarian direction of social development, bringing out that these developments took on anarchistic forms of organization i.e. individual and collective freedom, federalism (coordination through free agreement) decentralization. In short, self-management springs from the ineluctable interdependence and the social nature of Man.

As against the State, capitalism, centralization, dictatorship, society is a vast, interwoven network of cooperative labor, and the very existence of humanity depends upon this instinctive inner cohesion. This has never been questioned by anyone. What is needed is emancipation from authoritarian institutions OVER society and authoritarianism WITHIN the organizations themselves.

Thus conceived, anarchist organizational forms were not artificially imposed by some inflexible authority but developed out of the daily lives and struggles of the downtrodden through the ages.

Application

The application of these principles, as applied to the emergence of the modern labor movement, known today as "Anarcho-syndicalism", were worked out by Bakunin and the libertarian pioneers of the *International*. In *Modern Science and Anarchism*, Kropotkin, who considered himself a disciple of Bakunin, wrote that together with the pioneers of the *International*, "...Bakunin, in a series of brilliant pamphlets worked out the fundamental principles of modern anarchism..."

Workers' self-management of industry and anarcho-syndicalism are IDENTICAL. Anarcho-syndicalism IS self-management. ...But what is the natural organization of the masses? It is based upon their different occupations, their daily life, their various kinds of work, their trade organizations. The organization of the trade federations. Their federation in the *International* and representation in the Chambers of Labor, not only create a great academy, in which the workers of the *International*, combining theory and practice, can and must study economic science. They also bear in themselves the living seeds of the new social order. They are creating not only the ideas but the facts the future itself...(Protestation of the Alliance)".

The resolution of the Basle Congress of the *International* declared that in a system of worker's self-management:

"...the councils of the trade and industrial associations will take the place of the present governments. And this representation of labor, will do away, once and forever with the governments of the past..."

The anarchist dictum that power in society must circulate from the bottom up, from the periphery to the center should be reformulated as follows: Power does not flow from the bottom up, or the top down, for the simple reason that

there IS NO top and there IS NO bottom. Power, like the blood stream should circulate freely throughout society continually renewing and revitalizing its cells.

Forerunners

Oscar Anweiler, in his pioneering work *The Soviets*, lists Bakunin and Proudhon among the theoretical forerunners of the Soviet form of workers self-management, i.e. release from the State's tutelage, self-government by cooperative

cho-syndicalist alternative:

"... Certain industries could have been revived and an enormous degree of recovery achieved by appealing to the initiative of groups of producers and consumers, freeing the state-strangled cooperatives and inviting the various associations to take over management of different branches of economic activity ... I was arguing for a communism of associations, in contrast to the communism of the state...the total plan, not dictated on high by the

Lenin told the *Congress of Factory Councils* (June 27, 1918) that "... we have abandoned the old methods of worker's control and preserved only the principle of state control..." The attempts of the Bolshevik *Worker's Opposition* faction to alter the policy of the communist party in favor of allowing a measure of worker's control of industry was condemned by both Lenin and Trotsky (who urged the militarization of labor) as a "syndicalist deviation." The

any basic change—must begin with the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist example ... in Spain forty years before the civil war and revolution, anarchist clubs and unions debated the kind of society they sought to build ... they asked, and began to answer, questions of how a producer-controlled economy might work, how they could stimulate education, how national planning and coordination could be accomplished democratically..."

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslavian experiments (which have been variously called "workers control", "self-management", "co-management", "collective", "communes", etc.) have been hailed as a radical, even libertarian departure from soviet-style industrial co-management. Yugoslavian Communists say that these measures are in line with Marx's and Engels' prediction that the state will "wither away."

In their acrimonious factional disputes, the Russians have accused their Yugoslavian comrades of flirting with the "... old discredited utopian visions of Proudhon, Bakunin, and the anarcho-syndicalists ..." allegedly imported by the members of the Yugoslavian Brigade who fought in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939); thus implying a connection with Spanish anarchism. But upon closer examination, the Yugoslavian system of "workers' Control" turns out to be a brazen fraud, differing in no essential respect from the Russian totalitarian pattern. In 1965, Daniel Guérin (*Anarchism*)—a close student of the subject, sums up the facts:

"... Both in Yugoslavia and in Algeria ... self-management is coming into being in the framework of a dictatorial, military, police state whose skeleton is formed by a single party ... a small minority ... the real managers of the enterprises...perpetuate themselves in dictatorial positions, cutting themselves off from the rank-and-file workers, whom they treat with arrogance and contempt ... The party cells in most enterprises falsify elections...pressure workers' councils to ratify decisions taken in advance, and manipulate the national congresses of the workers..."

Since the 1950s when "workers' control" was first decreed, the situation remains fundamentally unchanged. Is it at all likely that a "Marxist-Leninist" totalitarian regime, where the President, Tito, was "elected" for life; where even leaders like Milovan Djilas, are jailed for years for exposing the "self-management" fraud; where in 1975, eight professors were discharged from the university for daring to criticize the system; Is it at all likely that the totalitarian rulers would allow the workers to take over and manage the economy?

Like the communist Djilas (*The New Class*), the Yugoslavian anarchist, Slobodin Drukulic, a very keen and knowledgeable observer, concludes that the Communist Party elite in league with the bureaucracy and the privileged technicians and scientists constitute the economic-political privileged ruling class. But the workers, notwithstanding sanctimonious phraseology, are actually an economically and politically exploited class.

The 1960's

The 1960s witnessed the growth of a tremendous movement for workers' control of industry. The reformist *News Bulletin of the In-Ssee Syndicalism* Pg. 13



producer groups ... autonomy of self-regulating communes:

"...the inherent quality of soviets is striving toward the most direct, far-reaching and unrestricted participation of the individual in public life. When applied to the collective, the soviet becomes the idea of self-government by the masses, combined with the will to revolutionary transformation ... the council idea becomes effective wherever the masses wished to overcome a feudal or centralized power ... councils took on an inherently revolutionary direction ... Proudhon's and Bakunin's views are closely associated with these ideas ..."

Historians, concerned above all with the Marxist-Leninist character of the Russian Revolution ignore or underestimate its anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies. As far back as 1907, Lenin in a draft resolution to the fifth *Bolshevik Party Congress* initiated discussion on "...The unaffiliated workers organizations in Relation to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Tendencies Among the Proletariat..."

Anna Pankratava, a Bolshevik historian deplores:

"...in the early days of the October Revolution, anarchist tendencies were easily and successfully manifested ... in the first period of chaotic and primitive socialization ... the factory councils frequently took over management of factories whose owners had been eliminated or fled..."

At the Third Congress of Soviets (early 1918) Lenin also deplored:

"...Anarchist tendencies have now taken on living form (describing the factories as) self-governing communes of producers and consumers..."

The Bolshevik, Victor Serge, an ex-anarchist who had not entirely forgotten his old ideas (to be sure unintentionally) endorsed the anar-

cho-syndicalist alternative:

"... The period from February to October 1917, was in its sweep and scope a most resplendent one for syndicalist and anarchist propaganda and action (The growth was possible because the Revolution took a spontaneous anarchistic direction)...the land to the peasants! The factories to the workers! All power to the Soviets!"

Maximoff documents the growth of the anarcho-syndicalist, self-management movement: "... Before the All-Russian Trade Union Convention, the anarcho-syndicalists succeeded in organizing on the platform of the IWW, between twenty and thirty thousand miners of the DeBaltsev District of the Don Basin ... Throughout the Novoyrossisk Province, the labor movement was adopting the anarcho-syndicalist platform ..."

"... anarcho-syndicalist periodicals in Moscow, Petrograd and twenty main cities were widely circulated and avidly read by the workers ... in Petrograd the journal *Golos Truda* and *Burevestnik* each reached a circulation of 25,000 ... in Moscow the daily *Anarchia*'s circulation was 25,000"

The Russian people fought to defend the creative forms of social life: their unions, soviets, factory committees, worker's councils, and other self-management, grass-roots organizations. Exhausted by years of war and privation, they were not able to withstand the onslaughts of the ruthless well-organized Communist Party dictatorship. Heroic attempts (peasant uprisings, strikes, passive resistance culminating in the Kronstadt Rebellion of 1921) to save the revolution from its usurpers were crushed.

dissidents bowed to party discipline, gave up their opposition. To demonstrate their loyalty they cravenly joined in the massacre of the Kronstadt revolutionary sailors, and the suppression of the rebellion.

The crushing of the Russian Revolution by the totalitarian "Marxist-Leninists" is a great historic calamity whose disastrous repercussions it is impossible to assess.

Spain 1936

The workers' self-management principles formulated by Bukinin and the pioneers of the *International*, reached their clearest and most successful expression during the great Spanish civil war and revolution of 1936-1939. The Spanish Revolution marks a turning point in revolutionary history.

Andres Nin, one of the founders of the dissident *Party of Workers' Unity (POUM)*, (murdered by the Stalinists in 1937) conceded that the "... Spanish Revolution was a proletarian revolution, more profound even, than the Russian Revolution itself" In spite of the most formidable internal opposition of the loyalist counter-revolutionists behind the lines, and the Spanish fascist, Italian and German fascist armies on the front lines, the workers, nevertheless, successfully reorganized the economic and social life of eight to ten million people in the republican zone in accordance with anarcho-syndicalist principles.

The monumental constructive achievements in the rural collectives and urban industry have yet to be adequately evaluated. John Case, of the *Canadian Institute for Workers' Control* believes that: "... a serious discussion of the workers' control alternative to authoritarianism—if we are to have

Inside Iran

By Ali

While western governments flap around stirring up apocalyptic scares about the final outcome of events in Iran, the Tehran government continues its attempts to consolidate its power. Like the establishment of any Glorious Revolution, it is taking full advantage of its control of the media, but the people at the sharp end aren't gullible. There's little point in detailed analysis of international "diplomacy", the various interests are obvious enough. The internal situation is more interesting.

The mood in Tehran, if such a generalisation has any meaning, is of tiredness and increasing irritation. The people made a revolution, by strikes, sabotage and massed protest in the face of one of the greatest concentrations of military power in the world. They had no clear idea of what they wanted, beyond vague ideas of freedom and equality. Because of their cultural traditions, for many, these aspirations were expressed in Islamic terms. And they made the same tragic mistake that so many other people have made so many times before. They channeled their hopes through leaders. The symbol of it all became the severe, unbending image of Khomeini. Now they have the full benefit of that severity and rigidity.

The economy is generally in a mess. There are widespread shortages of even essentials like bread. The government keeps saying that they are going to do something about it and regulate prices but it seems to make little difference. Consumer goods are in increasingly short supply and prices are rising fast. Unemployment is already high and rising. People are afraid to take their holidays in case the job has disappeared when they get back. Many supplement their income by small scale trading, cigarettes, newspapers, posters, gadgets, anything small and saleable, hawked from car to car at traffic lights or from makeshift stalls at the roadside. (The government is moving to ban these in response to pressure from 'legitimate' shopkeepers). The basis of economic activity is still oil, but production of this is down. Much of the extraction machinery is virtually unusable after its long idleness and the rest is only kept going by cannibalism.

Music Banned

The social atmosphere is also depressing. Music is banned from the radio, the TV is full of boring propaganda and speeches. Cabaret performances are banned ('corrupt on earth' is the blanket phrase). Alcohol is prohibited, but fairly easy to find. Some of the home-brewed vodka is pretty fearsome, but there's even smuggled whisky, at a price. There is even 'Islamic Beer'. (Without alcohol, of course, awful stuff). Opium addiction is becoming a major problem. All the self-appointed moralists are having a field day.

The position of women is deteriorating. Apologists for the new system make great play with a couple of supposed statements by the Prophet giving them equal or superior status to men. These are contrasted with dreadful comments by sexist christians, hindus or whatever, to demonstrate the superiority of Islam. It is true that many of the worst customs were added later, veils and so on. but it is precisely this later version of Islam that these people are pushing. Many women are convinced that the revolution is giving them freedom. Members of the Mojahedin scuttle about in their chadors like vengeful Daleks, waving their machine guns and chanting anti-

imperialist slogans. Meanwhile the Imam draws up lists of rules about when they are unclean. And the laws are steadily altered to discriminate against them in divorce, in property, etc. It is widely believed that they will soon not be allowed to hold jobs.

The official presentation is all about the Glorious Islamic Revolution and how many countries support it, somewhat enviously, apparently. Meanwhile the nasty imperialists get on with their plotting. Most of the reported speeches are from members of the government. The Imam (never so trivial as 'ayatollah') mostly maintains a gnomish silence, but there's always the

about Khomeini.

In the actual power stakes, there are a number of groups manoeuvring. At the moment its shared between the mosque and secular positions. They don't really get on but aren't prepared to openly split at the moment. Official policy is an Islamicised mixed economy. What will happen when Khomeini dies is uncertain. There are a number of other ayatollahs hovering around, ready to receive the mantle. Montessori is official successor but Beheshti, secretary of the Revolutionary Council, is very powerful. He has control of the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards. Actually a lot of eighteen year olds with

tual membership is uncertain but they are estimated to have about half a million supporters overall. (All these opposition groups are stronger in Tehran and in the north, by the Caspian. The south is Phalangist, particularly in Esfahan). Their leader, Rajavi, stood in the presidential election and did as well as any other loser (after all there weren't many votes to go round with Bani Sadr's convincing win). They are semi-respectable, playing up the 'Islamic' and are therefore reluctant to cross the establishment on anything big. They certainly will not criticize Khomeini. A bit more vocal are the Fedayin, who are definitely not res-

some sections of them. I can't see it myself. There is also a ragbag of assorted marxist, leninist and maoist (pro-Albania) grouplets. (Oh, that familiar range of Lenin's pamphlets, now street displayed in yet another language). Left groups have a strong presence in the universities. There are periodic outbreaks of fighting with religionists. This is currently being used as an excuse to close the universities.

And, of course, there are a few anarchists. Operating quietly.

However, the strongest, and most hopeful opposition to the regime comes from the regions, and the most determined of these is Kurdistan. The fighting isn't on the scale that it was last year. There's steady skirmishing and sniping. It's not reported much in the media. That is obsessed with jingoism about America and Iraq. According to the official build-up there's about to be a full scale war. Large numbers of people of Iraqi descent have been dumped near the border and told to get out. There's been a bit more than usual sniping. Hardly enough to rate the hysteria. However it does mean a large build-up of troops and Pasdaran in the east. Conveniently close to Kurdistan.

Kurdistan

There are two main areas in Iranian Kurdistan. The north, around Mahabad, is dominated by the Kurdish Democratic Party and religious leaders like Hosseini. But the south, around Sanandaj, is another thing. This is a large town, population about 250,000. The people have been organizing around collectives. Each district has a council. This is in contrast to, say Tehran, where local organization, even of the imposed 'local government' type is conspicuously missing, the roads are falling apart. In Sanandaj much of the emphasis is, necessarily, military. There are armed collective militias, known as 'benkehs'. The people don't know anything of the Grand Theory of Collectives, they recognize the similarities immediately when they are introduced to it. The system isn't total, the fighting takes so much attention. It doesn't extend much into the surrounding countryside. Food supplies are obtained on the open market and are subject to government harassment.

The Tehran government recognizes that local autonomy of this type must be crushed, if they are to hold their power. They are prepared to use outright repression to do it. They have their own Judge Jeffries figure, in Khalkali, a name now used to frighten children. But, it is probably in Kurdistan that the future for freedom in Iran lies. If it is crushed and the preparations are being made, then there is little chance for the weaker progressives. The government seems to have completely ruled out the possibility of a Federation. But, while the Kurds (and the Baluchi and all the rest) keep fighting, then the Iranian Revolution is not over.

Editors Note: This article originally appeared in Vol. 41, No. 8 of the London, England, anarchist fortnightly Freedom.



MAYDAY POSTER from TEHRAN LIBERATION GROUP "THE FREEING OF THE WORKERS IS THE TASK...."

Collected Wisdom to make long quotations from. Every now and again Bani Sadr, or whoever, is summoned to the Presence and Pronouncement is made. All this is reported at length. The rest of the TV seems to be long programmes about conditions in the villages and interviews with dedicated Islamic relief workers. Oddly enough, on the night of the anniversary of the revolution (April 2), they showed Fahrenheit 451. I've still not worked out what they intended by that. More conventionally, the next day had The Ten Commandments. Everybody knew the plot, after all we've all read the book, and were rooting for good old Moses. Then, half an hour later, moaning

machine guns). A vicious bastard, he is one of the main candidates as CIA plant, according to accepted rumour. Another is Yazdi, who has recently resurfaced and taken to making statements. Habbibi, who came third in the presidential elections, was named as such a couple of years ago. Bani Sadr is out in front of all this. He is probably the craftiest of the lot. He cultivates a 'man of the people' image, never wears a tie.

"Islamic Marxists"

The opposition, except for the ethnic minorities, has grown out of the old underground groups. The most influential is the Mojahedin, the "Islamic Marxists". Their ac-

ceptable. One of the governments priorities is to get them disarmed. They are prepared to set up street exhibitions, showing repression in Kurdistan. However, they are playing down the militant stance in order not to provoke a clampdown and not to frighten people.

In contrast, Tudeh, the 'straight' communist party is playing it up, to try to get some attention at all. At the moment, they are still supporting the Imam, and receive utter contempt in return. They are about to ditch their General Secretary, so that they can blame him for all the hypocrisy, 'U' turns and inaction of the last forty years. There are rumours of some sort of alliance between these groups, or at least



Anarchist Feminist Notes

SOVIET FEMINIST ATTACKED

Titiana Mamonova, a Leningrad feminist and one of the founders of the underground journal **Women and Russia**, has been threatened with criminal prosecution and loss of her 4-year-old child unless she agrees to leave Russia immediately.

The KGB police reportedly told Titiana and other feminists that they would be charged with "parasitism" and "publishing an ideological and tendentious magazine." The women so far have defied the Russian Government, calling the Soviet Union a thoroughly male-dominated society.

In addition, Titiana's husband has been threatened with military service (probably in Afghanistan).

The various Leninist parties in North America babble a good deal about their support for the women's movement. After they get in power, their attitude is somewhat different.

Unemployment Insurance for Women

The Canadian government took a giant leap backwards when it introduced legislation last year denying unemployment insurance to workers whose 'family income' was too high, even though these workers paid into the plan. This affected mostly women who lost benefits because their fathers or husbands were still employed. They were termed 'secondary workers' and the male dominated government is obviously sold on the idea that these women can still enjoy their 'high standard of living' without their jobs even when most women suffer some financial setback with the loss of a job. This legislation is also designed to put women back under men's control by forcing them to be economically dependent upon their husbands and fathers.

This year, the government took two further steps backwards by trying to introduce legislation to deny unemployment insurance to those who quit their jobs without 'just cause' and to part-time workers, both of whom pay into the plan. A woman who quits because of sexual harassment from a supervisor would not be able to collect without proof that she had been harassed. 'Just cause' for a firing can be a vocal protest against intolerable working conditions. This legislation can have the effect of keeping women employed in substandard working conditions because of economic necessity.

More than 75% of all part-time workers are women and many of these jobs extend over a period of many years. To suggest that part-time workers should not be included in the unemployment insurance program is to deny them access to liberties other workers enjoy and benefits which they pay for by their contribution. This further ensures that three out of four women in Canada will at some point in their lives live under the poverty level.

Women's groups are actively fighting the government for attacking their hard won economic rights. It is by uniting to fight the state which tries to keep them down that women can gain real freedom from oppression.

'Clean-Up' for Pope's Visit

To protect his holiness' eyes from 'sin and depradation', the Brazilian police arrested more than 1,000 women for prostitution just before the pope's visit to that country. The women were raped, beaten, bruised and crowded into tiny cells for days without food, water or use of a toilet. The Catholic church, which some people feel is at its most radical and leftist thinking in South and Latin America fully supported this abuse of human rights. These actions are not surprising in a country where most prostitutes are forced to enter that profession because of economic and social conditions fostered by the present authoritarian regime. Members of **Coyote** (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics), which advocates decriminalization of prostitution around the world have extended a helping hand to these third world women by offering money and personal assistance as well as counselling for them. **COYOTE** is to commended and generously supported by us for its efforts.

Kamalla Miller

By Brian Amesley

On June 12, Kamalla Miller was convicted of child theft and burglary stemming from the illegal retrieval of her daughter Ishka from the home of her parents last year. (See NAA5.) Upon learning this both Kamalla and her supporters anxiously awaited July 10 when sentence would be passed upon her.

During that time period the **Kamalla Support Network** focused its activity upon persuading the presiding judge and the probationary officer, who would report to him on the case background, to act with leniency. An urgent appeal was mailed out to Kamalla's supporters urging them to send messages to these two men

who held her fate in their hands.

It seems clear they were effective. The sentence passed was five years probation. A member of the **Kamalla Support Network** who spoke to her shortly after the decision said Kamalla was very happy not to be facing prison.

Significantly, the judge reportedly stated he believed the judicial system had mistreated her. He also said Kamalla's parents should never have been granted custody of Ishka. This begs the question of why didn't he give her a suspended sentence?

This outcome cannot be viewed as a decisive victory by any means.

See **Kamalla** Pg. 12

Polish Meat Wars

By Joey Stalin

Two series of militant strikes have just rocked Poland. The first began in response to unannounced increases in meat prices at the beginning of July as workers staged wildcat job actions in a number of industrial centres across the country.

While precise details of these strike actions are scant at the moment it does seem clear that they were quite spontaneous. One reported example which indicates this was in the southern part of the country at an aircraft plant. There workers staged a sit-in to back up demands for wage increases to compensate for the inflating of meat prices.

Significantly, other reports of struggles by shipyard workers tend to indicate actions in Gdansk where dockworkers have developed a militant tradition of struggle over the last decade. The Gdansk shipyards were a centre of the 1970-71 revolt where some 200 workers died during the riots and strikes which occurred then. Strikes occurred there during the June 1976 revolt as well and in the last couple of years the city has become a stronghold of the autonomous workers' organizations which have been developing.

Although Polish authorities understandably tried to deny the existence of these strikes their own follow-up actions indicate otherwise. Thus, within a couple of days after the strikes began announcements of 10% wage increases followed. However, it is still unclear who they will apply to.

Less than two weeks later more strikes broke out in Eastern Poland near the Soviet border. Unlike the others these were not simply confined to factories. Centred in the city of Lublin the actions began with locomotive engineers going on strike. Quickly backed by other rail workers the striking engineers abandoned locomotives on their tracks effectively blocking the main rail lines into the USSR.

Within Lublin itself bus drivers struck. So did delivery workers along with their counterparts in many factories. For almost two days the city was nearly paralyzed. In reply the authorities were compelled to employ the police and armed forces to deliver food to the city. Strike actions reportedly happened in two nearby localities as well.

Faced with a major crisis which could have easily taken on greater proportions the Communist Party's Politbureau met in response. It promptly issued an appeal to the workers to resume production and promised a commission to review their demands for higher wages to compensate for the increased meat prices.

This conciliatory approach was complimented with the threat of outside intervention. The Politbureau called the workers' actions the sort that "could easily awaken fear in Poland's neighbours."

But four days after the strikes began compromise wage settlements were reached which defused the tense situation. The oppositionist **Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR)** reported that the workers, who had been demanding increases equal to \$43. per month, in the case of rail workers, settled for ones ranging from \$13. to \$20. With this the second series of strikes drew to a close.

It is significant that one of the more unprecedented moves to come out of these events is a new approach which the bureaucratic ruling class seems to have adopted. Specifically, in this instance the subsidy scheme which holds down food prices was only altered for one



food item. And then it was done on the quiet. By contrast, prior to the huge 1970-71 and 1976 revolts changes in food price structures were publicly announced for several basic foodstuffs simultaneously. Accordingly, this new tactic explains why these latest strikes occurred on a more scattered, slightly less explosive scale.

Nonetheless, they must be seen as very important developments; actions which took place amidst the continuing social and economic crisis of Polish society. This all-pervasive malaise has been an ongoing nightmare for the bureaucratic ruling class which is acutely aware of the immense danger involved in its attempts to shift the burden of the crisis onto the working class.

These strikes have again demonstrated how powerful the strike weapon of the Polish workers can be. And most importantly, insofar as they amount to a frontal assault upon the totality of Polish class society, these events further illustrate how the autonomous struggles of the workers are central to the social revolutionary project in all of Eastern Europe.

For an interesting survey of tracts from the illegal workers' paper **Robotnik (The Worker)** consult a new document published by **News and Letters** entitled 'Today's Polish Fight for Freedom'. It is available for \$1. from **News and Letters**, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48211 U.S.A.

Reagan for Shah

In ceremonies paralleling the Republican national convention in Detroit, the **Reagan for Shah Coalition** announced its intent to "unleash the fury of the ruling class" and "give war a chance."

"World domination is a serious obligation" said campaign spokesperson A. Ted Slick, while his assistant Virginia Cholesterol echoed "kick their ass, then take their oil."

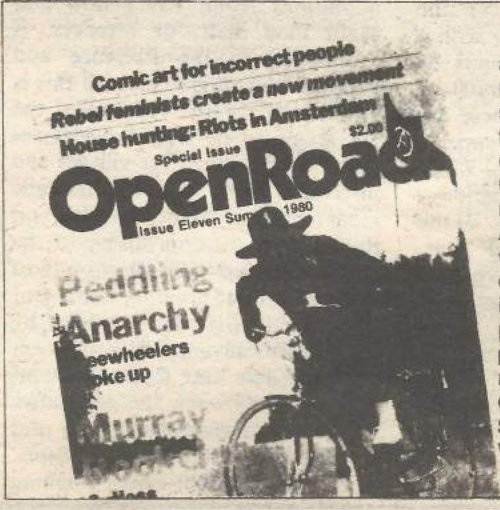
The coalition spent the week in Detroit buttonholing republican delegates and encouraging them to express their true desires about the imperial presidency.

Reagan for Shah members are also active in other popular struggles including "Mutants for a

Radioactive Environment", "Hand Grenade Owners Organization", "Ladies Against Women", and the "National Association for the Advancement of Rich People."

Speaking briefly on behalf of "Ladies Against Women", Anita Tyrant said "We don't think any ladies should be women, and we don't think men should be women either."

Reagan for Shah literature, buttons and stickers are available from 1600 Woolsey St., no. 7, Berkely, California 94703. Detroit **Reagan for Shah** can be reached care of: Nameless Box "K", Ypsilanti, Mich 48197. Buttons & bumperstickers: \$1. Small stickers: 4/\$1. Literature: Free (stamps helpful).



Anarchist news from around the world. Latest issue focuses on "Lessons from the 70's/Strategies for the 80's." Articles on: Revolutionary Cyclists; Dutch housing riots; Gutless ecology; Anarcha-Feminism; Subversive comics; The disintegration of America; An Italian anarchist program, plus more. 36 pages. On Newsstands now, or \$1.50 from the **Open Road**, Box 6135, Sta. G., Vancouver B.C., V6R 4G5, Canada.

Direct Action Halts Death Bombers



Direct Actionists block death-spray planes.

By Chris

BROCKWAY AIRFIELD, Western New Brunswick, May 31, 1980 -

For one day the children of the province of New Brunswick are safe. The chemical spray dive-bombers of the Irving company, Forest Protection Ltd., are stuck on the ground. Forty people from all walks of life were willing to court imprisonment, risk their jobs and physical safety to win this small victory, a fresh spring day without poison in the air.

New Brunswick has been sprayed from the air since the early 'fifties to control the spread of the spruce budworm, a pest that is eating the spruce and fir trees. The spraying has had the opposite effect. The budworm has become immune to pesticides while the heavy spraying has wiped out the budworm's natural predators and it has spread from small areas to infest the whole province. Since the mid-'seventies there has been strong evidence that the spray being used for the past twelve years, fenitrothion, causes a nerve viral disease, Rye's Syndrome, that kills and cripples children. Stopping the spraying would let the environment cure itself and save young lives. But the lumber barons would lose many of their spruce trees and of course their profits.

The province's most powerful lumber company is an Irving company. The Irving family control the economy and the government of New Brunswick. Also most of the major provincial media. The result is that even though citizen action against the spray programme is popular many people are afraid of losing their job or facing public ridicule in the Irving news propaganda if they stand up in open opposition. Yet tides eventually turn.

Resistance

The newest spray resistance movement is, dare I say it, an almost anarchistically based affiliation of individuals springing from a polite people's intuitive method of organizing: The New Brun-

swick Health Defense League. Anyone can join as long as they are willing to participate in non-violent acts of civil disobedience directed at threats to our environment and leave any (authoritarian) party lines on the doorstep before entering. The working of League meetings follows two simple, unwritten rules: equal time and equal status for everyone. I am a member.

Below is our policy statement and keep in mind it was drafted by a bunch of ordinary people of all ages and backgrounds: blue-collar, white-collar, teachers, students, farmers, fisherfolk, woodworkers, teens, elders, a beautifully diversified unity. It's a militant enough statement to throw to the Irving press in this repressed corner, New Brunswick, our home. Here goes.

Policy Statement

"The New Brunswick Health Defense League was formed out of a deep commitment felt by many individuals from different backgrounds and locations in New Brunswick. We feel forced to commit non-violent acts of civil disobedience out of a right to defend our environment, including ourselves, from the onslaught of poison spray. We believe that all other avenues to stop this spray programme are now exhausted and despite overwhelming scientific evidence of the health hazards, the government, influenced by the profit motives of large landowners and corporations, continues to spray and, through its own institutions, changes the law in order to do so. As a group we have no political affiliation. We are all leaders able to speak for our organization."

For the action at Brockway we held three meetings in the space of two weeks to draw up a simple strategy, hammer out tactics and figure out logistics. During this period about two dozen people were involved. Members drifted into whatever planning section they felt best suited their native talents. For instance, a fisherman volun-

teered to procure the rope essential to our plan and be responsible for knots and coiling. The raid van was driven by a woman with solid driving experience under a variety of circumstances. Everyone dove-tailed their roles into a whole momentum of action with an absolute minimum of swagger.

Worrying about RCMP infiltration was the least of our worries. The largest city in New Brunswick is Saint John with a population of 100,000. The majority of the group came from small towns, villages and the country. Everyone knew someone else for at least years. Any individual who wasn't well known by at least one other member would have been an oddity.

We all met an hour's drive from the airstrip at a comrade's comfortable house on the night of the action. I arrived with six other mates at eleven p.m. The Bay of Fundy shone under a clear moon but a mile distant and the salt air was crisp. We were the second contingent to arrive. Coming in through the front shed we were greeted by our host and a squad of women from Sussex. Their husbands had stayed back home to babysit while they came equipped for the action. I could tell it was going to be a damned fine demonstration. As a matter of record, half, if not more of us who held the line against the Avenger WW2 dive-bomber spray planes were women.

Assembled

By one-thirty a.m. the group was completely assembled and ready to move out. We travelled in a convoy with a few minutes space between each vehicle. Our first group position was a secluded church yard roughly two miles from the Brockway airport. Once the last car was in we divided into three groups, each to be taken in turn by the van to a path running parallel with one end of the landing tarmac a quarter mile distant through some light bush. I was in the first infiltration group. As the van approached the

path the headlights were cut and we piled out and silently single-filed up the path for maybe two hundred yards to a small clearing.

Before the second squad joined us two previously selected scouts went out on a reconnaissance patrol to the airfield. They came back as the last trip finished and we were ready to follow their instructions. The scouts had encouraging news. The watchman was soundly snoring away in his patrol car in the middle of the landing strip. Everything was running perfectly to plan and schedule. It was time to get on with it.

Seditious Centipede

The scouts led the forty of us in single file through the woods to the tarmac perimeter. At this point the rope and streamer carrier came forward and handed out ten foot lengths to each one of us as we passed him. We stepped out onto the crushed rock and creosote runway connected like a seditious centipede by a four hundred foot long, banner fringed rope. Keeping to the edge of the runway we crept until we were standing as a line ten feet in front of the Avengers which were parked side by side each at a right angle to the take-off lane. By God it was as fine a sight as I've seen or will ever see. Forty of the shyest, fool activists you'd ever hope to meet strung out along a rope in the early dawn moonlight, giggling and grinning at each other like we were sneaking home drunk from the school dance. Come to think of it, we were drunk with the tension, of an hour of enforced silence while sneaking around like commandos, bubbling out of us. Well, finally someone went over and kindly woke up the watchman. Good Lord his poor jaw dropped. I was afraid he might have a heart attack before we had a chance to tell him we were non-violent. He just about ruined his clutch driving away to spout the news of our arrival. Then for about half an hour nothing happened.

It was four-thirty when the pilots and crew tumbled out of their huts and moved toward us. They con-

gregated at the end of our line blockade where one lone Avenger stood apart facing the main body of ten planes and we had not had the numbers to include it in the rope-off. After milling about muttering threats about taking some pipe and smearing us into the tarmac a few of the pilots sauntered over to our line. They headed straight for the women and started giving them a hard time. Which was too bad for the pilots because they might have been mean looking and they might have scared me but the women did more than hold their own. After a short exchange the pilots retreated and a bit later when they came back to make sure we wouldn't sabotage the planes (we don't kill workers) they were awfully polite. They did fire up the plane we couldn't cover but since they have to fly in wings of three to spray a section they gave up on this game when they saw we weren't going to budge. But those Avengers are BIG old dive-bombers and they make one hell of a racket and they spin a BIG propellor. For the first time in my life I pondered what an onion feels like before it goes through a vegemetic.

And really, that was about it. By the time the RCMP arrived the word had come down from the capital to treat us with a "hands off unless violent" surveillance. We had arranged for good, steady media coverage and the government backed off from giving us the boot we had been seriously prepared to receive. Some demonstrations in New Brunswick have been brutally busted up by the Mounties.

Aye, that was it. We stayed until late afternoon cancelling the possibility of the routine second spray flight. By the time we marched out of the airfield gate we were tired but we were still high. We had won. For just one, lousy, too short, insignificant day we had won. There are going to be other days to win. And others. And others, and others, and others...

Revolution is just a series of small steps that remember where they're going.

Book Reviews



Anarchist Review 5
Cienfuegos Press, 1980
121 p.p., \$5.50

The long awaited Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review 5 is finally out after a long delay caused by the timely death of the Cienfuegos typesetting machine. The new Review is smaller than its predecessors, a reflection of the publisher's attempts to bring the CPAR out more frequently. They hope to make it a quarterly. And after leafing through the CPAR's jam-packed pages I can only say that I hope they are able to do it. I don't always agree with every article published in the CPAR but I invariably find each one useful and informative.

A case in point is the lead article in CPAR5, *Some Thoughts On Organization* by Henri Simon, a spontaneist critique of voluntary revolutionary organizations. As a member of a revolutionary organization I almost totally disagree with the author's arguments. In spite of that I think this is an article that every anarchist should read if only because it spells out the spontaneist argument concisely and well. Too much time is wasted by spontaneists and voluntarists within the anarchist movement arguing mutually exclusive views on organization.

The trouble with many spontaneists is that they fail to follow the logic of their critique to its obvious conclusion. Instead of taking a principled stand against voluntary revolutionary organizations they often attempt to function within them as a sort of "loyal opposition." Needless to say attempts to reach consensus on anything but the most rudimentary forms of revolutionary organization often founder on this basic dichotomy. Simon's article, and its implications for "spontaneists" within voluntary organizations is recommended reading.

In addition CPAR5 has articles on Bulgaria today, a series of excerpts from the writings of Errico Malatesta and a piece on "occult authoritarians." For the technically, and even the not-so-technically minded, there's an article on do-it-yourself radio.

The anarchist movements in Mexico and the Netherlands are examined in separate articles and there's even a piece on anarchists in fiction. A veritable anarcho-cornucopia of revolutionary material!

Graphically CPAR5 is superb. Its chock-full of cartoons, drawings, photos and assorted graphics. My own particular favourite is a series of cartoons entitled *The Misadventures of Ann and Archie*. And of course the CPAR5 features the usual broad selection of book reviews, 44 pages of them in all. What more can I say? If you can only afford to purchase one anarchist publication make it the CPAR5. **You won't be disappointed.**

CPAR5 is available in North America from: **Carrier Pigeon**, 75 Kneeland St., Or direct from: **Cienfuegos Press**, Over the Water, Sanday Island, Orkney, KW17 2BL, UK.

Lazarus Jones

Beyond Death and Exile:

The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955.

Louis Stein, Harvard University Press. 1979, 236 pp., 14 photos

"We are an accusation and a living protest against the world." Luis Bazal, Ay de los vencidos

This book is the story of the half million Spaniards who fled Spain near the end of the Civil War in 1939. Francisco Franco's victorious fascist government was repressing people from the moderate center to the extreme left of the political spectrum. Thousands of Spaniards knew they would be shot or imprisoned and rushed to France in Feb. '39 when the Franco forces advanced on the region/country of Catalonia.

The people who fled were moderate republicans, left republicans, socialists, communists, anarchists, Basques, and Catalans. They were children, peasants, farm workers, workers, middle classes, professionals, intellectuals, militias, remnants of the Republican Army, and war wounded. They were not well received. Upon arrival in France, they were promptly settled in concentration camps on beaches by the Mediterranean or in the Pyrenees Mountains of the southwest. Conditions were barbaric. People were subjected to the open cold. There was little food, shelter, or health care. Housing was slow in coming and many dug holes in the sand. The French police kept a strict control, and there were occasions of brutality. Members of the Lister Division (communist) or the Durruti Division (anarchist) were isolated in special prison camps.

The newspapers of the French right waged a campaign of fear, suggesting that the foreign "Reds" be sent back to Spain. Indeed, many people in southern France were overwhelmed and a certain friction existed. The Left, however, tried to help, with parliamentary investigations and aid. The concentration camps were a slap in the face to the exiles, perpetrated by the Third French Republic, supposed enemy of totalitarianism.

Louis Stein divides this story into five periods: 1) Feb. '39 to Sep. '39-exodus from Spain and jailing in France. 2) Sep. '39-outbreak of World War II to French defeat in May 1940. 3) July '40 to May 1945-prisoners of Hitler or the fascist French, Vichy government, or fighters in the Resistance or Free French forces. 4) May '45 to Dec. 1955-Spanish republicans fail to get Allies to oust Franco, guerilla campaigns fail in Spain. 5) '55 to Nov. 1975-exiles in France, continued campaigns in Spain, death of Franco in Nov. '75.

The story of the Spanish exiles has largely been ignored, until recently. Many accounts of the French Resistance fail to mention the Spanish contribution. But Stein tells us that some 60,000 Spaniards fought in the Resistance. (For example Spanish tank fighters were directed by French general, Leclerc, to enter Paris on the day of liberation, as the vanguard of the French assault. Spaniards reached downtown Paris first!). The guerilla tactics of the Spanish fighters impressed many in the Resistance.

The democracies, U.K., U.S.A. and France ultimately distrusted the exiles. After all, they were mainly "Reds." The same reason why they were treated so poorly can be connected to why they lost the Spanish Civil War: the big democracies preferred fascist capitalism to Popular Front republicanism, in Spain.

But the French witnessed the anti-fascist spirit of the exiles, who fought alongside them or died in Mauthausen concentration camp in Germany (10,000). Many French people became ashamed at the way their previous democratic government had treated the Spaniards, and vowed to help them oust Franco after Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vichy government were crushed. This never happened. The Allies gave lip service to their dislike for Franco. But Franco's Spain was admitted to the U.N. in 1955, with U.S. pressure. The book details the efforts of the republican government-in-exile to gain recognition, unsuccessfully.

Although Charles de Gaulle saluted the Spaniards who fought with the Maquis (Resistance), he knew that many Spaniards and French were in a revolutionary mood at the end of WWII. The U.K., U.S. and French controlled this mood at the onset of the Cold War. The majority of exiles remained in France, but many thousands returned to Spain. Others went elsewhere, mainly Russia (4,000) or Mexico (15 to 20,00). Guerilla movements continued for years in Spain, attacking army and police stations, blowing up railways and bridges, sabotaging power stations, etc. The campaigns subsided in the 1960s.

Stein has done a good job. He interviewed living exiles. He was the first foreigner to see French government departmental documents on the subject. He gives a fair shake to all the political tendencies in the exile community. There are interviews with anarchists, Federica Montseny and Mariano Puzo (to whom the book is dedicated), among other leftists and republicans.

Antonio Vilanova, an anarchist doctor in exile, wrote a book on the exiles, *Los olvidados* ("The Forgotten Ones"). Stein has contributed to opening our eyes to the legacy of the "forgotten" Spanish exiles, and their part in this age of refugees. He gives a stern indictment at the end of his introduction, and I quote: "A French Resistance leader, watching the victory parade after the liberation of Toulouse, saw the Spanish Maquis march past the reviewing stand. He asked himself: 'What will France and the other democracies do for the Spaniards, who had given so generously of their blood and fire in the Resistance?'" The answer has now been recorded: nothing."

(LOUIS STEIN teaches history at Boston University)

John McIntosh



The Wobblies: A Play
Stewart Bird and Peter Robilotta
Smyrna Press, 1980, 71 pp, \$3.95

In 1918 and 1919, 258 people across the United States were tried and jailed for belonging to a "vicious, treasonable conspiracy to oppose by force the execution of the laws of the United States and to obstruct the prosecution of the war." That "conspiracy" was the International

Workers of the World (IWW). *The Wobblies* is a play about the most famous of those trials, the one involving IWW General Secretary William (Big Bill) Haywood and over 100 other defendants.

The play, in performance, has been described as having a "filmic style" consisting of short scenes that give a capsule history of the IWW using songs, poems, dialogue and projected slides. The trial itself is the focus of attention and the whole thing is held together by a Narrator whose persona is a lively combination of John Reed, Carl Sandburg and Heywood Brown.

The Wobblies is a joyous celebration of IWW history that doesn't insult us by hiding the warts. The running battle between Haywood and 'Red' Doran is a case in point. Haywood is inclined, for tactical reasons, to respect the conventions of the court. Doran, on the other hand, is contemptuous of the court and Haywood's submission to it. Haywood dissembles when asked about the IWW's opposition to the war; Doran is blunt and forthright as in this exchange where Doran has just declared that the IWW should have taken "a real stand against the war."

HAYWOOD: What are you talking about, they would have destroyed us.

DORAN: Just what the hell do you think is gonna' happen now! They're gonna' let us rot in here; it's better to fight and go out in a blaze of glory than this horse shit.

HAYWOOD: We couldn't stop the war; the class war is our fight, not the World War, our job is to organize and prepare for the general strike.

DORAN: For What? The general strike, the general strike, just when is that supposed to happen, pie in the sky, bullshit. I say now, lets have the son-of-a-bitch now! We got thousands of members, why we could shut down the whole country.

HAYWOOD: We got to bide our time.

And so it goes. The debates and doubts of real people with real revolutionary commitment. The effort to maintain a sense of decency in an indecent situation. Harried by prosecution hacks, a war-crazed environment and the young J. Edgar Hoover. With new threats of war on the horizon, and what that inevitably means for labour, this play makes fascinating reading.

The Wobblies is available from: Smyrna Press, Box 1803-GPO, Brooklyn, NY 11202, USA.

Lazarus Jones

New And Recommended

The Struggle To Be Human; Cienfuegos Press, 1980. Sub-titled *Crime, Criminology and Anarchism*: "The struggle to be human is the first contemporary work to examine crime, punishment and social harms from a libertarian perspective. It emerges amidst the recurring failure of both academic and marxist sociologies to provide insight into ways in which we can live together harmoniously. It links the issues of social harm and punishment to scarcity and the basic struggle to be free, and provides an incisive critique of the institutions of law, the state and social administrative systems; it also discusses these institutions within an historical context and highlights their limitations."

Towards A Citizens Militia; Cienfuegos Press, 1980. Sub-titled *Anarchist Alternatives to NATO and the Warsaw Pact*. This book is currently at the centre of an enormous controversy in the U.K. and the subject of "questions in the House." Its express purpose is to provide a basic manual of guerilla warfare for the average citizen to be used in the event of internal or external attempts to destroy the "few remaining freedoms we have." Both books are available from Cienfuegos Press, Box 105, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858, USA.

Listing in this column does not preclude a review at a later date.

The Sh... Th...

By I've always b of Stanley Kubr finest anti-war *Strangelove* an movies like 2001 are still among Cinema. So whe tion towards the tly intregued. As great potential f radical perspect category of fil alienation?

I wasn't disa theme of *The S* the unknown b life. The true "n patriarchal nuck

Father, moth caretakers for a because of its close down betw Nicholson, as a pretensions to a the job partly o and partly as a ted on his magn

The scene of hotel," serves isolation of the bourgeois socie society, as it i other families, television. This the film when t raised during t mother thinks gruesome for th he quickly rem cannibalism "o smugly echoes " the television."

The utter ban as epitomized by *The Shining*. T scenes in whic prominently. Ki sights and sound



Shining The Horror of Everyday Life

Lazarus Jones
I've been fascinated by the work of Stanley Kubrick. He directed two of the best films ever made, *Dr. Strangelove* and *Paths of Glory*, and *A Clockwork Orange* is my favourite piece of work. In *The Shining*, Kubrick turned his attention to the horror genre I was instantly drawn to. A genre the horror film has been criticized for critiquing society from a unique perspective. After all what other genre deals so directly with the horror of everyday life.

Disappointed. The underlying horror of *Shining* is not the horror of a monster in this movie is the horror of the family.

Jack and son are hired as the caretakers of a secluded resort hotel that, due to winter inaccessibility, must be closed between October and May. Jack is a failed schoolteacher with a literary career, seizes upon the opportunity of financial desperation to work uninterrupted in his opus.

In the action, the "haunted" hotel is a metaphor for the individual and the family in isolation. The only link to civil society is for so many is through the medium of television. The linkage is accented early in the subject of cannibalism is the drive to the hotel. The hotel is a topic is a little too tender ears of her son but Jack marks that he heard about "television" and Nicholson says, "it's alright, he saw it on TV."

The quality of bourgeois existence, as seen on TV, is a recurring theme in the movie. There are at least five or six television set figures in the movie. Kubrick's use of television's as a kind leitmotif in *The*

Shining is extraordinarily perceptive. As Jerry Mander noted in the book *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television*: "Television is a form of sense deprivation, causing disorientation and confusion. It leaves viewers less able to tell the real from the not-real, the internal from the external, the personally experienced from the externally implanted. It disorients a sense of time, place, history and nature."

When Nicholson finally goes over the brink and takes after his family with an axe his dialogue is drawn directly from the tube. After smashing down one door Nicholson jovially announces "Wendy, I'm home" dramatically underlining the contrast between the TV image of the family and its often awful reality.

Nicholson's progressive breakdown from upright family man to maniacal killer takes place on two levels. Superficially his ghostly encounters with former denizens of the hotel are the cause of his slide into evil. On a deeper level these encounters can be seen as a plot device to allow Nicholson to articulate more mundane horrors such as the need to maintain family discipline and his own position as "breadwinner."

The breaking point for Nicholson comes when his wife, played by Shelley Duval, discovers that the manuscript he has been working on, which will supposedly be their ticket to security, consists solely of the phrase "All work and no play make Jack a dull boy" typed over and over again. Nicholson's beautifully absurd comment, "How do you like it?" speaks volumes on the sterility of any kind of forced, alienated labour.

The Shining is an intriguing movie and its critique of everyday life, whether intentional or not, is potent. It does, however, raise more questions than either its writer — Stephen King—or Kubrick were prepared to address. The resolution is as frozen as our last glimpse of Nicholson's icy corpse. The flight of the mother and child back to the "safety and reality" of the outside world is treated as being a real escape from the horrors they have experienced rather than a mere shifting of locales.

Dis*ease

Steve Izma, Stu Vickers, N. Santoro, Jim Campbell
Falling Sky Books, 1980, 35 pp., donation

Who are we...

...we are the dispossessed children
Of the bourgeois revolution
Apostates from the Church of Revolution
Fleeing in despair from 'The God That Failed'
We'll no longer deny our desires for the
Sake of any revolutionary method.

Our revolutionary activity reduces
Itself to mere advertisements for our
Anguish and disillusionment.

We are neither the symptom
Nor the cure
We are but a reflection of the Dis*ease.



In rejecting all forms of revolutionary
Organization we are
Playing the bosses' game
But at least we know the rules.

The irony does not escape us
We exalt it and by doing so
Obscure it in our own lives.

From the heights of cynicism we
Gaze down upon the feeble posturings
Of the "militants"
Who blindly condemn themselves
And fall into our
Astute traps.



Lazarus Jones

Don't try to categorize any of us
Categories and labels and any kind of
Formal links define only
Those who use them.

After all the power
Of words
Is still the word of power.

Dis*ease is available
from: Falling Sky
Books, 97 Victoria Street North
Kitchener, Canada, N2H 5C1.



Where the Hell is Albania?



Clandestine shot of an Albanian labour camp (See Item 10) the photo was taken while the guard on the bus was distracted.

ALBANIA

Area: 11,100 sq. mi. **Population:** 2,650,000 (1978 est.)

Official Name: People's Socialist Republic of Albania **Capital:** Tirana **Languages:** Albanians are divided into two main language groups: Gheg, north of the river Shkumbi, and Tosk in the south. The official language is based on Tosk. **Anthem:** Anthem of the Flag **Currency:** Lek (4.1 per U.S. \$1)

Location: Southeast Europe, on the west coast of the Balkan peninsula. Albania is bordered on the north and east by Yugoslavia, on the south by Greece, and on the west by the Adriatic Sea **Largest Cities:** (1975 estimate) Tirana 170,000, Durres 80,000, Vlore 57,000, Korce 53,000, Shkoder 49,000

Per Capita Income: \$647 (1978 est.) **Gross National Product (GNP):** \$1.7 billion (1978 est.)

Infant Mortality: 86.8 per 1,000 births (1965) **Illiteracy:** 25%

Transportation: There were 4,200 mi. of paved roads in 1969.

Motor Vehicles: 10,100 (1967) **Passenger Cars:** 2,600 (1967) **Railway Mileage:** 188 **Radio Transmitters:** 19 **Receivers:** 180,000

Television Transmitters: 1 **Receivers:** 4,500 (1976) **Telephones:** 10,150 (1963) **Newspapers:** 2 dailies, 46 copies per 1,000 inhabitants (1975)

SOURCE: The Hammond Almanac 1980.

ITEM 1

In June 1966 the newspaper of the Albanian communist party published a highly critical review of a novel called *The Tunnel* by the young writer Dhimiter Xhuvani, based on his personal observations while working at an hydro-electrical construction site. He was accused of portraying it as a place where workers faced a life of hardship, dreary monotony and sudden death, after being either forced to go there or else lured by high wages. The only relief from this miserable existence was drunkenness, brutality and sleep. The paper condemned the book as a tissue of lies and distortions inspired by decadent aesthetic values. After this severe reprimand, Xhuvani's novel was banned and the official responsible for its publication was sacked. What the novelist had tried to convey was that life for many Albanian workers was "solitary, poor nasty, brutish and short." But the party reminded him and his fellow writers that they were quite mistaken if they thought that their job was to depict reality exactly as they saw it. Their job was to paint a glamorous picture of society in glowing primary colours, one that could inspire people to accomplish great

heroic feats, rather than help them understand the world around them or increase their self-awareness.

SOURCE: *The Albanians*, Anton Logoreci; Pg. 111.

ITEM 2

L'Unita (newspaper of the Italian Communist Party) in its 21 July 1969 issue reported that thirty university students had been expelled for demanding freedom of thought and discussion.

SOURCE: Ibid. Pg. 161-2.

ITEM 3

Shortly after the Second World War, before the 1948 split, Tito's Yugoslavia was casting covetous glances southward. Tito envisioned a Balkan Federation that would include Albania and Bulgaria. Of course Stalin's permission would have to be granted for such a move and he proved to be amenable. It was "inconvenient," said Stalin, that some Albanian Communists would commit suicide for fear of being disgraced for their anti-Yugoslav views, but "we agree to Yugoslavia swallowing Albania."

SOURCE: *Conversations with Stalin*, Milovan Djilas, Pg. 143.



An example of Albanian socialist realism entitled: "Albania, My Mother". (See Item 1).

ITEM 4

In May 1959 Khrushchev flew to Tirana to try and patch up the rapidly deteriorating USSR/Albanian relations. The visit was a disaster. After surveying the country's industrial potential Khrushchev recommended that the Albanians stick to growing grapes

and herding goats. In reply Mehmet Shehu, the Albanian Prime Minister made this comment: "Stalin made two mistakes. First he died too early, and second he failed to liquidate the entire present Soviet leadership."

SOURCE: *Eastern Europe Since Stalin*, Jonathan Steele, Pg. 101.

ITEM 5

A parliamentary decree adopted Sept. 9, 1975 ordered "all Albanian citizens who have inappropriate names in view of the political, ideological and moral standards to change the names." The decree was quoted Feb. 26 by an Albanian embassy official in Belgrade, Yugoslavia who gave as examples of "nice Albanian names" Ilyr, Alban and Mimosa.

SOURCE: *Facts On File* 1976, Pg. 331-32.

ITEM 6

Elections for the Albanian People's Assembly on Oct. 6, 1974, resulted in a 100 per cent turn-out and an effective 100 per cent poll for the 250 candidates of the Communist-led Democratic Front. 1,248,528 of the 1,248,530 registered electors cast their votes for the Democratic Front candidates, while two ballots were declared to be invalid.

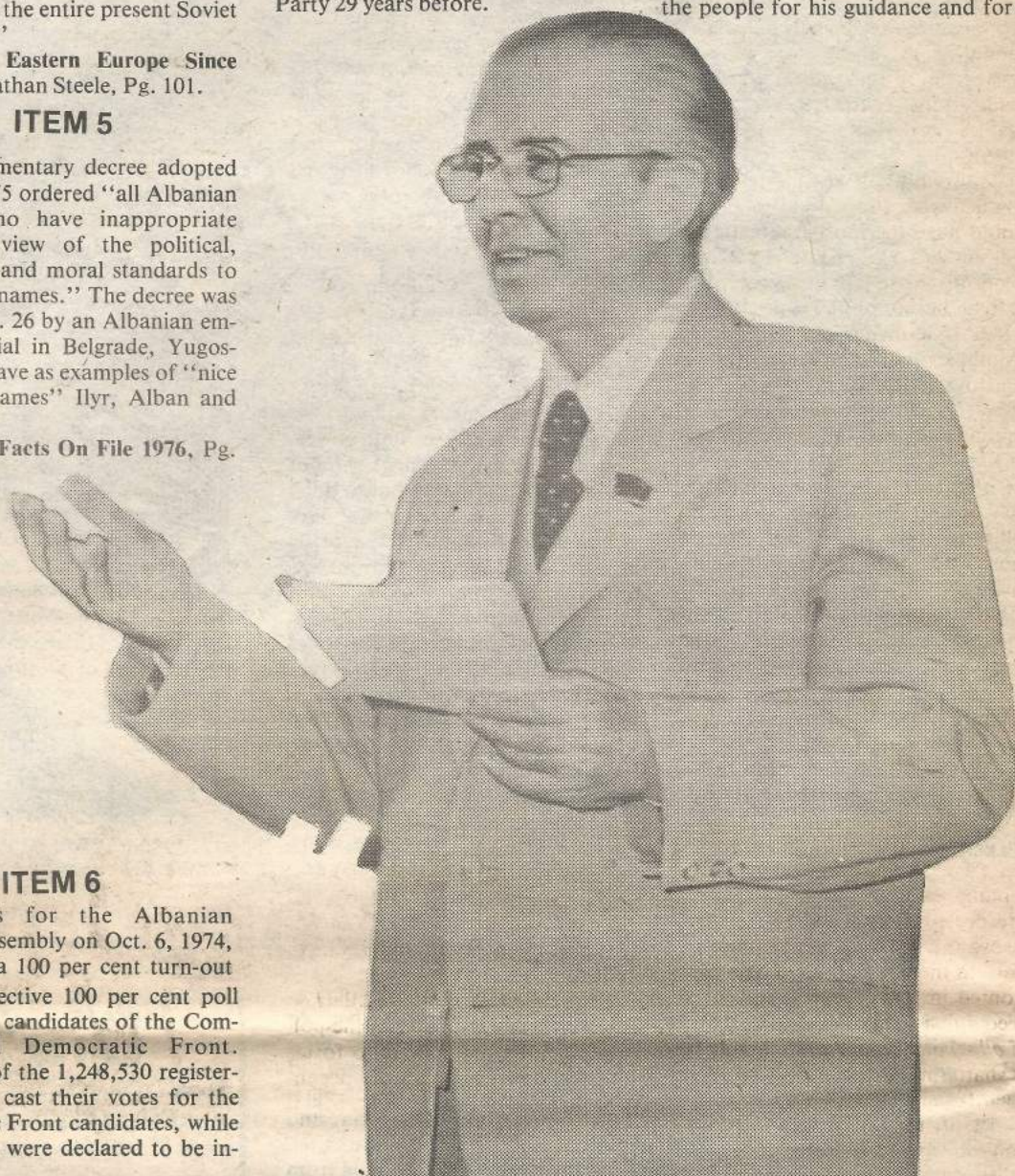
politicians were reconfirmed in office, except Colonel-General Beqir Balluku, the former Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Defense Minister, who was not re-elected in his district of Shkodra.

SOURCE: *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* 1974, Pg. 26856.

ITEM 7

The nomination of Enver Hoxha as a candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly by Tirana constituency number 219 in July, 1970, took the same form as any other nomination in that or any other el-

ection in Albania since the war. His proposer pointed out the significance of Enver Hoxha's nomination from the very district in which he had founded the Albanian Party 29 years before.



Enver Hoxha (See Item 8)

SOURCE: *Pickaxe and Rifle*, William Ash, Pg. 103.

ITEM 8

Enver Hoxha's continuing con-

Army, as acknowledged head of the Party and State he has always been in the forefront of the struggle for national independence and socialist development. The appreciation of the people for his guidance and for

his sharing with them every hardship along the difficult way they have travelled to Albania's present position as Europe's only socialist country takes many forms. Along with the slogans wishing a long life to the Party which are to be seen everywhere, appear as frequently the letters ENVER as a popular tribute to their comrade and leader. Every appearance of Enver Hoxha on the streets of the capital or in whatever town or district he visits—and many are the occasions formal and informal on which he moves freely among the people—becomes a spontaneous triumphal procession. The house where he was born in Gjirokastra has become one of the museums of the Albanian revolution.

Source: Ibid., Pg. 123.

ITEM 9

The following touching little poem is titled simply "Enver." I first heard those five dear letters at the dawn of my life./Ever since, your name became as dear to me as my paternal home,/As precious as socialism,/As lofty as the mountains,/As vital as light . . . /We shout ENVER!/And the sky seems to us loftier than ever/The space around us vaster,/The sun bigger,/And our perspectives ever more magnificent./We shout ENVER!/And our days take on colour and meaning/As they fall like soldiers/Into the ranks of the revolution.

Albania officially denies that there exists a cult of the personality around Enver Hoxha.

SOURCE: *Socialist Albania Since 1944*, P.R. Prifti, Pg. 182.

See Albania Pg. 15

cern for the rectitude of the Albanian Party of Labour which he founded, is only one aspect of the correct leadership he has given to the Albanian people ever since he took the initiative in organising their resistance to the fascist occupation of the country. As Commander-In-Chief of the Liberation

Commies From Outer Space?

By Lazarus Jones

The subject of flying saucers and the question of whether intelligent life exists somewhere in this galaxy other than on the third planet from the Sun has been undeservedly neglected by the left. After all if there are creatures technically advanced enough to travel the vast distances between even the nearest stars the implications for the left, and Marxists in particular, are truly awesome.

At one time it was thought that contact with superior alien beings would have the most traumatic effect on the various religions that this tortured sphere has given birth to. The notion of geocentricity was a long time dying and only finally crumbled under the weight of incontrovertible scientific proof. Yet, after the initial shock, the various churches adapted remarkably well to Earth's displacement as the centre of the universe and doubtlessly they would be quick to view intelligent alien beings as just one more example of the creator's handiwork.

Nowadays it is scientists and engineers who are expected to be the most traumatized by contact with an advanced extra-terrestrial civilization. It is the high priesthood of technology rather than religion that would feel most threatened by a "higher truth." Scientists, all protestations to the contrary, fear change. New scientific theories often have a hard time gaining acceptance simply because so many "respected" scientists have an immense intellectual and emotional stake in the old theories. To be confronted in one fell swoop with the need for a wholesale re-evaluation of all science would undoubtedly be a shattering experience for many scientists and engineers.

But of all the scientists perhaps none will be as shattered as the so-called Marxist "social scientists." What if these advanced aliens aren't Marxists?

After all they *should* be. Marx, Engels, Lenin et. al. devoted a great deal of time and energy to proving once and for all that Marxism was a 'science' and for a body of knowledge to claim the label of a science its laws must have a "universal" validity. Engels even attempted to prove that mathematics was dialectical, $a - x a = a +$, a negative multiplied by a negative results in a positive. Thus if $2 + 2$ still equals 4

in outer space it seems safe to assume that the class struggle should be alive and well in any extra-terrestrial society.

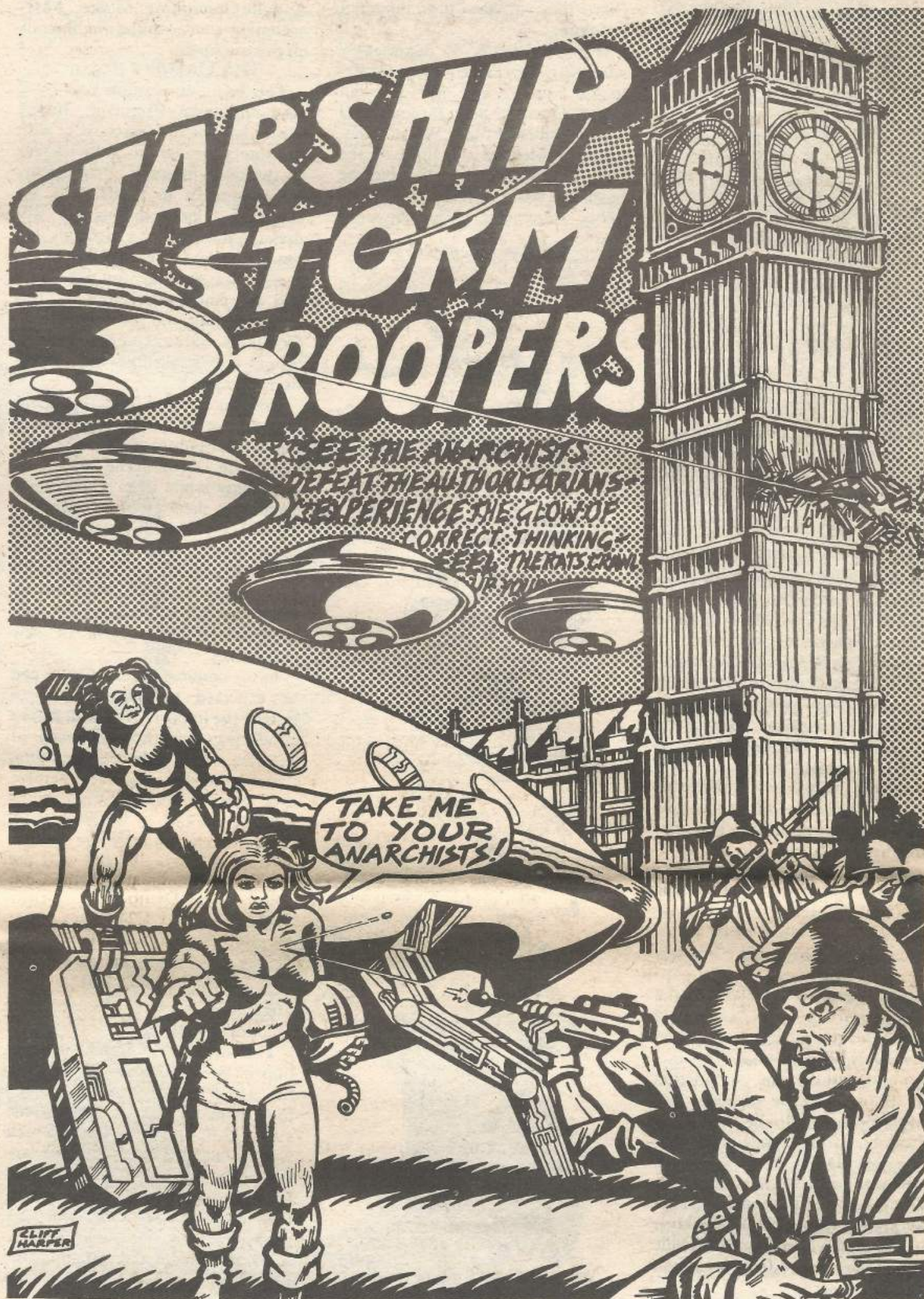
So it is a logical assumption that many advanced alien civilizations must have long since transcended the capitalist mode of production. A less attractive proposition is the possibility that the factionalism of terrestrial Marxism is an inherent component of the ideology of "scientific socialism." The mind boggles at the thought of little red or green people debating the merits of the "Three Galaxies" theory or the law of uneven galactic development.

On the plus side the infinite depths of space should ensure that all earthly sects, however bizarre their politics, will be able to attach themselves to some variation of the ideology that possesses state power. The problem of "Stalinists without a homeland" would become a thing of the past!

But what if contact has already been made? The possibility of extra-terrestrial intervention would help to explain many here-to-fore inexplicable historical mysteries such as: how did Russia advance from feudalism to superpower status in less than 50 years?; how did the Russians get the A-Bomb so soon after the U.S.?; why did the air support for the Bay of Pigs invasion fail to materialize?; how did a bunch of anemic jungle bunnies manage to defeat the mightiest nation on earth?; and, just *why* did John Wayne get cancer? The answer just might be—Commies from Outer Space!

Of course this is all speculation. Alien civilizations may run the political gamut from fascism to forms of social organization more dependent on biology than politics. Still it might be embarrassing for Marxist scholars to be confronted with an advanced industrial civilization that had remained capitalist for say a million years. It would certainly give "late capitalism" a whole new meaning. Perhaps someone would have to update Lenin and write *Galactic Imperialism, Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

There are many ways Marxists could prepare for these eventualities. A class analysis of *The Day The Earth Stood Still* might be a good starting point. Or maybe



What the TV didn't tell you

Since anyone who's interested probably saw this boring spectacle on TV, NAA will just report briefly some other aspects.

The invasion of Detroit by 50,000 republicans was accompanied by thousands of cops and media-types. The downtown area was observed continually by at least three helicopters, while the feds donated to the city a system of permanent surveillance cameras, with a control center spying on selected "strategic areas".

Security forces did their best to alleviate Detroit's 23% unemployment, employing welders to fasten down hundreds of sewer grates in the convention area. We're not certain what they had in mind; all the slime, rats, and snakes were already above ground.

Cops and reporters were so thick that it was difficult walking across Kennedy Square. Several "public" squares and parks were "leased out" by the city to the republican and media corporations, thus becoming temporary "private property" protected by armed guards.

Over \$3 1/2 million was spent by the government on convention security.

Despite these provocations, and the spectre of a trigger-happy President Reagan eager to annihilate half the world "for the preservation of democracy", widespread protests were lacking and "counterconvention" activities poorly attended. The cops pegged the most active protesters after a traffic blocking incident, and after conning them into clearing the street with false promises of leniency they were jailed for the duration of the convention. All charges were then dropped.

The most successful protester was the one who "borrowed" Governor Milliken's radio and shot-gun equipped new model Lincoln. "Turnpike Tom" has not been heard from since.



SUSTAINING FUND

May 29 to July 28, 1980

B.T., Washington D.C.	5.00
R.H., Bridgewater	5.00
Italian Picnic	50.00
R.P. Somerville	2.00
Other Vices	30.00
J.W., Regina	100.00
A.F., Washington D.C.	15.00
T.W., Milwaukee	8.20
Exchange on U.S. funds	17.35
Total, July 28, 1980	232.55

Many thanks to all who contributed from the NAA editorial collective. Remember we need your donations, however large, to continue publishing. Address all contributions to: **The North American Anarchist**, POB 2, Station 0, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

Auto Turnaround?

By Brian Amesly

With over 300,000 autoworkers now unemployed the effects of the auto crisis are taking on devastating proportions. Supplementary Unemployment Benefits have been exhausted for the vast majority and growing numbers are also losing their claim to regular unemployment benefits which means living on welfare. In the Detroit area alone over 30,000 autoworkers find themselves in this situation.

Immense human suffering is the result as is shown by a new study done in Windsor, Ontario which has an auto-based economy. The unemployment rate there is "officially" almost 20%, primarily because of the auto crisis. Conducted by the city, the survey gauged the impact of the high unemployment on local social services.

Its findings revealed that people's deepening financial problems are causing extremely high anxiety and stress levels particularly among the unemployed. Both alcoholism and the use of tranquilizers have risen sharply. At the same time families have often been gouging their food budgets in order to meet other financial obligations. Many families are breaking up.

Against this background we autoworkers are beginning to hear about an approaching turnaround in the industry from auto executives among others. No doubt this is creating some feelings of hope. But in reality, a relative revival of the industry's fortunes are likely to prove a bitter disappointment. The reasons why are many.

Foremost among these is the matter of the conversion to small car production. Supposedly this will be the main factor in putting autoworkers back on the job. This is a half truth at best.

The labour employed in the manufacturing of small cars is only two-thirds that which is required for standard size vehicles. This fact must also be seen in conjunction with the coming of computerized robots which will, in the next several years, progressively eliminate thousands of assembly line jobs. These robots can work twenty-four hours a day and are much cheaper than human beings. Therefore their introduction will make an already capital intensive production process much more so.

Another thing which is not widely recognized is the length of time the conversion will take. GM President Estes recently remarked that it will not be until 1985 before four cylinder vehicles amount to 40% of production. This is a strong indication of why it is that the industry's prophesized turnaround will be only relative to the present situation.

The World Car

One of the most important developments taking place in the auto industry is the ongoing transition by GM and Ford towards the manufacture of their World Car. It is going to be a single style vehicle composed of parts manufactured at different auto plants around the world thus creating an international division of labour.

This arrangement will further enable the auto conglomerates ability to shift production around the globe to wherever the most profits can be made. This amounts to a major threat to both the job security and incomes of North American autoworkers. At will, the auto companies could shut down plants so that production can be transferred to other countries where labour costs are much lower.

Considering these directions being taken by the auto industry one can only conclude that any revival of its fortunes will mean bet-

ter times for it but not for a great many of the autoworkers suffering the effects of the current crisis. In short, they will have been rendered obsolete.

Even the UAW is increasingly admitting this fact. This underscores why an aid to Canadian UAW Director and International Vice-President Robert White recently acknowledged that half of the laid off autoworkers will never be recalled. White himself has made public statements about the need

of Japanese automakers not to let up in their pursuit of the North American market. In this respect it is quite interesting to see AMC becoming a sales outlet for Peugeot on this continent.

The Carter Factor

This being an election year for a very unpopular President, Jimmy Carter has been trying to score with the voters through his aid packages to the auto industry. Predictably, his actions fit in nicely with the companies' prescriptions for addressing the crisis. As such, his bail out of Chrysler has been a shot in the arm for the company but not for its laid off employees. Even so, this handout may still be inadequate. Chrysler's sales figures remain dismal and bankruptcy is still entirely possible.

Likewise, with Carter's aid package which was announced during the Republican Party's convention in Detroit. The companies got plenty while their workers got nothing in the way of direct relief. Incidentally, the money doled out comes largely from the taxes paid by the American working class. So you have workers' tax money financing the elimination of jobs through the employment of new technology.

In the coming months Carter can be expected to take actions to restrict the imports. This will not be good news for the thousands of workers whose jobs depend upon the continued strong sales of these cars. Never mind the implications for autoworkers in other parts of the world who manufacture them.

Not much more can be said for the UAW. It too advocates economic nationalist "solutions" which largely focus upon the alleged problem of imported automobiles. (See NAA5, p.1) Clearly, one thing which is very foreign to the UAW is genuine class solidarity.

Thus at its constitutional convention in late May representatives of the UAW in Canada continued their demand for changes in the 1965 U.S.-Canada Pact which would, under present circumstances, put Canadian autoworkers back to work by throwing more of their U.S. counterparts onto the street. In turn, some of the U.S. delegates favoured restricting the importation of automobiles from Canada.

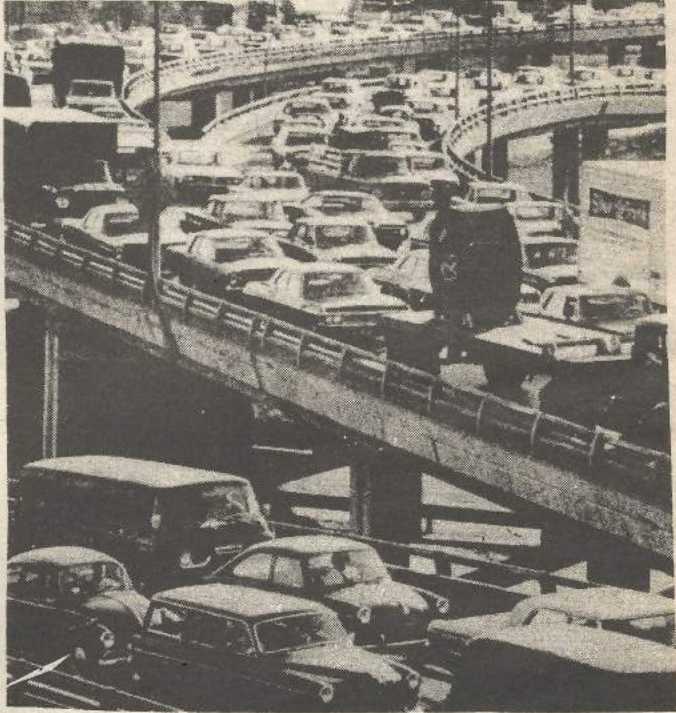
The UAW's attacks on the companies continue to be much more verbal than anything else. Its top bureaucrats expend most of their energy lobbying governments, sending telegrams or trying to persuade management to make minor concessions on job security. This is why militant statements like Robert White's highly publicized remarks about the need for mass demonstrations in national capitals and sit-ins at plants about to be closed can be seen as no more than rhetoric provoked by the gravity of the crisis.

Significantly, the remark about sit-ins in late June came after the brief occupation of an auto-related plant owned by the Bendix Corporation in Windsor. Its closure had just been announced and would throw 470 workers out of work. Local UAW officials decided to picket outside the plant in response. During this ritual twenty workers broke away and went in. The UAW bureaucrats on hand wasted no time persuading them to leave.

On another front the UAW in Canada put on quite a display of its concern for unemployed autoworkers. It instituted a small dues increase to be paid by them.

"Left" Nationalism

There isn't much to be said for those left organizations which have



Do we want more of this?

some militants in the auto plants either. This despite their noisy criticism of the UAW bureaucracy for its inaction.

In Canada their demands for mass action go hand in hand with an economic nationalist perspective. This explains why the Communist Party of Canada and the pro-Chinese Workers' Communist Party both have their auto militants calling for the scrapping of the Auto Pact and the creation of a nationalized, all-Canadian car industry. As loyal left critics these people reveal themselves as aspiring, would-be bureaucrats.

What is really lacking is a set of genuinely radical demands. Ones which imply a lot more than a return to the de-humanizing drudgery of performing wage labour in auto plants under less intolerable conditions.

As opposed to mere economic demands the central questions which have to be addressed relate to who is going to exercise control in the workplace and, specifically, how the new technology which is about to dramatically change auto production is going to be utilized. Neither the UAW bureaucracy nor their left critics have had much to say about these matters; being good reformists. Nor do they take into consideration the devastating anti-social effects of mass automobile production on North American society.

Historic Possibilities

Ironical as it may seem, the present state of the auto industry as well as its future course present historic possibilities. The new technology makes the need for sharply reduced work time more acute than ever. Furthermore, by allowing for the elimination of the most

dehumanizing jobs in the industry it could make our working lives qualitatively far better given work relationships that allow autoworkers to use their creative abilities which to date have been systematically repressed.

Perhaps, most importantly, this crisis could provide an unprecedented opportunity to begin the planned reduction of automobile production for the lasting benefit of the entire working class.

However, these things cannot happen if the relations of authority in the auto workplace remain much as they are. If they do, the result can only be further victimization of autoworkers as production becomes increasingly capital intensive because the auto bosses will be the ones making the decisions. The workers will remain powerless while the UAW will continue to function as a prop for capital. The insane mass production of autos will likewise continue with the same harmful socio-economic and ecological consequences.

The point becomes simply that what is required is the wholesale expropriation of the auto industry by the workers themselves. The outcome of which can be nothing less than direct workers' control. To many this may seem utopian; completely unrealizable. It is not.

History is full of examples of where workers have taken production into their own hands through self-management. While the prospects of this happening in North America are, at best, remote ultimately, this remains the only solution which can fully realize the class interests of North American autoworkers.

Brian Amesly is an autoworker in a GM plant at St. Catharines.

Kamalla

Continued from Pg. 6

Kamalla was still found guilty of "stealing" her own daughter, in an act of love, from two people whom Ishka despised. Kamalla is therefore coming out of this year-long ordeal with a criminal record for committing felonies. Even so, an appeal of either her conviction or the sentence is unlikely.

The main problem of Kamalla's separation from Ishka remains unchanged despite the gross injustice which was perpetrated by the state in forcing them apart. The state had, after all, granted custody to Kamalla's parents primarily because their wealth and conservative lifestyles supposedly made them better guardians.

The fact that the questions of who retains legal custody over Ishka remains unsettled to the liking of either her or Kamalla demonstrates why this struggle is still not over. This is one reason why the need for financial support continues. Especially since the defense campaign is heavily in debt.

To this end her supporters are planning a book which will document the case from its inception and also include writings by Kamalla. It is hoped the book will be sold as widely as possible.

For more information about the book contact the anarchist newspaper Bayou La Rose, c/o 3525 Gravier St., New Orleans, Louisiana 70119 U.S.A.

TO RESTORE PROSPERITY



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WITH FEWER WORKERS



ACF's 6th Conference

The Anarchist Communist Federation of North America (ACFNA) held its sixth conference this past July 4th weekend at a site just outside of Morgantown, West Virginia. With over 30 delegates in attendance, from all but two of the ACF's affiliates and tentative affiliates, the meeting spanned over three full days; our longest to date. During that time a broad range of issues and administrative matters were discussed and acted upon.

While the conference was not our most successful to date, due largely to problems like not completing all of the topics set for discussion, it did mark an important watershed for the organization. A lot was still accomplished with critical new directions being undertaken. Ultimately, the value of the conference will be determined by what takes place in the months to come.

The conference got underway on the morning of July 3 with a discussion of past business. Specific attention was given to projects which had not been followed up on. We clarified the reason why and determined whether they should be given further attention.

The meeting proceeded from there with the consideration of new affiliates and the formal recognition of the dissolution of previous ones. Both **Chicago Red and Black** and **No Limits** were welcomed into the federation. **Soil of Liberty** and **Creative Urge** remain tentative member collectives. The dissolution of the **Syndicalist Alliance** and **Regina ACF** was recognized as they no longer have the necessary three members required to constitute an affiliate. Reports of situations of the remaining ACF members from those affiliates were made.

Further discussion revolved around new contacts and prospective ACF collectives. We also decided to transfer the tasks of our external correspondence group to the **Libertarian Workers' Group** given the situation with the **Syndicalist Alliance**.

Finances were the next topic. The major item in this respect was the rising costs of the ACF's internal discussion bulletin. Proposals aimed at reducing its expenses were decided upon and the allocation of federation monies was changed to better address the problem.

A lengthy series of group reports followed. In these each affiliate talked about their recent activities and group situations. This better familiarized those present with each other as well as provided a background to the conference.

Later in the day two workshops were conducted in addition to considerations of the logistics of the conference. The first workshop was on **Sexuality and the Family**. It was facilitated by a member of the **Libertarian Workers' Group**. The other was on the **Auto Crisis** facilitated by a member of **Toronto ACF**.

Second Day

The second day began with our consideration of primarily administrative questions relating to pamphlet production and the **ACF Solidarity Fund**. On pamphlets we dealt with the current status of the production of an ACF edition of Peggy Kornegger's **Anarchism: The Feminist Connection**. Likewise regarding a new edition of **ACF's Basis of Affiliation** document. We learned that after much delay these were finally near completion. Another decision was to print 1000 more copies of Steve Craig's pamphlet on **Self-Management**.

We deferred our decisions on the controversial Australian pamphlet against terrorism entitled **You Can't Blow Up a Social Relation-**

ship as well as on Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's tract **Anarchism And The Black Revolution** until the next day. At that time the debate on the Australian pamphlet, which had already been approved, centred upon a proposed ACF introduction for it which would relate its contents more towards a North American context. It was rejected.

Instead two more proposed introductions reflecting different perspectives will be written for consideration. In respect to Komboa's pamphlet a decision was made to edit the text before putting it to a vote.

Solidarity Fund

The monies from our solidarity fund went to support the following struggles. \$100. was contributed to the defense efforts on behalf of Kamalla Miller. The same amount will be given to the international fund to help re-build the Chilean anarcho-syndicalist organizations with the provision that an article documenting the history of the syndicalist movement in Chile be published in the ACF newspaper to encourage further support.

Another \$50. was tentatively slated to support the Mohawk Indians engaged in a struggle against the state of New York pending an investigation into the exact situation. Significantly, on a one time only basis, a further \$150. was diverted to the **North American Anarchist** in its struggle to continue to be financially solvent.

During the late afternoon and early evening session more workshops were held. One on **Racism** was facilitated by a member of the **Libertarian Workers' Group**. A workshop on **Ecology** was sponsored by **No Limits**. Another on **Repression and Security** was facilitated by a member of **Bread and Roses**. And a workshop on **Eastern Europe** was facilitated by a member of **Toronto ACF**.

ACF Declaration

During the same time period individual delegates from most of the affiliates present met to work out the final text of an ACF declaration. When later brought before the entire conference it was approved without objection. Henceforth, it will be re-printed in each issue of the **North American Anarchist**.

The late evening session of the conference's second day was devoted mainly to a general discussion of the **North American Anarchist**. A report by a member of its production group was given with specific emphasis upon its financial problems and the very unequal distribution of monetary support as well as of written contributions. This was followed by a critical assessment of the NAA.

Proposals to reduce costs were put forward. These included a modest reduction in the paper's production run which would more accurately reflect its actual circulation.

Generally speaking, the need for improved support of the NAA was recognized by those present. New suggestions about how to improve the newspaper's content were proposed as well. In all, the discussion proved to be one of the most productive at the conference.

Friday evening was completed by a discussion of possible anti-election activity which could be taken up by our U.S. affiliates. The usefulness of a poster was a principal topic.

Saturday, July 5 was the last full day of the conference. Since there had been some squandering of time and because of unavoidably late arrivals by some of the delegates matters became very pressing.

Thus part of the day-time discussion was given to re-considering



Late Saturday night the assembled delegates to the 6th ACF conference debate 'The Organizational Question'.

how we were going to proceed under the circumstances. Most of the remainder of the events throughout the day consisted of lengthy group discussions. These focused upon the questions of why collectives affiliated with the ACF and what were their expectations of it. This was critically important in clarifying our situation in advance of the evening session on the organizational question.

For many this was considered the most important topic to be discussed at the conference. It proved to be highly controversial with some sharp differences of opinion emerging in the process. Not surprisingly, a decision which had passed without objection to try to limit debate to an hour went by the boards as the debate went on much longer.

The discussion got underway with the presentation of a proposal formulated by **Toronto ACF** as to how to begin to make the ACF a theoretically coherent, voluntary organization. This would begin by defining what we are and what we want to become; initially via consideration of the role of a revolutionary organization in fostering class consciousness and its consequent relationship to the class struggle.

An exchange ensued on what exactly theory is. One participant clarified the question to the satisfaction of many by arguing that theory is the practical application of ideas.

Debate

A critical consideration in this debate focused on the need to avoid being inflexible. In this respect the argument was made that the present ACF theoretical document is not dynamic enough. One person also stressed that there was a need to clearly distinguish between people with irreconcilable differences.

As the debate proceeded the main question became one of how we should engage in developing our

theory. In considering this an important point was made about the potential danger of evolving a hierarchy in formulating theory based

Syndicalism

Continued from Pg. 4

International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations (July 1964) predicted that "... the demand for workers' control may well become the common ground for advanced sectors of the labor movement, both East and West..." There is an enormous literature on this subject.

In Western Europe the movement arose with the failure of nationalization of industry to change the relationship between the worker and his employer, of ruler and ruled. In Belgium, the **General Federation of Workers** called a special congress to consider workers' control. In France, the second largest union federation demanded democratic socialism and workers' self-management of industry. Similar demands were voiced in Italy, West Germany, Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. In England, the **Institute for Workers' Control** was established in 1968 by a congress of rank-and-file union delegates, among them representatives of such powerful unions as **The Transport and General Workers Union** and **The National Union of Public Employees**.

Of this once powerful movement, barely a trace remains. There is no workers' self-management movement. Workers' control, once considered a threat to "law and order" is largely a myth, a mere slogan proclaimed by "leftist" political parties and opportunist unions to gain popular support.

The "Marxist-Leninists", the Stalinists, the Trotskyists, who deify the architects of the totalitarian state, the exterminators of the labor movement, the socialist

upon factors such as the degree of participation in the process and differing abilities.

The proposals advanced included one suggesting a collective reading of anarcho-communist classics to be followed by discussion of them. Another stemmed from the **Toronto ACF** proposal which would have had the ACF begin to write an entirely new document with the present one only being used until this project is completed.

A third proposal consisted of the approach of writing a new document which may, upon completion, replace the present one. When the votes were taken this was the one adopted. It passed though not without there being some strongly felt dissenting views centred around the opinion that the question was in need of more debate and consideration out of which other options could have emerged.

Discussion

Amid further intense discussion the conference agreed to begin to carry out this process in the coming months through the internal discussion bulletin. The initial debate would centre upon the question of the role to be played by a revolutionary organization in the class struggle.

Once this item was concluded decisions were made regarding our next conference. Most unfortunately, two general discussions fell victim to the shortcomings of the conference in handling the limitations of time. These were to be on the struggles against nuclear power and the draft. Previously, some workshops had fallen to a similar fate. No further decisions were scheduled for the next day. It had been a long night.

politicians and welfarists: all of them, hypocritically favor workers' control. Not one of them dares point an irreverent finger against the holy ark of the state. Not one of them shows the slightest sign of grasping the obvious fact that the obliteration of the division of society between order givers and order takers—NOT ONLY IN THE STATE, BUT AT EVERY LEVEL IS THE INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR THE REALIZATION OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT: THE HEART AND SOUL OF FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM.

Workers' self-management is possible only in a bossless and stateless society. Deep revolutionary changes in the structure of society will have to be made. Many hard struggles will have to be fought before self-management will become a reality. The class-collaborationist, politically dominated labor organizations now thoroughly integrated into the structure of capitalism and the state, cannot and will not even begin to initiate revolutionary changes.

It is imperative that the area of self-management be widened to the utmost. It is imperative that we begin a wide-ranging constructive discussion of radicalizing and rebuilding the workers' movement and work out more modern methods to conquer workers' self-management, than have thus far been advanced.

Note: Edited text of an address delivered to the **International Symposium On Anarchism**, Lewis and Clark College on February 20, 1980.

Against Naive Realism

By: B. Mewbold

'The myth of impending economic doom, finally, is a favorite diversion among those who wish to keep the struggle to live contained on the already-won plane of survival.' John Zerzan

No class goes further in theory than its achievements in practice. It is for this reason that I don't think John Zerzan's critique of modern society is satisfactory. It relies too heavily on establishment sources which cannot grasp specifically their own 'crisis'. I am chiefly thinking here of the analysis Zerzan developed in *Creation and its Enemies: 'The Revolt Against Work'* (Rochester: Mutualist Books, 1977) and 'The Promise of the '80's' which appeared in the *Fifth Estate* 15 (June, 1980).

It seems to me the key thread which unites Zerzan's discussions is their positivist and speculative style. Empirical data on the modern economy is served up to the reader with no specific commentary on its political implications for society as a whole. This is why Zerzan cannot distinguish the private interests of capital from wage-labour and unions. It also accounts for why he defines class individuals only in personal or civic terms.

In *Creation and its Enemies* John Zerzan argued that unions were state institutions because they opposed the specific political character of machinery in modern society rather than machines in general. He also reported that private businesses were, by and large, favourably disposed towards industrial union organizations after 1925 in the United States. What is wrong with this analysis centres on the fact that unions are mediated from private capital by the public agencies of the

state which is controlled by the ruling class in modern society — the bourgeoisie. So the unions were not in immediate collusion with the exploiters. As well given how far employers went to violate the famous Clause 7 (a) of the NRA (National Recovery Act) (i.e. San Francisco General Strike — July, 1934) and the state's promulgation of special 'codes' for private industry which hindered union organizing, I think it is incorrect to conclude that the unions' relationship to the state is immediate and complementary.

Zerzan's theory of unions is positivist because it emphasizes the continuity of variable capital without analyzing its internally antagonistic form as capital and wage-

labour. It is speculative because it does not specify the resolution of this class antagonism at the level of the state which mediates the class of social labour from a portion of the social labour product by means of the police in the interests of private businesses. Hence this theory of unions is misleading because it mistakes unions as immediately being a political instrument when their specific function is economic. In fact the specific political function in modern society is the police or special army squads.

Actions which are not addressed at the police specifically are not political. That is why I cannot agree that rising insomnia, crime rate increases, escalating alcoholism and

epidemic mental disease are critically related to politics as Zerzan suggests in his recent *Fifth Estate* article. And so I don't think they tell us anything about smashing the state which is, after all, the central question on the social agenda. Instead the analysis in this article conflates the ruling class' discontents into a general social crisis or complete 'break-down'. But the truth is that the bourgeoisie cannot specifically grasp the historical process of its own demise as a class and therefore sees in its own end, the end of society generally. The fact that Zerzan identifies personal acts with a revolutionary and critical politics shows the limits of his social theory.

It does not examine the social class basis of these personal acts by citizens. And I think that is why Zerzan is unable to effectively criticize the carefully researched material he has compiled to describe modern industrial society.

So, in conclusion, the political value of these two works by Zerzan is minimal and this has a lot to do with the number of articles he extracted from journals, books and interest group magazines which do not go beyond modern society in their criticisms because their sponsors do not have a revolutionary practical interest in radically transforming society by smashing the state.

Fifth estate

More Letters More Letters More

Continued from Pg. 2

camp, surely my appropriateness as a role model, even in a city as conservative as Kingston, should not be so easily questioned.

My legal advisors tell me that I have a good claim for a suit for false dismissal. Unfortunately this means going through civil court and this requires money. I need your help to fight to either regain my job or to be given the wages I lost due to my unjust dismissal.

Along with money, I could also use letters of support protesting my firing. Please send such letters to:

Dr. D.S. Alexander
Regional Centre for
Handicapped Children
Kingston General Hospital
Stuart St.

Kingston, Ontario
Re: Summer Adolescent Program
Please send donations and copies of the letters to:

Brian Burch
229 Brock St.
Apt. 2A
Kingston, Ontario

Also, this fight could use publicity. If you can think of any individuals, organizations or periodicals that would be interested in helping, give them a copy of this letter or get them to contact me.

Yours in the struggle,
Brian Burch
Kingston, Ontario

AnarchoLit

Dear Comrades,
Revolutionary Greetings!

The distribution of Anarchist literature is so vitally important to our movement, my sanity was saved by the books of such Anarchists as Edward Carpenter, Emma Goldman and Kropotkin. Some libraries were

in the South really frown on Anarchist books, be it Bakunin or Paul Goodman. The university library in Richmond was luckily more liberal and sane. I hope the distribution of Anarchist literature can increase on a large scale. I would love to help in this endeavour.

One suggestion: an article by a gay Anarchist—his or her feelings on what Anarchist Communism can accomplish for gay emancipation would really be great! I'm one. I feel that the benefits a revolution—Anarchist style—could accomplish and win for people regardless of their sexual orientation is greater than any other revolutionary movement in history. For The Total Revolution!

In Solidarity,
D.L. and P.C.
Berea, Kentucky

Leninism

Just a few comments on *Anarchism and the Leninist Counter-revolution* in your last issue. One may certainly agree that most Leninists are vile creatures and that the organizational form of Leninism is merely the vehicle for the rise of a new ruling class. But does this mean that we can never make alliances of convenience with the Leninists? I think not.

One should, obviously, avoid any alliances whose sole goal is the replacement of the previous ruling class by one based on a Leninist party. That much is obvious. Yet, at the present time there is little chance of such a situation in North America. There are struggles, however, that are both important and which have Leninist participation. Do we ignore these just because the Leninists are present? For

examples one could cite the struggle against the draft or various rank and file caucuses in the unions. Any rational anarchist would much prefer to be able to carry out 'issue centred' campaigns under our own banners alone. But let's face facts; we are still too small to do anything of the sort. Any rational anarchist would also prefer to work with such allies as liberals, democratic socialists, Christian leftists, etc. When possible this would be a choice over alliances with the Marxists. But it is not always possible. The Leninists are a fact of life in many of the issues that anarchists will be concerned with.

Alternatives suggest themselves. There are fairly safe criteria to judge whether one should enter into an alliance with a Leninist group. One is "is the issue important enough"? Another is whether the work cannot be done outside of such an alliance. Another is the 'visibility' of the Leninist sect within the alliance. Alliances that are too obviously recruiting devices should be avoided like the plague. Still another is the 'duration' of the alliance. Long term commitments should never be made to such groups. The internal structure of the alliance counts too. Is it open to 'capture' at packed meetings? Does it have a 'central committee' with too much power? One could go on and on. The point is that one cannot say, dogmatically, that one should never enter into alliances with the Leninists. With a little caution the alliances can be judged for their individual merits.

In Solidarity,
Ivan Neigum
Saskatoon, Sask.

A CALL TO ACTION

Dear Compatriots,

As the situation worsens in the United States, conditions for change are becoming increasingly better. We Anarchists must put aside our differences and join to destroy the state. Now more than ever we must spend every last cent on literature of all kinds. The movement must build strong respected periodicals at all levels. Furthermore, we must all help to distribute each other's papers in our home regions. We must build a decentralized network for communication and discussion. But propaganda must only be the beginning.

Anarchists of all brands must take it to the streets, bring with them the sanity of Anarchism against the Corporate State. It is extremely important that we let the people know we are with them and that we are prepared to fight. But most importantly, we must let the world know that Anarchism exists right here in America and we're not simply a group of crazed arsonists — but that we are a group of dedicated social innovators putting everything on the line for what we believe is right.

Anarchist Direct Action can not be limited to the streets and printing presses. We must prove to the public that our principles are truths, but joining with the collective movement. This movement is already extremely Anarchistic. With broad support, via our own press, this movement could play a major part in social change by providing an example of some alternatives to the insanity of the corporate state — whether here or in the USSR. While encouraging the

collectivist movement in general we must also work in our own regions to build collectives in the form of buying clubs, food co-ops, group houses, and even actual anarchist farms.

Finally, I must add — be prepared for a fight. As anarchism grows, be prepared for the worst police subversion ever seen. We must work entirely above ground for the public to trust us. However, for us to keep a sound perspective, our groups must have plans ready for many forms of self-defense. We must be prepared to assist those who may go underground if conditions really start to decay. This is especially true for our comrades who are evading state persecution for not registering. We must encourage them to stay at home and fight for their freedom in lieu of sitting in Canada waiting to make another president look like a good kind man.

Destroy that which destroys you. Vote in the street. Anarchy is not only good news, it is the only news.

In Struggle,

Scott M. Rodell
Anarchist Association of the Americas
POB 840, Benjamin Franklin Sta.
Washington, DC 20044





Libertarian Notes

LET THEM EAT NUKES

The British economy is in a shambles and faces total collapse as a result of Margaret Thatcher's ruthless application of Milton Friedman's simplistic "monetarist" theories. Over 1.9 million are now out of work and that figure will pass the 2 million mark sometime this year. Thatcher's survival-of-the-fattest economic doctrines are tearing the guts out of the social services that generations of workers fought for.

But the picture is not all bleak. Somehow money was found to give the armed forces and the police hefty raises. Now we hear that there's even enough left in the depleted kitty to splurge on 100 brand spanking new U.S. Trident 1 missiles, a real steal at only \$3 billion for the lot. And, of course, you have to have something to put those 10 warhead beauties into so Thatcher will have to scrape together up to \$14 billion for four or five new submarines. Things might be tight for the workers in Thatcher's kingdom but we're sure she will find the money for these murderous toys somewhere.

IDLE HANDS ARE THE DEVIL'S PLAYTHINGS

The rage and frustration that resulted in wide-spread rioting in the Liberty City section of Miami last May has flared up again. Over 300 riot police were sent into the area in mid-July after a policeman was shot while attempting to arrest three blacks after a robbery. In a classic example of understatement Assistant Public Safety Director Robert Dempsey said the rioting "has been caused by certain segments in the community who are hostile because of unemployment or other reasons and just intend to use the situation." No kidding, Bob?

FORD'S BETTER IDEA

It says a lot about the American political system that the pairing of Ronald Reagan and Gerry Ford, whose IQ's wouldn't reach the three figure range if you added them together, could be seriously advanced as the strongest possible ticket for the Republicans. Stupidity and incompetence, it seems, must be added to venality as prime requirements for presidential aspirants.

Aside from Nancy Reagan's flying header into the stands, however, the Ford vice-presidential candidacy was the only bright spot in an otherwise insufferably dull convention. Even the professional media cheerleaders had a hard time injecting any sense of drama into the proceedings. Judy Woodruff of NBC was reduced at one point to stepping outside the convention centre and declaring, "David, when you hear people referring to the Reagan trailer, this is what they are talking about."

So when Ford stumbled into the ring the media hacks treated the episode as a godsend. It seems likely that the pathetic little drama was the product of Henry Kissinger's fevered brain (poor Henry must kick himself daily for being dumb enough to be born German which disqualifies him from seeking the presidency). One of Ford's principal demands of Reagan was that he be allowed to choose who would fill certain cabinet positions with the position of Secretary of State being the prime one. Go to the head of the class if you guessed that old Henry would have been chosen. Kissinger's opinion of Reagan can best be judged from the fact that he really expected the turkey to accept the "super-presidency" concept.

Unfortunately Henry failed to take fully into account Reagan's rabidly right-wing aides who wanted nothing to do with a pinko "liberal" like the former Secretary of State. It's a prophetic comment on the nature of a Reagan presidency that Henry Kissinger, the co-author of the "madman theory

of diplomacy", is regarded as being "too liberal".

WE'RE IN THE MONEY

The fortunes of Canadian Trotskyism took a dramatic upswing recently when Joan Campana, a member of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), won \$1 million in a lottery draw. Campana's win comes at a crucial point in the RWL's history. The organization has been wracked by internal dissension and mass defections as well as a high burn-out rate. The infusion of such a large amount of cold cash should go a long way towards stiffening the cadres resolve. I can already see the new slogan: "Workers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a lottery to win!"

But then again maybe the temptation will prove to be too much. After all Marx made it plain that economic classes were not metaphysical categories. A bourgeois without money is by definition a proletarian and a proletarian with money (especially \$1 million) is a *de facto* bourgeois. So let us hope that this literal "embarrassment of riches", (Campana was quoted as saying that she only wanted to win "a little bit" of money and feels \$1 million will be more of a problem than anything else,) is quickly passed into the hot little hands of the Central Committee before it has a chance to corrupt such an erstwhile revolutionary.

PIMPS, PUSHERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

The Toronto Star recently ran an article on the annual summer trek of bored teenagers to the infamous Yonge St. strip, a two block long string of fast-food outlets, pinball arcades, record stores and strip joints in the heart of downtown Toronto. "She's running scared. She needs a friend." The Star agonized. "She's prey for both pusher and pimp." And, we might add, social workers.

Five of them to be exact. The number that a \$78,000 grant from the city and provincial governments will put on the strip "to prevent the strip from ruining the lives of kids." The article ran to 30 column inches without once mentioning the horrendous unemployment rate for people between the ages of 15 and 24. Rather the problem was treated as a question of the "lure" of the strip, a manifestation of "weak" character. "Kids living on the strip...lose sight of time and survive on a day to day basis. We have to break the daily pattern and get them to see their lives further down the road."

What this usually involves is the social workers referring teenagers to Temporary Help Agencies which make pimps look good by comparison (See NAA1). The real role of these "social" workers, these pimps for capital, is to retain as many teenagers as possible as members-in-good-standing of the reserve army of the unemployed. As one of them commented: "The biggest challenge for anyone trying to 'help' is touching base with kids who are skeptical of agencies and cops." And for damn good reason!

Anarchismo

Continued from Pg. 16

tinctions as those between Scots and Irish, Jean and Kenneth's arrests were taken as evidence of links with the IRA."

Some of the arrested anarchists were released after preliminary questioning by an "enquiring" magistrate. The rest were held "pending further investigation". Two and a half months later the remaining 13 imprisoned anarchists were again questioned by an "enquiring" magistrate to decide if there was sufficient evidence to go to trial. The police were able to provide pages of charges but no "evidence". As a result all but Bonanno, Marletta and Weir were released.

The 13 were "charged" with organizing an "armed gang" under the name Azione Rivoluzionaria that together with persons unknown (sound familiar?) planned and executed robberies and kidnappings to finance the band. All 13 were also charged, for good measure, with "subversive association". This catch-all charge, which was created in the 1929 Fascist penal code, refers to documents and pamphlets published and distributed by Edizione Anarchismo illustrating the ideology of armed struggle. The 13 were also charged with spreading propaganda advocating social and economic disorder, which is related to a demonstration of homeless people in Catania in January of this year.

Persecution

As previously stated the evidence to support these charges was so flimsy that all but Bonanno, Marletta and Weir were released. With the recent release of Weir the motives of the Italian State have been made patently obvious. What they

boil down to are a resolve to close down Anarchism, which thus far they have succeeded in doing, and the relentless persecution of Bonanno. In addition to the charges listed above Bonanno faces 23 separate trials on other charges. It is clear that the State's intentions are the same as they were against Gramsci in 1927: "We must stop this brain working for 20 years!"

The charges, past and pending, against Bonanno have included such weighty items as: a minor traffic offense; blasphemy, arising out of his translation of Johann Most's *The God Plague And The Religious Epidemic*; "slandering" a chief of police; and, three separate trials arising out of the publication of his book *La Gioia Armata* (The Joy of Arms). The charges were eventually dropped.

International solidarity is desperately needed to combat this latest example of State persecution of anarchism. Financial donations to help pay for lawyers and minimum comforts for those still inside are urgently needed. Write to the defense committee:

Comitato di Difesa Bolognese
c/o L'Onagro,
Via de Preti, 4-9,
Bologna, 40100,
Italy.

Albania

Continued from Pg. 10
ITEM 10

According to an estimate by Amnesty International in January 1976, there are some eighteen labour camps for political prisoners in Albania. These are situated near mines, industrial centres, building sites, large irrigation and agricultural schemes. The total number of political prisoners is thought to be approximately 12,000 of whom 9,900 are dispersed

Outer Space

Continued from Pg. 11

group studies of Jay Kinney's classic comic *Commies From Mars* which provided the initial inspiration for this article. In any case it should be apparent that the most pressing question facing the international proletariat in the present epoch must be: Aliens from Outer Space—Reformist or Revolutionary?

Now the above scenarios are hardly happy ones as far as anarchists are concerned. But, just maybe, Marxist-Leninism and pseudo-scientific socialism are purely terrestrial aberrations. We can only wait and hope that the first words spoken by an alien visitor are "Take me to your Anarchists" and not "Take me to your Leader!"



throughout the labour camps and the remaining 2,100 throughout the country's seven large prisons.
SOURCE: The Albanians, Anton Logoreci, Pg. 197-98.

ITEM 11

There are many revolutionary groups in North America and throughout the world who hold up Albania as an example to emulate, a shining beacon indicating the path to follow to true socialism.
Compiled By: Lazarus Jones



Confused?

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North American
ANARCHIST

Subscription rates are \$5 for individuals for one year (six issues) and \$7 for libraries, institutions and organizations. If you don't have five dollars, send us what you can afford. The North American Anarchist will be sent free to prisoners on request.
SEND TO: The North American Anarchist, POB 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4B 2B0.

Volcanogate

August 1, 1980. Dateline: Vancouver, Washington

Sources in the U.S. Geological Survey office here report they have received a confidential Presidential order prohibiting the announcement of volcanic eruptions.

Executive Order number 90357-B requires explosions and showers of flame to be referred to as "possible heat lightning" or "minor energy release". Lava flows will be called "localized flooding", while 6 inches of ash falling on cities and mountainsides will be reported as "occasional snow flurries".

The administration also states that shock waves, which felled hundreds of acres of virgin forest, are under investigation for "logging without a permit".

The Weather Service and news media have been urged to comply with this order, in hope of assuring the citizens that they are in no danger.

It is thought that this move will quell the widespread feeling that the Federal government is doing nothing about the problem.

Conspiracy

Under Senate bill number S.7359, introduced by Senator Henry Jackson of Boeing, Washington, anyone accused of spreading word of volcanic activity, may be convicted of 'conspiracy to cause eruptions' and detained without trial, regardless of whether any eruptions actually occur.

Meanwhile operators of the Trojan Horse nuclear power plant, on the Columbia River midway between Mt. St. Helens and Mount Hood, report there is no cause for alarm. Rumors of cracked foundations and damaged piping are false, and, besides, the plant will be repaired as soon as it's safe to go inside.

The 'Anarchismo' Incident Draining the swamp

By Lazarus Jones

Jean Weir, a member of the Scottish anarchist group **Bratach Dubh** swept up in the Italian State crack-down on the anarchist journal **Anarchismo**, has finally been released due to "a lack of evidence". Weir can consider herself lucky as even without "evidence" the Italian State could have held her for up to 12 years under the terms of an anti-terrorist law enacted in January 1980.

Weir's imprisonment dates back to March 23, 1980, when she was arrested in a pre-dawn raid on the home of Alfredo Bonanno, the editor of **Anarchismo**. Bonanno, Weir and Salvo Marletta, another occupant of the house, were accused of having taken part in six armed robberies in the area of Bologna (they were arrested in Catania, Sicily).

The Italian police "suspect" that Bonanno is the ideologue behind the Italian terrorist group **Azione Rivoluzionaria** who have described themselves as "anarcho-communists". The police actions are part of a concerted campaign by the Italian State to "drain the sympathisers swamp". As an information bulletin put out by the British **Rising Free** collective put it, the intentions of the Italian security police are "to drive all direct action into 'underground' isolation, while simultaneously criminalising all remaining 'overground' expressions of support via anti-subversion laws."



In a related move, presidential candidate Ronald Raygun announced that earthquakes, henceforth to be called 'statistically insignificant seismological deflections', will be illegal in California.

Pleading for the sympathy votes of millions of West Coasters, Raygun stated 'And if Helen Mount

tries to enter California, we'll have her arrested for crossing state lines. We want no repeat of the disastrous fire of 1908.'

The fire, which destroyed San Francisco in the aftermath of an earthquake, occurred in 1905.



Jean Weir

Anarchismo was founded in Catania, Sicily, in 1975 by the publishing group **Edizione Anarchismo**. As well as the journal **Anarchismo** they have published a wide range of books and pamphlets, some of which (**Workers Autonomy, Armed Struggle In Italy**, for example) have been translated into English by the **Bratach Dubh** group. It was **Anarchismo's** concentration on struggles in prison, State repression and armed struggle in Italy and abroad that drew the wrath of the political police.

On the Sunday after the initial raid the police again raided Bonanno's house where they arrested five people including Kenneth Burgon, another member of **Bratach Dubh** who had travelled to Italy after

hearing of the arrests of Bonanno, Marletta and Weir. Roughly simultaneously police raids were launched in Bologna, Forli and Catania and a total of 19 anarchists were arrested.

As the **Rising Free** collective described it: "The police claimed to have found explosives, munitions and 'very interesting' documents. Among the box loads of Italian material seized were the proofs of five new **Bratach Dubh** pamphlets. The munitions and explosives were 5 bullets and 50 sticks of dynamite. Sandro Vandini, a former editor of **Anarchismo** was given a 7 month sentence for possession of the former, Masimo Gaspari has been given 4 years and 10 months for the latter.

Hysterical Press

"The second wave of arrests was accompanied by a hysterical press campaign. In contrast to the transport arrangements for the first three arrested (they were driven quietly by van to Bologna) those taken in the second raid on Bonanno's house were made part of a publicity seeking security exercise. Driven to the airport to be flown to Bologna, a full-scale 'anti-terrorist' alert was staged (at the airport) with machine gun wielding police and snipers. According to the press Bonanno and Co. had been transported in a specially armoured plane; in general the usual shock horror anti-terrorist propaganda was served up. For example being above such petty dis-

See **Anarchismo** Pg. 15

Labour Pains

STRIKES ROCK SOUTH AFRICA

Massive demos and strikes which broke out across South Africa on the 4th Anniversary of the great Soweto uprising of June, 1976 have further shaken the white minorities' control over the majoritarian black working class.

Black workers at 16 companies, 10,000 strong, struck on June 20 in South Africa's industrial center of Port Elizabeth. They were striking at multinationals such as **Ford, GM, Volkswagen, & Goodyear**. The army was called in to break these strikes.

There was on June 16th, a wave of strikes, from 4,500 gold miners braving helicopter tear gas attacks in Stilfontien to 6,000 textile workers near Durban. More than 3,000 meat industry workers in Cape Town were supported by a complete boycott of red meat in the black townships and student supporters ventured into white suburban markets and overturned display counters.

Only through the continued self-organization and self-activity—along with international workers' solidarity—will the blacks of South Africa be able to gain their freedom.

DSOC SOCKS IT TO LABOR DISSIDENTS

An article worth reading in the August, 1980 **Mother Jones** entitled "Six Ways to Take Over a Union" by Ed Barnes and Bob Windrem details the Mafia control of the **Laborers International Union of North America**. Almost as an aside, the article casts an interesting light on the attitude of at least two DSOC big shots toward rank and file worker movements.

Some LIU dissidents who belong to a group called **Ruled Out of Order (ROOR)** have exposed misappropriation of union dues and pension funds by union officials and they have filed suit to overturn a local election during which dissidents were beaten and shot at. In response the Alaskan union leadership accused the dissidents of an "anti-union campaign". They hired a D.C. law firm to defend the **Laborers'** leadership against the dissidents' lawsuit. The firm partner who flew to Alaska to handle the suit was Jules Bernstein, vice chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Then there's DSOC shining light and **Machinists** President William Winpisinger who (the article tells us) is sometimes called the conscience of (bureaucratic) labor. A **ROOR** activist reports he once approached Winpisinger asking for help on behalf of Alaskan **Laborers** dissidents. "He looked at me and said, 'Why don't you just quit?'" No doubt the **ROOR** militants have already quit—trusting the DSOC labor traits.

Spy System Speed-Up

Grocery and department store cashiers are experiencing the tyranny of the clock with the wide spread introduction of computerized store check-out systems that time their sales or 'rings'. Reduced to assembly line machines the retail clerks are experiencing an increasing number of drug addiction and alcoholism cases in their ranks. As store owners have moved to extend hours and reduce the staff of their supermarkets and retail appliance chains worker morale has deteriorated and night robberies have climbed. The latter is due to night-time staff cuts. One worker in the **Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union** concluded, 'we're going to create a society like Detroit.'

The brutalization of speed-up cannot be defeated without collective direct action against the exploiters. The solution to time-studies is collective slow-downs, sabotage, study sessions and rank-and-file discussion circles on the question of what class should control the social labour of the workers. The labour movement can take up the fight for control of the production process by mobilizing demonstrations and collective resistance to work-place spy systems.

The Future at Present

Recently a world 'futurist' conference wound down in Toronto, Canada, with the emphatic message that workers need no longer concern themselves about the class character of mechanization. at the same time as the federal government announced new job creation had fallen behind increasing job losses, the futurists concluded that robots and computers will create new exciting life opportunities.

But the ideologues of private property don't even fool themselves by forecasting away the prevalent conditions of capitalistic society mechanization only serves to cripple the proletariat.

Public sector jobs are on the decline due to staff cutbacks through automation by the government. Postal workers in Canada are threatened with state violence to prevent strikes against archaic work conditions. The insurance and bank companies' lobby collaborates with their state functionaries and bailiffs to impose and expand a state police inspection squad which squeezes postal workers for more labour. This 'ham-handed, ill-trained (and) bullying' police team is being expanded to intensify employee harassment. In at least one case a worker was wrongfully accused, spied on at home and falsely imprisoned through the action of these inspectors. He has not been compensated.

The purpose of the planned expansion of this police squad in the post office is unmistakable. They are imposed to dampen resistance to automation, employee dismissals and speed-ups. This goon squad can only be defeated politically. This spy-system calls for working class demonstrations against work-place police, aimed at founding an organized opposition against state intimidation.